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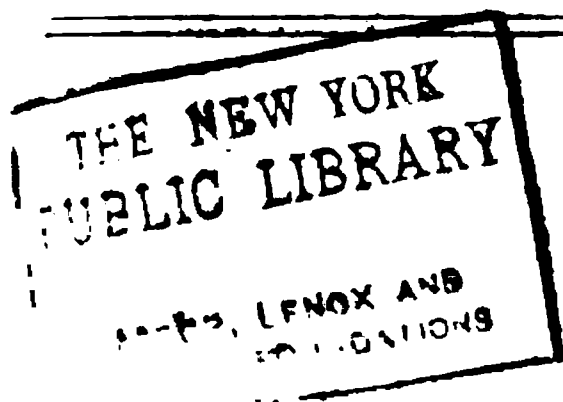
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TESTIMONY

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-SECOND CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

PURSUANT TO

S. RES. 79, S. RES. 386, and S. RES. 418

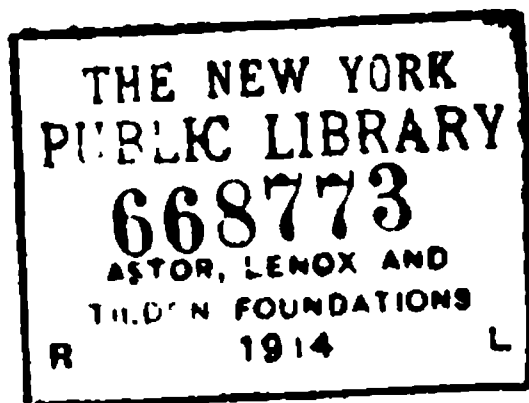
DIRECTING THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS, OR ANY SUBCOMMITTEE THEREOF, TO INVESTIGATE AND REPORT THE SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID TO THE NATIONAL CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES OF ALL POLITICAL PARTIES DURING THE YEARS 1904 AND 1908; ALL STATEMENTS AND QUESTIONS OF FACT REFERRED TO IN THE STATEMENT OF PERSONAL PRIVILEGE MADE BY THE SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA, MR. PENROSE, ON THE FLOOR OF THE SENATE, AUGUST 21, 1912; THE AMOUNT OF MONEY EXPENDED BY OR ON BEHALF OF ANY CANDIDATE SEEKING THE NOMINATION AND ELECTION FOR PRESIDENT DURING THE YEAR 1912

VOL. I

Printed for the use of the committee

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1913



MEMBERS OF SUBCOMMITTEE.

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WESLEY L. JONES, Washington.

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GEORGE T. OLIVER, Pennsylvania.

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FRIDAY, JUNE 14, 1912.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 1 o'clock p. m.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Jones, and Paynter.

The subcommittee having under consideration Senate resolution 79, as follows:

[Senate Resolution 79, Sixty-second Congress, second session.]

Resolved, First. That the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and it is hereby, directed to inquire and report to the Senate as early as practicable the amount of money subscribed and paid to the national committees of all political parties and the national congressional campaign committees of all political parties or to any member of such committees, or to any person acting under the authority of or on behalf of such committees as treasurer or otherwise, by any person, firm, association, corporation, or committee to influence the result or attempt to influence the result of the election November eighth, nineteen hundred and four, and November third, nineteen hundred and eight, at which Representatives in the Congress of the United States were elected, giving the names of such persons, firms, associations, corporations, or committees, and the respective amounts subscribed and paid by each of them as aforesaid.

Second. That said committee or subcommittee is authorized to sit during the sessions of the Senate and during any recess of the Senate or of the Congress; to hold sessions at such place or places as it may deem most convenient for the purposes of this inquiry; to employ stenographers and such other clerical force as may be deemed necessary; to send for persons, books, records, and papers; to administer oaths; and that the expenses of the inquiry be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers to be approved by the chairman of the committee or subcommittee.

Third. That said committee shall also report to the Senate what measures, if any, are necessary to further prohibit or curtail such subscriptions and payments so as to lessen and confine them to proper and legitimate objects in relation to such elections and prevent the undue or corrupt use of money in such elections.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take the testimony of Mr. W. B. Thompson.

TESTIMONY OF MR. W. B. THOMPSON, TREASURER OF THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, 1893 TO 1904, OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

W. B. Thompson, having first been duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Thompson. where do you reside?

Mr. THOMPSON. My temporary residence is Washington; my legal residence is Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. THOMPSON. Attorney, of the firm of Thompson & Slater.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hold any relation to the Republican national committee in the campaign of 1904?

Mr. THOMPSON. Not the national committee; the congressional committee.

The CHAIRMAN. What relation?

Mr. THOMPSON. I was nominally its treasurer, but not an active one.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall when you were appointed treasurer?

Mr. THOMPSON. I was appointed in 1893; in November, I think it was; that is my recollection.

Senator JONES. 1893, did you say?

Mr. THOMPSON. 1893.

Senator PAYNTER. You mean 1903, do you not, Mr. Thompson?

Mr. THOMPSON. I mean 1893.

Senator JONES. Then you continued as its treasurer up to 1904?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. And you were reappointed every two years?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes, sir; reelected. It was not at my request that I was first appointed. I had no idea of it until I had read it in the papers.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was chairman of that committee in 1904?

Mr. THOMPSON. J. W. Babcock.

The CHAIRMAN. He was a resident of Wisconsin?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes, sir; I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, how long did you serve as treasurer in the campaign of 1904?

Mr. THOMPSON. I did not serve at all as treasurer. When they opened the campaign they decided to go to New York, which I have explained in my letter. I declined to go to New York, and did not hold any office. There was no office I wanted. My friends on the committee asked me to act as its treasurer, and I did, but I could not leave my business or give up my summer pleasure trip, and I declined to go.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you mean to state that you did not serve at all as treasurer in the campaign?

Mr. THOMPSON. Nothing more than I have explained in my letter. I declined to go to New York. I did not go. I was in the headquarters but once. I came up from Maine, and I happened to be in New York on a Sunday, and I went around there. There were two or three clerks in the office.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom did they appoint to serve?

Mr. THOMPSON. I think Jesse Overstreet acted as treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. Of Indiana?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes, sir; I think he acted.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you during that campaign receive any contributions to the campaign?

Mr. THOMPSON. Not personally myself, as explained in my letter, and it was arranged that my partner, Mr. Slater, who was living at that time, might receive any contributions they might make directed to me, and he sent them to Mr. Overstreet, whatever he received.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions that were received by the committee in that campaign?

Mr. THOMPSON. No, I do not. I say in my letter that I have no practical knowledge of that campaign at all. That Sunday evening I went around to the Waldorf-Astoria and called on Babcock and Overstreet to pay my respects; that was all. They were friends of mine. There was no business transacted at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you received no contributions yourself?

Mr. THOMPSON. No, I did not receive any.

The CHAIRMAN. And you say you have no knowledge of any contributions that were made?

Mr. THOMPSON. No, I have no knowledge of that at all; I have practically no knowledge of that campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether your partner received any contributions?

Mr. THOMPSON. I think he received some money and sent it over there, but I did not have any account of it.

Senator JONES. Who was your partner?

Mr. THOMPSON. I. C. Slater.

Senator JONES. Is he still living?

Mr. THOMPSON. No; he died in April, 1907.

Senator JONES. You do not know whether he kept any books or accounts of what he did receive?

Mr. THOMPSON. I do not know. I do not know what he did do about that. He died very suddenly; he was not sick more than an hour. His son took all his papers and data and other things from his desk.

Senator PAYNTER. What is his son's name?

Mr. THOMPSON. H. W. Slater.

Senator JONES. Where does he live?

Mr. THOMPSON. New York City.

Senator PAYNTER. Did Mr. Slater report to you any amounts, or inform you of any amounts that were received?

Mr. THOMPSON. He may have talked to me about it; if he did I do not recall it.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you recall the names of any parties from whom he reported that he had received contributions?

Mr. THOMPSON. No; I do not.

Senator JONES. You have no information or knowledge that would lead you toward finding out the sources of any contributions in that campaign?

Mr. THOMPSON. Not at all. As I have said, I have no books or data or anything about it. My partner may have said to me: "I have received so much money from Jim Jones and sent it to Overstreet," or somebody else.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you continue the nominal treasurer during the whole of the campaign?

Mr. THOMPSON. During the whole of the campaign I was nominally treasurer. When I declined to go to New York, I said to Babcock: "I will resign." He said: "No, you need not do that; you had better stay on."

Senator JONES. Is Overstreet living?

Mr. THOMPSON. No; Overstreet is dead. There are only two men of that committee living who were actively engaged in it.

Senator PAYNTER. And Babcock is dead?

Mr. THOMPSON. Babcock is dead, and Loudenslager is dead. Of that campaign committee Vice President Sherman and myself are the only two who are living.

Senator PAYNTER. Did Overstreet ever report to you that he had received certain sums from certain individuals or corporations?

Mr. THOMPSON. No, sir; he did not report to me at all.

Senator PAYNTER. Either in writing or verbally?

Mr. THOMPSON. No. He may have said somebody contributed or may not. I have no recollection one way or the other. You see that is eight years ago.

Senator JONES. Was there a deputy treasurer?

Mr. THOMPSON. No, there never was a deputy treasurer.

Senator PAYNTER. Was the account kept in some book by Overstreet?

Mr. THOMPSON. I do not know that even.

Senator PAYNTER. Was there one kept in your name in New York?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. In your name in New York?

Mr. THOMPSON. If there was, I never knew it.

Senator PAYNTER. You never drew any checks?

Mr. THOMPSON. No, sir; I never drew any checks. As I say, I practically had nothing to do with it at all, and that was the last. After that campaign was over, Overstreet, Babcock, and I went out.

Senator PAYNTER. You had no connection, then, with the campaign of 1908?

Mr. THOMPSON. No, nor with the one of 1906.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes, there was an intervening campaign.

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes. I had enough of it.

Senator JONES. You do not know how the checks were usually signed?

Mr. THOMPSON. No, I do not. I suppose they were signed by Overstreet, but I do not know anything about it. As I say, I never was in the headquarters of that campaign but once, and that was on Sunday. There were two or three persons there. I guess they were clerks. In the evening I went over to the Waldorf-Astoria and called on Babcock and Overstreet to pay my respects.

Senator JONES. At any time you did take an active part in the campaign as treasurer, did you sign the checks?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. Was that customary when any checks were drawn that they should be drawn by the treasurer?

Mr. THOMPSON. All the checks I drew were signed by the treasurer.

Senator JONES. When you took an active part as treasurer were checks given out there that were not signed by you?

Mr. THOMPSON. I do not know what they may have done up there, whether they had a private account or not.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you authorize Mr. Overstreet to deposit money in your name as treasurer and draw checks in your name as treasurer?

Mr. THOMPSON. No, sir. The only authorization I gave was to Mr. Slater, that if any money came in for me he was to receive and transmit it to Mr. Overstreet.

Senator JONES. Was it customary in any of these congressional campaigns to keep an account in the name of the congressional committee?

Mr. THOMPSON. Not that I know of. The account was kept in my name.

Senator JONES. The account was always kept in the name of the treasurer?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. You do not know whether that was followed in 1904 or not?

Mr. THOMPSON. I do not know anything about it; I have practically no knowledge. I had enough of it. I was glad to be rid of it.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you recall if Overstreet and Babcock stated to you the amount that they did receive in the campaign, the total amount?

Mr. THOMPSON. No, sir; I never knew.

Senator PAYNTER. That would be hearsay evidence anyhow.

Mr. THOMPSON. The only thing I got out of either one of them was they were going to win the campaign; that was all.

Senator PAYNTER. And did?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes; and did.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know young Slater's address?

Mr. THOMPSON. 222 Riverside Drive, New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all.

The witness was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. You may put this letter into the record.

The letter referred to is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 11, 1912.

Hon. MOSES E. CLAPP,

Chairman, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to own receipt of yours of the 6th instant, and in reply say that in the campaign of 1904 my treasurership was merely nominal. The congressional campaign committee removed the headquarters from Washington to New York City. I did not go with the committee. I spent most of the summer in Maine. My partner was authorized to receive such contributions as came to me, and send to the committee in New York. I had practically no knowledge of that campaign.

I have no books or data to show the receipts and expenditures of the committee during that campaign.

I expect to go away within a few days to be gone several months. It would be a great hardship to be here July 1.

Yours, truly,

W. B. THOMPSON.

The committee thereupon adjourned.

MONDAY, JULY 1, 1912.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. for the further consideration of Senate resolution 79.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Jones, and Paynter. There was also present Hon. George B. Cortelyou, of New York City.

TESTIMONY OF PAUL AUGUSTINE, OF NEW YORK, N. Y.

Paul Augustine, having been duly sworn, testified as follows:

Mr. AUGUSTINE. I am at present national secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, with headquarters in New York; that while not national secretary in 1904 I now have custody of the books of that period. The total contributions to the campaign fund of said party for that year amounted to \$1,173.98; the total expenditures in the campaign

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

of said party for that year amounted to \$851.95, and no contribution exceeded \$100.

I now have custody of the books of that party for the year 1908. The total contributions to the campaign fund of said party for that year amounted to \$1,305.31; the total expenditures in the campaign of said party for that year amounted to \$1,051.10, and no contributions exceeded \$25.

Mr. Augustine was thereupon excused.

The subcommittee thereupon adjourned until Tuesday, July 2, 1912, at 10 o'clock a. m.

TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1912.

**COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.**

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. for the further consideration of Senate resolution No. 79.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Oliver, and Jones.

**TESTIMONY OF GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY, OF LAKE GEORGE,
N. Y.**

George Foster Peabody, having been duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Peabody, what connection, if any, had you with the national Democratic committee in the year 1904?

Mr. PEABODY. I was treasurer from the time of the organization of the national committee, following the nomination of Judge Parker for President.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you served as treasurer?

Mr. PEABODY. I served until shortly after the election. I should say during the month of November my resignation was given in. It might possibly have been December, but my impression is that it was November.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was the headquarters of the committee during that time?

Mr. PEABODY. On Thirty-fourth Street, New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was chairman of the committee during that campaign?

Mr. PEABODY. Thomas Taggart.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any books or records of any kind showing the amount of money contributed to the Democratic national campaign committee during that time of 1904?

Mr. PEABODY. I have none now.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you at any time have the books which would show the contributions?

Mr. PEABODY. Not in my possession. I had access to them in the offices of the committee, of course, when I was present at the headquarters. They were kept entirely by the assistant treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the assistant treasurer?

Mr. PEABODY. Charles R. Hall.

The CHAIRMAN. What business was he engaged in?

Mr. PEABODY. I think he had shortly before resigned, or perhaps his term had expired. He was engaged, I think, in some judicial office—I would not be sure, though.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where Mr. Hall is at present?

Mr. PEABODY. I do not. I have made inquiries, but I have not been able to learn his whereabouts. I inquired particularly of the chairman of the executive committee and he was unable, he told me, to learn where he was.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was chairman of the executive committee?

Mr. PEABODY. William F. Sheehan.

The CHAIRMAN. He lives in New York, does he?

Mr. PEABODY. In New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. While you acted as treasurer, are you able to state, either from your personal knowledge or from your familiarity with the books, anything as to the amount of contributions made during the campaign?

Mr. PEABODY. No; it would be purely guesswork, as I did not go over the final figures after they were ascertained, and, as is usually the case, the expenditures were considerably ahead of the receipts for the most of the time until the rounding up, which comes at the end. So I would not be able to state, even approximately, so that it would be of any help to you. I would have to make a guess at it.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you recall any specific contributions made to the committee during the campaign?

Mr. PEABODY. Not of any moment, and I would not be able to swear to them. I have in my mind one or two of \$1,000 or \$5,000. I would not be able to say what it was, because it was the understanding when I first declined to accept the offer, accepting on urgency, that I should not make, myself, any effort to collect money by reason of my being very much engaged in various educational matters outside of my business obligations.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you have no knowledge yourself that you would take as the basis of testimony here as to any contributions that were made?

Mr. PEABODY. I am sorry to say that I could not be accurate as to any contributions. I am sorry, because I am a great believer in publicity. I am sorry that I have not more data in mind.

Senator OLIVER. Is Mr. Hall still living?

Mr. PEABODY. I understand so. At first I learned that they were not aware as to whether he was living or dead. Mr. Sheehan told me the other day that he was living, but that he was not able to find out where he was.

Senator OLIVER. Were your accounts audited?

Mr. PEABODY. I think not. There was no auditing. The books were simply turned over to the chairman, Mr. Taggart.

Senator JONES. Mr. Hall was the assistant treasurer, was he?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir; the assistant treasurer.

Senator JONES. And he had direct charge of the books and accounts, etc.?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir; direct charge.

Senator JONES. Could you suggest anyone else to the committee who would likely give us information or who could give us information as to contributions?

Mr. PEABODY. I should think that Mr. Hall, the assistant treasurer, and Mr. Taggart and Mr. Sheehan and Mr. Belmont, who were members of the committee, would be the ones. Mr. Belmont was a member of the executive committee and naturally from his relations he possibly has some information.

Senator JONES. You have no further information that would bring any light to the committee on the matters we are investigating?

Mr. PEABODY. I have no further information; nothing that would be suitable in the way of testimony.

Senator JONES. You have no suggestions that you could give that would aid the committee in acquiring the information desired under this resolution?

Mr. PEABODY. I have nothing except these three names, as being the parties who would likely give you the information.

Senator JONES. As I understand, you have no distinct recollection of any particular contributor to the campaign fund?

Mr. PEABODY. No, sir; there were no large contributors, as far as I have personal knowledge.

Senator JONES. What is the largest contribution of which you have personal knowledge that was made at the campaign?

Mr. PEABODY. I can not speak accurately, but my impression is that \$5,000 is as large as I have any recollection of. I have no record of anything. I have no question but there were larger ones, but I have nothing that I could give real testimony on. The \$5,000 was my own, I think, although I am not entirely certain whether that was the amount or not.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you had nothing to do with and knew nothing of the efforts to secure the funds for the campaign?

Mr. PEABODY. No, sir; I declined to take any part, except that I may have been present at the meetings when discussions were going on as to trying to get other people to do the work.

Senator JONES. Do you know who had special charge of that work?

Mr. PEABODY. As I say, the executive committee, Mr. Sheehan and Mr. Belmont of that committee, I should think, would be the men who were probably more active. You know the custom, I suppose, Senator, that in these committees you call together 50 or 100 merchants and bankers and all sorts of fellows and have a sort of honorary finance committee and they go around and try to get \$100 or \$50 from the trade, and there was a large number of men of that kind, but I do not know, because of my not feeling any responsibility for that part of it. They were quite confident in their assumption that there would be no necessity for my collecting money when they urged me to accept.

Senator JONES. Do you understand that there was any special committee, certain individuals outside of the organization that were expected to solicit contributions?

Mr. PEABODY. Oh, they asked, I should say, 100 different merchants and others whose names I do not recall, and who constituted themselves a general finance committee.

Senator JONES. What I was trying to get at was whether there was any particular person that it was generally understood should make special efforts in this direction?

Mr. PEABODY. No, sir; there were not, other than the members of the executive committee, who were expected to do that.

Mr. Peabody was thereupon excused subject to the desire of some member of the committee, not present, to interrogate him.

The committee thereupon adjourned, to meet on call of the chairman.

TUESDAY, JULY 9, 1912.

**SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.**

The subcommittee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m. for the further consideration of Senate resolution No. 79.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Jones, Paynter, Oliver, and Lea.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. We will take the testimony of Mr. Taggart.

**TESTIMONY OF MR. THOMAS TAGGART, CHAIRMAN OF THE
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, 1904, OF
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.**

Thomas Taggart, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is what?

Mr. TAGGART. Thomas Taggart.

The CHAIRMAN. And your residence?

Mr. TAGGART. Indianapolis, Ind.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Taggart, what relation did you sustain in 1904 to the national Democratic committee?

Mr. TAGGART. I was chairman of the national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you become chairman of that committee, with reference to that campaign?

Mr. TAGGART. July, 1904; I do not remember the date.

The CHAIRMAN. That is near enough. About how long did you remain chairman?

Mr. TAGGART. Until after the nomination of Mr. Bryan in 1908 and the reorganization of the committee which met in Chicago in August for the purpose of reorganizing the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. During the campaign of 1904 did you have an executive committee?

Mr. TAGGART. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was chairman of that committee?

Mr. TAGGART. W. F. Sheehan, of New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was the headquarters of the committee during the campaign?

Mr. TAGGART. New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you know of the receipts and expenditures of funds during that campaign?

Mr. TAGGART. Nothing definite.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you state approximately the total receipts and contributions?

Mr. TAGGART. I do not know what they were, Senator. I never, to my recollection, had an estimate of the total amount paid in or the total amount paid out.

The CHAIRMAN. Who kept the books, so far as you know?

Mr. TAGGART. Mr. George Peabody was the treasurer of the committee. He had some assistants; I do not know who they were. He receipted for all moneys and contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you solicit any contributions that fall?

Mr. TAGGART. No, sir; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions having been made?

Mr. TAGGART. Yes, sir. I am sure that one or two gentlemen whom I know contributed; that is, I know by hearsay, without absolute knowledge of the fact; but I know by hearsay there were one or two who contributed, and probably there were others whom I do not remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any that you would be willing to testify to?

Mr. TAGGART. Of my own knowledge, no. It would be hearsay, Mr. Senator; not absolute knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Did your knowledge come through your associates?

Mr. TAGGART. Yes, sir; it came through my associates.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as you have knowledge of that kind you may state it to the committee.

Mr. TAGGART. Well, I feel pretty sure that Mr. August Belmont contributed.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea how much he contributed?

Mr. TAGGART. I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else do you know contributed?

Mr. TAGGART. Thomas F. Ryan contributed.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea how much he contributed?

Mr. TAGGART. No, sir. Mr. Cord Meyer, who was then chairman of the New York State committee, contributed. Those three are in my mind pretty distinctly. There were other contributions that were made that I do not remember the names of the contributors, in the thousands, but I do not remember just who they were. There were circulation papers sent to the various States, where amounts came back from \$100 up, where contributions had been made.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the more closely in touch with the soliciting or obtaining of contributions?

Mr. TAGGART. I am under the impression that Mr. Peabody, as treasurer, was; he had charge of it and sent out the requests to the people—Mr. George F. Peabody. It is my recollection that he is the man who sent out the requests.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there a gentleman named Hall that you know of in connection with the fund—having charge of the funds?

Mr. TAGGART. No, I do not remember a Mr. Hall. He may have been on Mr. Peabody's staff, one of Mr. Peabody's assistants, but he was not directly connected with him that I remember. I think he was one of Mr. Peabody's assistants.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have no idea, approximately, of what the total contributions or receipts of that campaign were?

Mr. TAGGART. No, sir; I have not, and never did have.

he CHAIRMAN. How much of the time after the committee opened its headquarters in New York and until after election did you spend in New York?

Mr. TAGGART. Most of the time. I spent probably two or three weeks in Indiana, but most of the time in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. So that your relation was active participation, and not perfunctory?

Mr. TAGGART. Active all the time.

Senator OLIVER. Was there anybody connected with the committee, Mr. Taggart, who was conversant with the details regarding the collections?

Mr. TAGGART. I will state this, that Mr. Peabody, as I said, was the treasurer; he had charge of the finance committee.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Peabody was here last week, and he did not know as much about it as you do.

Mr. TAGGART. I was going to explain a little further, that Mr. Peabody resigned after the election. I do not know whether it was because he was overworked or because he was disgusted. Mr. August Belmont was appointed treasurer in his stead. Before the Denver convention in 1908, Mr. Belmont notified me of his resignation, that he was going to quit, and he sent me at that time the books, papers, canceled checks, and things that had been connected with the committee.

Senator PAYNTER. During the campaign of 1904?

Mr. TAGGART. The matter covering the campaign of 1904. But he sent them to me along about 1907 or just before the convention of 1908. After the reorganization of the national committee in 1908 such records as I had that Mr. Mack wanted, in regard to State organizations, etc., I turned over to the national committee; but all matters pertaining to the finances of the campaign and other matters that were dead were destroyed. That is the reason that I have not the data for you now. Everything I had was destroyed. I kept it for over four years, and I turned over to the new committee such stuff as they needed, but as they could not use the canceled checks and things of that kind they were destroyed.

Senator OLIVER. I suppose you were a contributor, were you not?

Mr. TAGGART. I expect I was.

Senator OLIVER. Have you any idea of how much you contributed?

Mr. TAGGART. Whatever contributions I made would have been made to the State committee of Indiana instead of to the national committee.

Senator OLIVER. It was used in the presidential election, however?

Mr. TAGGART. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Have you any recollection of how much that was?

Mr. TAGGART. No, sir; I do not know. It was not very large, however.

Senator OLIVER. Can you approximate it?

Mr. TAGGART. Well, I expect I would be safe in saying \$1,000.

Senator PAYNTER. Was a book kept in which the contributions that were made and the checks that were given out were entered?

Mr. TAGGART. I could not say, Senator.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not remember whether there was a book of that kind turned over to you or not?

Mr. TAGGART. I do not know.

Senator PAYNTER. If there was, it was destroyed, together with the other things?

Mr. TAGGART. Yes, sir; it was destroyed after the reorganization.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know who kept that record for Mr. Belmont? I do not suppose he did it personally.

Mr. TAGGART. Mr. Belmont probably had no record after that to keep; there was no use for it.

Senator PAYNTER. You mean that was after the campaign was over?

Mr. TAGGART. Yes; that was after the campaign was over.

Senator PAYNTER. That would not be of much interest, anyway.

Mr. TAGGART. Mr. Belmont had no work to do. He had the stuff there and shipped it to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Peabody stated in substance that his relation was purely perfunctory; that for certain political reasons it was thought it would be desirable, in the interest of harmony, to have his name appear as treasurer.

Mr. TAGGART. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And consequently his statement to the committee failed to bring out any information whatever.

Mr. TAGGART. But he was still in shape that any information he desired was always open to him, because he was really the head of that department and had access to everything. Whether he availed himself of it I do not know. He had access to it, because all the appointments that were made in that department were made under and by Mr. Peabody. That is my recollection.

Senator PAYNTER. Did the treasurer have gentlemen who solicited contributions for the committee?

Mr. TAGGART. I think they had 20 or 30 men soliciting over the different States.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know the names of those gentlemen?

Mr. TAGGART. I do not remember now. A man was picked up in this State and another man was picked up in another State, who saw the people in his own State or wrote them letters.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you any information from any members of the committee who were in position to have pretty accurate knowledge as to the amount of money that was actually contributed to the national committee?

Mr. TAGGART. I have not, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all.

There being no further questions, Mr. Taggart was thereupon excused.

The committee thereupon adjourned.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

THURSDAY, JULY 11, 1912.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 11 o'clock a. m. for the further consideration of Senate resolution 79.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Jones, Oliver, and Lea.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE B. CORTELYOU.

George B. Cortelyou, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Your present residence is New York City, is it not?

Mr. CORTELYOU. New York City; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cortelyou, what position did you hold with reference to the Republican national campaign of 1904?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I was chairman of the Republican national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. When were you appointed or elected?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Since being asked by the committee to appear, I have looked up a few of these dates. I was appointed, I think, on the 23d day of June, 1904, at Chicago, immediately after the convention.

The CHAIRMAN. And how long did you retain the position?

Mr. CORTELYOU. And I ought to say in addition that I took up the active duties of the chairmanship July 1 of that year, having at that time retired from the Department of Commerce and Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you remain as chairman?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I retired as chairman in the early part of January, 1907. These dates I have looked up and verified since being asked to come here. As a matter of fact, for the last two years of that period I had nothing to do as chairman. That was during the time I was in the Post Office Department.

Senator OLIVER. Your activities were confined to the campaign of 1904?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. During the campaign of 1904 where were the headquarters of the committee?

Mr. CORTELYOU. We had two headquarters—one at New York and one at Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were actively in charge of the campaign?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you spend most of your time as chairman?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I spent most of my time in New York City, but made a number of trips to Chicago for conferences and in connection with the work at that point.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of contributions to the campaign fund of that year made by parties?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I know very little, Mr. Chairman, and I knew very little at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know of a contribution being made by Mr. Harriman?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I never heard of a contribution by Mr. Harriman.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know of Mr. Harriman raising funds for the campaign?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I heard of the so-called Harriman fund only well after the close of the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. And you mean to say that during the campaign you did not know that Harriman was raising a fund?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir; I mean to say just that.

The CHAIRMAN. And you do not know that he contributed anything?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know of a contribution being made by H. McK. Twombly?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Either of his own or in behalf of anyone else?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know of a contribution being made by Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, either in his own behalf or in behalf of anyone else?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know of a contribution being made by James H. Hyde, either in his own behalf or in behalf of anyone else?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I did not know of the actual contribution being made, but I recall hearing that Mr. Hyde thought of making a personal contribution to the campaign. I recall very little about that, however.

Senator JONES. Do you know whether in fact he did make any contribution?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I do not know as a matter of fact. I have understood since that he did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know of any contribution having been made by anyone in behalf of the Equitable Life Assurance Co.?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Only as it appeared in the insurance investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. But I mean during the period of the campaign?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir; I never heard of an insurance contribution of any sort during the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. And you first heard of the Equitable Life Assurance contribution at the time of the investigation of the insurance companies?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contribution having been made directly by J. P. Morgan or anyone in his behalf?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know of any contribution being made by George W. Perkins or anyone in his behalf?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know of any contribution being made in behalf of the New York Life Insurance Co. by anyone?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I did not; I have already answered that.

The CHAIRMAN. I spoke of the Equitable.

Mr. CORTELYOU. But in answering that I had said that I did not know of any insurance company.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know of a contribution being made by H. H. Rogers, either in person or anyone in his behalf?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I did not during the campaign, but after the campaign I heard that Mr. Rogers had made some contribution; how much, I do not know.

Senator JONES. If he made a contribution he made it during the campaign?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir; I think so. I did not know of it at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. How long after did you hear of the Rogers contribution?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Oh, several months; I can not say just how long.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know of John D. Archbold, or anyone in his behalf, making a contribution?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir; I never heard of it—Mr. Archbold, or anyone in his behalf, making a contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know of a contribution by William Rockefeller, or anyone in his behalf?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there an association known as the Speyer banking interests in New York?

Mr. CORTELYOU. There is a banking firm by the name of Speyer & Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know of Speyer & Co., or anyone in their behalf, making a contribution during the campaign?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know of Cornelius N. Bliss, or anyone in his behalf, making a contribution?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir; I imagine Mr. Bliss would be likely to make a contribution under those circumstances, but those are matters I do not recall. Some of those gentlemen may have made contributions, but I was not in a position to recall anything in particular about it.

The CHAIRMAN. But I am asking you what you knew of it.

Mr. CORTELYOU. What I recall now?

The CHAIRMAN. Or now know of it.

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, outside of the insurance companies—the Harriman matter and the Rogers matter—did you subsequently learn that any of the parties whom I have mentioned made contributions directly or in behalf of others?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir. In the case of the insurance companies it was developed in the insurance investigation that certain of the companies had made contributions. I have never pretended to understand fully the matter of the so-called Harriman fund. Whatever happened in that case happened while I was in Chicago, at the very end of the campaign, closing up the affairs of the Chicago headquarters. The New York State committee, I think, had applied for more funds, and I had declined to give any more, feeling that what had already been allotted was ample, and, furthermore, I did not wish to give any funds to State committees at the very end of the campaign, which rule we absolutely lived up to. On my return from Chicago, and, I think, shortly after the end of the campaign, I heard some rumors as to a fund having been raised for use in New York State, but I was not only very busy closing up the campaign matters, but was very thoroughly tired out from the work of the campaign, and shortly after that came back to Washington and recall hearing nothing further of it after that time. As to the individuals you speak of—the several names there—I am merely, of course, giving my recollection. I do not recall the individual names of contributors.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, outside of those whose names I have referred to, do you know of contributions that were made in that campaign?

Mr. CORTELYOU. During the progress of the campaign I doubt whether at any time I knew of more than a dozen or fifteen contributions. We had a known list, I believe, at the end of the campaign of something over 4,000 contributors. It was estimated at that time, and I think with fair accuracy, that we must have had altogether some ten or twelve thousand different contributors, very many of them giving anonymously.

The work of collecting the funds for the campaign was carried on by a force of seven or eight hundred persons scattered throughout the country, with organized bureaus in cities like New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, and other points. The work as to these funds was organized under the direction of the treasurer of the committee. In the main the plan was to issue subscription books—little books—signed generally by the chairman of the committee or the treasurer, sometimes by the secretary, and in several instances also signed by local political officers, inviting contributions to the legitimate and necessary expenses of the campaign. I think in Chicago alone we distributed some 250 or 300 books of that character, and contributions, as they were received, were, in many instances, entered as such contributions are received by almost any other movement—a charitable undertaking, or a religious undertaking, or social undertaking. In many cases the entry was "Cash," or some other anonymous title, and I think, from what experience I had in that campaign, that in such cases the motive was an entirely worthy one. I know we received a number of anonymous contributions, and in other cases a considerable amount from individuals who did not care to have their names used, and, as I say, from entirely proper motives. Women gave in cases of that kind. We had the instance of contributors who had given to the party cause since the foundation of the party, people of means; writing to say that they had contributed from one cam-

paigned to the other, and did not want their names used. I made no particular note of it at the time, except a feeling that it was from an entirely worthy motive.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you recall any large contribution where you can recall a contributor?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir; I can not. I had practically nothing to do with the matter of collecting the contributions. They were collected in the way I have indicated, and that was a work that was entirely under the direction of the treasurer of the committee. I know that there is a popular idea that the chairman of the committee spends practically all of his time running around to collect funds, but that was not so; it was not so in our case. His duties were pretty varied and of a very important character, aside from the mere collection of money to run the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. I know; but would not the chairman keep somewhat in touch with the finances in order to know the extent of the campaign which he could outline and carry out?

Mr. CORTELYOU. That is true; but that is done, as it was done in my case, by simply knowing from day to day, or week to week, whether the finances of the committee would warrant any particular action. We had an executive committee at New York and one at Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the chairman of the executive committee at New York?

Mr. CORTELYOU. The chairman of the national committee was the chairman of the executive committee.

Senator LEA. At both places?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir; at both places.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, so far as you know, who had the more direct work of soliciting contributions and seeing that finances were provided?

Mr. CORTELYOU. That was done absolutely under the direction of the treasurer of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions that were made directly or indirectly in behalf of the Beef Trust?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I never heard of any.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the organization known as the Paper Trust?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir; I never heard of any.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the organization known as the Coal Trust?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I never heard of any.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the organization known as the Sugar Trust?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I do not recall any.

The CHAIRMAN. I think I have already asked you in regard to the Standard Oil?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the combination known as the Tobacco Trust?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I recall more particularly about that that there was not, because an incident arose in the campaign, where I took occasion to give instructions that no contributions of any sort should be received from any tobacco concern, whether combination or independent, or otherwise.

The CHAIRMAN. Who did you give that order to?

Mr. CORTELYOU. To the treasurer of the committee. Wherever a contribution was tendered, or some special feature invited my atten-

tion to one, attached to which there might be any matter of question, I would occasionally give instructions in cases of that kind in regard to that particular matter. The Treasury Department had, just at that date, issued some order regarding the brands or designations of, I think, some of the Cuban tobacco, and that in some way invited my attention to the matter, and a little later, I believe, some of the Tobacco people came in with a contribution, and it came to my notice, and I said, in view of the fact that the department, or the administration, has taken some action one way or the other on this case, I do not propose to have the committee in a position of accepting contributions of any sort from them.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contribution made by the combination known as the Steel Trust?

Senator LEA. Mr. Chairman, before you pass from that, will you allow me to ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Senator LEA. Who was it that brought the contribution from the Tobacco Trust?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I do not recall.

Senator LEA. Do you recall the amount of it?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir; I would not undertake to do that. I have not a definite idea.

Senator LEA. Could you approximate it? It seems to have made some impression on your mind.

Mr. CORTELYOU. Twenty or thirty thousand dollars.

Senator LEA. Was that in the form of a check?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I do not recall about that.

Senator LEA. But it was returned?

Mr. CORTELYOU. It was returned on the spot.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in regard to the Steel Trust.

Mr. CORTELYOU. I do not recall any contributions from those sources.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, this question includes not only a contribution made by the organization itself, but also a contribution made by anyone supposed to be in behalf of the organization.

Mr. CORTELYOU. I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. You have already answered as to insurance. Do you know of any contributions that were made by banks?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I never heard of a bank contributing.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions that were made by the railroad companies?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I do not recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know approximately the total amount of funds raised by the national committee?

Mr. CORTELYOU. The approximate fund raised by the committee was about \$1,900,000—a little below, if anything; \$1,900,000.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have no knowledge of any large contribution to that fund?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Say, of \$5,000 or upward?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir. I knew at the time that there were contributions from individuals—\$5,000, \$2,000, and in some few cases \$10,000. Several of those contributions from women were as high as \$10,000 apiece. I only recall that fact, but not the givers.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as you know, were those ladies the holders of the stakes that were interested in any of these combinations or trusts?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I have not the slightest idea about that. I know of one or two cases where I ascribed it to their long-time interest in the party—either some member of the family had held high public office and been identified with the party or some personal or sentimental reason.

Senator JONES. They were very wealthy people, were they?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir; in the two or three instances that I have in mind they were people of large means.

Senator JONES. Of what did their wealth consist—what interests?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I have not the slightest idea. I never looked into that.

Senator JONES. You know nothing about that?

Mr. CORTELYOU. In the majority of cases they were elderly people.

Senator LEA. Were these contributions for themselves or were they for somebody else?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I think absolutely for themselves. I recall one case where, in Mr. McKinley's second campaign, some contribution was made by some person, and for the same reason, with almost the identical sort of letter, and I never had any information that led me to believe that it related to any other than what I have stated, as to some sentiment or personal feeling to the party.

The CHAIRMAN. Was not the question of financing the campaign, with reference to the sources from which the funds could be obtained, ever discussed in your presence?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Oh, yes, sir; at the very beginning, in talking the matter over with my executive committee, I laid down certain rules which I wanted followed in the conduct of the campaign, and that bore more particularly on the spirit in which the contributions were to be received; that is to say, no contribution was to be received from any source with a pledge or promise or understanding of any sort attached to it, and in instances through the campaign, as I have already stated, where anything of that sort seemed to be implied, I directed the return of the money.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any other instance but the Tobacco Trust?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I recall several other cases. In one instance an individual of considerable means came in and proffered a contribution of an amount—\$15,000 or \$20,000—and as he was not connected with any business undertaking that would seem to indicate any impropriety in it we were very glad to receive it, but upon his reaching the point of turning it over he happened to say that he hoped that later on he might be considered favorably for some diplomatic post and that he would have the chairman's good will in seeking that, and I told him that under the circumstances we could not accept the contribution. I did not want him to misunderstand me, but that he probably had been misinformed as to the way such things were done.

The CHAIRMAN. That had no reference to the business or the administration?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I do not think he was actively connected with the business in any way. I think he was a man——

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any other instance where a contribution was rejected?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I recall several other instances, not in any specific way, but I know it was done in a number of cases merely as the day's work. If my attention was called to it and I saw any impropriety, I would simply say, "We can not take the contribution from that source."

The CHAIRMAN. Did not those matters make sufficient impression so that you can now recall the individual or the interest that was back of it?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir. Of course the campaign was a matter of day and night work for weeks and months, and with about eight years elapsing I would not pretend to do that, and a good many things having happened since then in various departments and in an active business life.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom did the executive committee in New York consist of besides yourself as chairman?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Mr. Bliss—I think I can give them from memory—Mr. Cornelius N. Bliss, Charles F. Brooker, of Connecticut——

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know his post office?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Mr. Brooker's?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CORTELYOU. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it does not matter.

Senator LEA. He is a member of the national committee now.

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir. He can be reached at New York City or Ansonia, Conn. I do not recall his particular address. Franklin Murphy, of New Jersey, former governor; former Senator Scott, of West Virginia; William L. Ward, of New York. In Chicago the executive committee consisted of, I think, David W. Mulvane, of Kansas; Mr. Robert B. Schneider, of Nebraska; George A. Knight, of California; Harry S. New, of Indiana; and James A. Tawney, of Minnesota. It is just possible that one or two of those gentlemen may not have been on the regular executive committees, but I think they were. That is as far as I can recall them—as far as the records show.

The CHAIRMAN. The question I asked you some time ago with reference to the consultations was as to the question of the source. My question, perhaps, was not explicit enough. You answered it as to the last. Was the question of the source of the funds discussed in your presence, and with you, with reference to the individuals or concerns that might be solicited to contribute to the fund?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir; it was not. In the appointment of the committees in the several cities having to do with the collection of the funds we were very careful to pick out representative, high-class business men, and it did not occur to me, and I do not think that it did to any of the committee, that we would go beyond the selection of men of that character as insuring a decent and straightforward and honest conduct of that part of the work. But no specific instructions were given them as to the source or the individual from whom they should solicit contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as you know, whom would you say had the more active management of the work of raising funds in New York?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I should say that the treasurer himself had a great deal to do with that, and we had the same sort of organization as in Chicago. We had a number of individuals attending to different branches of the business in the city—dry goods and shoes and metals and various lines of trade where it was possible to receive contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you understand that the campaign for funds was arranged with reference to different men taking up different lines of business?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I think that Mr. Bliss arranged that in that way in New York as merely one way of organizing a large work. For instance, the men on the committee were representative in certain lines of business, and each individual would naturally confine his attention to lines where he had the greatest number of acquaintances or would be more likely to be well received.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you participate in the formation of these executive committees in Chicago and New York?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I did not. Do you mean those?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir; I appointed those gentlemen I have named myself. The chairman of the national committee, the treasurer, the secretary, and the sergeant at arms were appointed by the committee. All the other officials, including the executive committee, are appointed by the chairman of the committee, and were appointed in that case.

The CHAIRMAN. In arranging in this campaign for funds, who made those selections?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Those were done by the treasurer almost entirely.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you participate in that?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Only in an informal and most indirect way. I may have known or suggested an individual occasionally in some locality as a good man to put on the committee from time to time, but that was made up almost entirely by the treasurer. He had many years of experience of that sort, and I left those details entirely to him.

The CHAIRMAN. Then those members of the executive committee were not necessarily the same committee which were organized to get campaign funds?

Mr. CORTELYOU. They had relatively little more to do with it than I had. Each member of this committee of 8 or 10 had a definite, large division of the campaign work under his immediate charge. As, for instance, Mr. Tawney, in Chicago, had charge, I think, of the speakers. Senator Scott, in New York, had charge of the speakers' bureau, and other members would take other large divisions of the work.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in the New York executive committee, headed by Mr. Bliss, as you have given it to the committee here—which member of that committee had the more direct charge of securing funds?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Mr. Bliss, as treasurer—not as member of that committee but as treasurer of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. And in Chicago, do you know who had that work more exclusively?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No; I do not know of anyone having it exclusively. I do not recall particularly about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you have stated that you know of no large contributions—and I suggest \$5,000 as a definite figure—having been made which you recall, beyond what you have stated?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Either directly or indirectly?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Cortelyou, you state the amount contributed during this campaign as something below \$1,900,000?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Now, Senator Culberson, who introduced the resolution under which this committee is sitting, in an address delivered in the Senate on the 23d of last January, cited a statement emanating from the New York Times, and adopted, I believe, by the New York World, which stated that in the campaign of 1904 the protected interests contributed to the national campaign \$4,000,000, and the financial leaders \$7,000,000, making a total of \$11,000,000. I just want to ask you how much truth there is in that statement?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Not a word of truth, so far as any contributions were made to the Republican national committee, and I do not believe there is a word of truth in it so far as contributions were ever made through any other source.

Senator LEA. Who expended this campaign fund of \$1,900,000, Mr. Cortelyou?

Mr. CORTELYOU. This was expended through the various agencies of the committee headquarters at New York and Chicago, as a result of the meetings of the executive committee, or upon the chairman's order, or other authorized officers.

Senator LEA. Could any funds be paid out without the authorization of the chairman—any of the funds disbursed?

Mr. CORTELYOU. The general authorization of the chairman was delegated to the treasurer. Oh, yes, sir; the treasurer paid out funds without direct and immediate authority of the chairman.

Senator LEA. It would be merely to cover general items that you had approved of?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir.

Senator LEA. So in the end it would have to be by your direct authorization?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir.

Senator LEA. What banks were depositories for the treasurer?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I do not recall. I do not know that I ever knew.

Senator LEA. Who would have that information now?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I have not the slightest idea.

Senator LEA. Were any books and records kept during that campaign?

Mr. CORTELYOU. The treasurer kept the ordinary books of accounts; the two headquarters kept whatever necessary books were required. They had a very careful business system, with a system of audits and checks, and we rather prided ourselves on conducting an ordinarily good business office at each point.

Senator LEA. Where are the evidences of that business system at this time?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Mr. Bliss, the treasurer, died in the fall of last year—October, I think. He retired as treasurer of the committee, I think, shortly before the last national campaign—the campaign of 1908. He had been treasurer of the national committee for a number of years during a number of campaigns. At the time I retired from the chairmanship, in 1907, he intended to retire as treasurer, but for one reason or another did not do so, and did not finally retire until about the time I have already indicated—I think shortly before the last campaign. At that time he collected what documents and data and records that had accumulated during a long series of years, and, as he informed me, destroyed them, I believe.

Senator LEA. All the records, vouchers, books, etc., of the campaign of 1904 have been destroyed, according to your best information and belief?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir; I think so.

Senator LEA. Were reports made to you from time to time as to the amount of money collected and the amount of money that would be at your disposal as chairman of the committee?

Mr. CORTELYOU. In a general way, as to the totals on hand; what had been received during a week or any given period.

Senator LEA. Was it the practice during your management for the national committee to supply the State committees with funds or would they collect separately their own money?

Mr. CORTELYOU. We supplied the State committee with funds in States where the fight was the hottest.

Senator LEA. What amount did you give to the New York State committee?

Mr. CORTELYOU. We supplied the State committee with funds in States where the fight was the hottest.

Senator LEA. What amount did you give to the New York State committee?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I do not recall that. I recall, only by having looked it up since I was asked to come here, general amounts for the larger expenditures of the campaign. I can give you approximately the total amount sent to the various State committees throughout the country.

Senator LEA. I would be very glad if you would; if you have that statement, file it.

Mr. CORTELYOU. I will be very glad to do that, because some of this testimony may have a tendency to clear up matters that have been misunderstood up to this time.

The CHAIRMAN. You may file that with the committee.

Mr. CORTELYOU. I can give you approximately now just three or four figures, which I will be glad to embody right in this testimony. We sent to several State committees approximately \$700,000—from \$650,000 to \$700,000. In States like New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Illinois, West Virginia, Indiana, and other points where there was an active campaign—where a great deal of money had to be spent for literature and speakers and meetings and various other things to go to make up a campaign—between \$650,000 and \$700,000 for that purpose. For literary work, advertising—of which we did a great deal—and everything of that nature, something over \$500,000.

For the speakers' bureau, perhaps \$175,000. For lithographs and work of that sort, \$100,000 or more. For the expenses of the two headquarters—New York and Chicago—approximately \$150,000, and the balance of the entire fund for miscellaneous purposes that I would not undertake to enumerate. I think those general divisions will indicate where the bulk of the money went.

Senator LEA. Would the State committees collect moneys for their own use and for the national campaign in addition to that amount?

Mr. CORTELYOU. They did, but to what extent I do not know. I felt toward the end of the campaign that the States were drawing too largely on the national committee, and had been encouraged to do so in the past, and so in several instances I refused to give, and in cases where there were large cities on the borders of those States, indicating that instead of our contributing to them they ought to contribute to us.

Senator LEA. Were all the funds contributed and collected deposited in some bank and checked out?

Mr. CORTELYOU. They were deposited in different banks.

Senator LEA. Deposited in the banks and checked out?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir; and checked out.

Senator LEA. Could you ascertain the names of those banks and give them to the committee?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I do not know whether I can or not. I shall be very glad to favor the committee in any way possible.

Senator LEA. There may be some one who was connected with Mr. Bliss or the New York committee who would have that information, and it would be more accessible to you perhaps than to the committee.

Mr. CORTELYOU. I shall be glad to see what I can do about that.

Senator LEA. In the questions that were asked you by the chairman relative to the contributions by various so-called trusts—questions that have been asked very often before—your answer includes, when you say there were no moneys contributed by any of these organizations, also any of the directors and officers of those institutions, does it?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I do not want to be understood as saying that no money was contributed in any such cases. I simply want to be understood as saying that I do not recall. No line was drawn as against contributions by corporations. It was regarded then as entirely legitimate to receive the contributions of corporations, unless in such instances as I have cited something appeared to make it appear improper. That was not a personal preference on my part, because my personal preferences on taking charge of that campaign were more of a theoretical than a practical nature. In other words, I was not a seeker for the place, and I had certain pretty radical views as to how a campaign should be conducted. But it was impossible for me, selected in the hurried way in which I was selected, and taken out of a department where I wanted to continue in the work of its organization, to take up new work of which I had no previous warning that I was to take up and no opportunity for any sort of education of the people through a series of months as to the different methods of raising funds for a campaign. I would have been very glad at that time to have had any personal credit that might have attached to a scheme of publicity where it would relieve the campaign management of some of the criticism that had been passed

upon it, and that is passed upon any campaign management, and which is inseparable from that kind of work, but I would have been a very poor commander of the forces of that campaign if I had undertaken something that I was morally certain would not have yielded a cent, relatively, to conduct a national campaign.

Senator LEA. I will ask this question more specifically. Were any contributions made by Armour, Swift, or Morris, the gentlemen connected with the so-called Beef Trust?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I never heard of any.

Senator LEA. Were any made by the National Paper Co., or any of its associate paper companies?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I never heard of it.

Senator LEA. Were any made by Mr. Baer and his associates in the anthracite coal works?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I never heard of any.

Senator LEA. Were any made by the Havemeyers?

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Baer, I believe, belongs to the other party. Perhaps you had better ask Mr. Taggart about that.

Mr. CORTELYOU. Contributions may have been made by individuals of those concerns to any of the many committees they had organized, or may have been made to New York or Chicago. I will not undertake to say that they were not made, but I do not recall any contributions of that character, and my attention was never particularly called to them.

Senator LEA. Did Mr. Rockefeller or Mr. Rogers contribute, representing the oil interests?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I do not recall anything of the kind.

Senator LEA. Mr. Archbold?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir; never. I do not recall Mr. Archbold contributing a cent.

Senator LEA. You know Mr. Archbold?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I never met Mr. Archbold until after he had left here and gone to New York, unless I may have met him among the thousands of others who came during a long series of years to Washington.

Senator LEA. Do you mean to say positively that he did not contribute or that you have no recollection?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I have no recollection. I never heard that he did.

Senator LEA. Mr. Ryan?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I never heard of a contribution from Mr. Ryan.

Senator LEA. Judge Gary or Mr. Carnegie or Mr. Schwab?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Mr. Carnegie contributed.

Senator LEA. What was the amount of his contribution?

Mr. CORTELYOU. His first contribution was, I think, \$10,000.

Senator LEA. What was the second?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I say first. I think that was the only contribution he made.

Senator LEA. Mr. Corey or Mr. Gary did not contribute?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir.

Senator LEA. How do you happen to recall Mr. Carnegie's contribution?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Mr. Carnegie was the only individual with whom I had personally communicated for a contribution, and at about that time I think he wrote me that we were conducting the campaign on

a high plane and would have difficulty in securing funds, and as he had retired from active business and I was interested in the success of the Republican ticket I told him that we would be glad to receive contributions from such sources because they implied no sort of embarrassment or obligation, and I believe almost simultaneously with that he replied that he had contributed some amount, as I recall it, that amount. That was the only case in which I personally solicited a contribution from any individual, concern, or business house during the campaign.

Senator LEA. That was the solicitation of the one from Mr. Carnegie?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir.

Senator LEA. I believe you have already discussed the Insurance Trust contributions?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir.

Senator LEA. And stated that the investigation showed that the New York Life, Mutual, and Equitable all contributed?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir.

Senator LEA. Was that in the name of those companies or the names of these presidents—Hyde, McCall, etc.?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I do not recall how they were made.

Senator LEA. How were those contributions kept on your books?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I do not recall. I never saw them.

Senator LEA. Were those contributions reported to you?

Mr. CORTELYOU. To me?

Senator LEA. When they were made?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir.

Senator LEA. What was the amount of those contributions?

Mr. CORTELYOU. As they were shown in the insurance investigation, some \$40,000 to \$50,000 each. I do not recall the amount.

Senator LEA. Did you have any trouble in financing that campaign?

Mr. CORTELYOU. There was a period toward the middle of the campaign when funds were a little slow in coming in, but I can not say that we had any material trouble.

Senator LEA. Were your plans handicapped by the fear that you would not have sufficient funds to carry it on?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir; I can not say that they were.

Senator LEA. Were those insurance contributions the largest that were made?

Mr. CORTELYOU. To the fund?

Senator LEA. Yes.

Mr. CORTELYOU. I do not know of any larger contributions.

Senator LEA. Would not your treasurer and your executive committee have naturally reported such large contributions as those to you, knowing that you were at least apprehensive during the middle of the campaign?

Mr. CORTELYOU. He might have done so; but in the case of the insurance companies, I do not recall his saying anything about them. In fact, I am very clear that I know nothing about those particular contributions.

Senator LEA. Were you advised from day to day and week to week of the amount of funds on hand or available?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I was at intervals. At intervals of a week or 10 days, when any particular expenditure came up, I would simply ask what the state of the funds was.

Senator LEA. Did not this fund show a very large increase after these three insurance contributions and arouse your curiosity?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir; because we were receiving funds from all over the country.

Senator LEA. How about the New York banks and their heads—Stillman, Hepburn, and Vanderlip?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I never heard of a New York bank contributing to the national campaign.

Senator LEA. Is the same true of the railroads—Cassatt, Gray, Spencer, Hill, and McCrea?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I have already answered that; I do not recall.

Senator LEA. You do not recall any contributions by any of those individuals?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir.

Senator LEA. And you are positive that there was not collected and disbursed by the national committee more than \$1,900,000?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir.

Senator LEA. And you have no idea of the amount collected by the State committees and disbursed on behalf of the national committee in various States?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir; I think they were in many cases small. At the end of the campaign I turned over, or left in the treasury, something in the neighborhood of \$95,000—between \$95,000 and \$100,000—of this fund.

With the permission of the committee, I would like to insert in the record one or two papers, because they will clear up some of the testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be done.

The papers referred to appear at the conclusion of Mr. Cortelyou's testimony.

Senator JONES. Do you know anybody connected with the treasurer's force who would know upon what bank these checks were drawn during the campaign?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I do not recall at this time.

Senator JONES. Did you have an assistant treasurer?

Mr. CORTELYOU. We had an assistant treasurer. The assistant treasurer was Mr. Charles H. Duell, of New York.

Senator JONES. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. CORTELYOU. He is in New York, I think.

Senator JONES. He could be found?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. He would be very likely to know upon whom those checks were drawn?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. Do you remember any other official connected with the treasurer's duties?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir; I do not. The force was a very small one.

Senator JONES. Did you ever talk with anybody in regard to this alleged Harriman contribution who claimed to know anything about it.

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir.

Senator JONES. So you know nothing about it except what you have seen in the papers?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir; I know nothing about it except what I have seen in the papers. My only personal impression about it is that a good deal of it grew out of a misunderstanding.

Senator JONES. What documents and memoranda have you relating to this campaign?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I have none.

Senator JONES. You have none at all?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir; none.

Senator JONES. I understood you to refer a while ago to making up a memorandum from something that you had.

Mr. CORTELYOU. Well, back in 1905, in the very end of that year, there were several newspaper articles published, the information for which had been secured after considerable careful investigation. The writers of the articles came to me, and they also saw Mr. Bliss, with the result that while they got no definite figures they got from me what I could give from memory, and they got from Mr. Bliss certain general figures that I knew were correct, and I have used that in refreshing my memory of what happened in order to testify with some explicitness here in the committee. Immediately after the publication of those articles I thought that it might be well to make something in the nature of a public statement, and so I began the dictation of a statement, but after dictating a couple of pages of it concluded that it was not just the time to make such a statement, and so held it, and I brought that with me, as far as it was dictated as of that date, and I would be glad to have that inserted as bearing on the investigation of the committee.

Senator JONES. As I understand, you have then no papers or memoranda, or anything of that kind that was connected with the campaign and the conduct of it, or books, or anything of that sort?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I have no books and nothing beyond such data as I have drawn upon here. If I thought any of it would be of any use to the committee I would turn it over. It has nothing to do with contributions, but occasionally a letter giving directions as to the assignment of a speaker, or the plotting out of some line of policy, but in no way referring to contributions.

Senator JONES. You have no other information, and no knowledge, that you think you could give to the committee that would be of assistance in this investigation other than you have already given, and with this memorandum?

Mr. CORTELYOU. I would like that to be inserted, and it may possibly suggest some questions to you, and in that or on any other line I would be very glad to cooperate with the committee.

Senator JONES. But you have nothing in mind now that you could suggest that would help us?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir; I have not.

Senator JONES. Have you any individual in mind that you could suggest who could give us any information other than this that you have already indicated?

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. You had nothing to do with the campaign of 1908, had you?

Mr. CORTELYOU. Nothing at all.

The CHAIRMAN. I supposed so.

Mr. CORTELYOU. No, sir; I retired in 1907.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the papers to which you have referred and which you desire inserted in the record?

Mr. CORTELYOU. This is merely to verify my statement of the time I retired. That is in the record.

Now, this statement is the one I dictated some time in the month of December, 1905, and if you will glance over it I would like to read that into the record. It is very brief.

The CHAIRMAN. You may do so.

Mr. CORTELYOU. It is as follows:

The fund collected by the Republican national committee in the campaign of 1904 was approximately \$1,900,000; amount disbursed was approximately \$1,800,000; for the following general purposes—

And there I would like to repeat the general statement I made as to the distribution to the States of \$650,000 or \$700,000 and so much to the other five or six items, because that was my idea in preparing this for the press.

I was elected chairman in Chicago on June 23, 1904, resigned my position in the Cabinet July 1, and as soon thereafter as practicable began the organization of the committee. I did not seek the chairmanship, but when it was tendered me took the matter under advisement and finally concluded that I should subordinate my personal preferences to the interests of the President and the party.

The work of a national campaign is crowded into less than two months. The first few weeks after the adjournment of the national convention is taken up with preliminary organization, which must necessarily be hastily arranged, with few precedents to guide the chairman and always new conditions to be met. The chairman, the treasurer, the secretary, and the sergeant at arms are elected by the national committee. The chairman appoints the other officers, who select the necessary assistants, clerks, and messengers. In the campaign of 1904 two headquarters were established, one at New York and one at Chicago. Both were organized in the short time at our disposal on a strictly business basis. Appointments were made solely on the basis of efficiency. The headquarters force at both New York and Chicago were but one-half as large as those of the two previous campaigns. The organizations of the two headquarters embraced the usual facilities for transacting business in a well ordered office, with the necessary checks and safeguards to insure safety and accuracy.

The committees through which contributions were received consisted of nearly 700 members, located in various sections of the country. The methods of organizing these committees differed slightly in different sections, but in the main they were the same. Their members were furnished with small subscription books, in which request was made for contributions for the necessary and legitimate expenses of the campaign, signed by the chairman, treasurer, and in some instances by officials of local organizations. In the city of Chicago alone some 250 or 300 of these books were used. In New York and other cities the same plan was followed. As funds were received they were from time to time transmitted to the treasurer or assistant treasurer at the respective headquarters.

In the receipt of contributions we had the same experience as that which comes to the recipients of any fund, whether it be for political, religious, charitable, or other purposes; some gave in their own names, others preferred not too be known. In Mr. Jerome's campaign in New York, out of some \$6,000 received through the medium of two of the local newspapers in sympathy with his views nearly \$5,000 was from unknown sources, as disclosed by the daily statement of amounts contributed. This frequently happens in the case of

funds for all these various purposes, and there is no reason to suppose that the anonymous character of a contribution is not from an entirely worthy motive. In the hurry and stress of a political campaign there are many more such contributions than the public have yet realized. The desire of the national committee in 1904 was to collect only such amount as would be necessary for strictly legitimate expenditures. It was distinctly understood that such contributions must be wholly voluntary; that not the slightest obligation, direct or implied, would attach to the receipt of any contribution; and that the committee would not knowingly spend a dollar for a corrupt or improper purpose. The fund received was about one-half that in the previous national campaign. At the conclusion of the campaign there was a balance of about \$95,000, which was reduced somewhat in the following month by the payment of several bills then presented and approved.

The distribution of literature was stopped about one month before the close of the campaign, both to save unnecessary expense and to insure its proper dissemination. The distribution of funds to chairmen of State committees, various organizations, clubs, etc., was stopped at about the same time, so that there might be no warrant for the criticism that any considerable amount of money was being used in the last days of the campaign. Not more than \$15,000 or \$20,000 was distributed through these channels during the last two weeks of the campaign, and then only to make up deficiencies in local funds.

The campaign was planned upon an absolutely clean basis both as to means and methods. The speakers sent out by the committee dealt not in abuse of political opponents but with the principles of the party and the questions at issue. Useless and unnecessary literature was barred and its place taken by what we regarded as strong documents, widely distributed.

And at that point I ceased the preparation of that statement.

The other statement is the one issued upon the eve of the election, which states more strongly the attitude of the campaign management toward the question of contributions. This is dated New York, N. Y., November 5, 1904, and is as follows:

NEW YORK, N. Y., November 5, 1904.

To all supporters of Roosevelt and Fairbanks:

The presidential campaign has reached its final stage, and the reports to the Republican national committee from all parts of the country seem to be as complete as it is possible for anteelection reports to be. Upon these and upon all the information which the committee has been able to obtain, I am satisfied that the Republican candidates for President and Vice President will carry every Northern State, with the possible exceptions of Maryland and Nevada, and will have not less than 314 of the 476 votes in the Electoral College.

The campaign has been conducted with a much smaller fund than any presidential campaign for the past 12 years. The fund this year, although made up of contributions from more than 4,000 persons, has been about one-half as large as the Republican fund when President McKinley was elected in 1896 and about one-half as large as the Democratic fund when President Cleveland was elected in 1892. Every part of this fund has come from voluntary contributions made without demand, importunity, or pressure, and without any agreement, pledge, promise, assurance, or understanding, express or implied, regarding the policy or the action of the administration or looking to any benefit or advantage to any contributor, except the benefit which will come to all business and to all our people from the continuance of Republican policies and Republican administration.

To the great body of public-spirited citizens who from their means and by their personal efforts have aided in the arduous labors of the campaign, I return the heartfelt thanks of the national committee of 1904.

GEO. B. CORTELYOU, *Chairman*.

That paper I signed as chairman.

There are one or two other matters that I would like to refer to briefly with the permission of the chairman and the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. CORTELYOU. While it may not relate strictly to the question of contributions, it has an indirect bearing upon that subject. It is

the charge frequently made that the appointment of the chairman of that campaign was made with a view to in some way influencing contributions to its fund. In other words, that the chairman, having been Secretary of Commerce and Labor, with a general oversight over the affairs of the Bureau of Corporations, and having, as it has been alleged, known what the allegation referred to as the secrets of corporations, was thereby enabled by his personal influence and importunity, and by his influence and importunity exerted through others as his agents, to secure an extravagantly large campaign fund.

As a matter of fact, the Secretary of Commerce and Labor knew nothing more about the internal workings of corporations than could be obtained by any other citizen by reading the current literature of the day. At the time I retired as Secretary of Commerce and Labor the Bureau of Corporations had undertaken but one investigation, and that of a minor character, which involved a response to some resolution of either the Senate or House regarding some phase of the so-called Beef Trust. Beyond that the work had been entirely one of organization. I knew absolutely nothing regarding corporations that any other citizen might not have known at the time, and, as I have testified to-day, had nothing whatever to do with the collection of the funds or with its disbursement, only in the general direction of the campaign, as I have shown, for purely legitimate and necessary expenses. There was never the slightest ground for the allegation of improper use of official position. Personally I have always believed that was merely one of the many campaign methods adopted during that campaign by those who were our opponents.

The answer of the then President at that time, so far as my relation to it was concerned, was absolutely true.

I do not know that I can characterize that matter in any stronger terms, and I do not know that it is necessary for me to do more than refer to the plain record that exists in the Department of Commerce and Labor and that exists in my sworn testimony here to-day.

Now, in conclusion, just one further word: The treasurer of the national committee during the time I was at the head of the committee was Mr. Cornelius N. Bliss. He had been treasurer of the national committee for several terms. He was a man of the highest social and business standing. He had been a member of the Cabinet, in the position of Secretary of the Interior—a man who had the absolute confidence and respect of all of his associates. I do not believe for one minute that Mr. Bliss would have sanctioned at any time dealings of a character that could not have seen the light of day if it were proper and necessary that they should.

Naturally, with a man of that character in the position of treasurer and in the hurried activities of a great national campaign, the proper organization indicated that he be allowed to do the work of his department, and that the heads of the other great departments, chosen for similar reasons, should be left to do and have responsibility for and supervision over those great departments. The chairman himself has the large question of policy—general policy; the allotments of the more important speakers. The very great and engrossing work of mapping out the organization throughout the

country, such an organization as we conducted, which reached into every village and hamlet, with a multitude of details, would leave him no time to take up the details, and I refer more particularly to the general divisions of the work as organized under these more important heads.

But as far as Mr. Bliss is concerned, or the members of my executive committee, or any other of the higher officials, I want it to be distinctly understood that, as far as that campaign was concerned, I accept, gladly, full and complete responsibility.

There being no further questions, Mr. Cortelyou was thereupon excused, and the committee took a recess on call of the chairman.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

TUESDAY, JULY 16, 1912.

**SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
*Washington, D. C.***

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. for the further consideration of Senate resolution 79, directing the Committee on Privileges and Elections, or any subcommittee thereof, to report the subscriptions paid, etc., in the elections of Representatives in Congress during the elections of 1904 and 1908.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Jones, and Paynter.

TESTIMONY OF AUGUST BELMONT.

August Belmont, first having been duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Please state your name in full, and your address and occupation.

Mr. BELMONT. August Belmont; New York; banker.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Belmont, were you in any manner connected officially with the Democratic national committee in the national campaign of 1904?

Mr. BELMONT. No; not with the committee. I was not a member of the committee. I was a member of the executive committee of the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. At what time did your membership of the executive committee begin, approximately?

Mr. BELMONT. Approximately in August, I think it was, just before the campaign began.

The CHAIRMAN. And how long did it continue?

Mr. BELMONT. Until the end of the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the other members of the executive committee?

Mr. BELMONT. I do not recall. I remember Gov. Sheehan was, and, I think, Mr. Nichol—I think he was on the committee—and the chairman of the national committee, Mr. Taggart. I do not recall which ones were exactly in official positions, but the records will show that.

The CHAIRMAN. Your headquarters were at New York?

Mr. BELMONT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who acted as treasurer of the campaign committee during that campaign?

Mr. BELMONT. George Foster Peabody.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he remain treasurer throughout the campaign?

Mr. BELMONT. I believe so.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he the active or nominal treasurer?

Mr. BELMONT. I could not tell you. I had very little to do with the treasurership. I do not know how much of the actual work he did. I could not tell you that.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you at any time acting treasurer of the committee?

Mr. BELMONT. Not during the campaign. In 1906 they asked me to take the balance practically from the treasurer, that the treasurer had resigned, which I did very unwillingly. The balance was a small one.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was treasurer when this resignation took place?

Mr. BELMONT. I do not know; I can not find any record. It was the most nominal thing, and was only at the request of Mr. Taggart to keep the balance, such as it was; and on March 22, 1906, I received from George Foster Peabody a check for \$447.20. On September 11, 1906, I disbursed \$28. I do not know what that was for—I imagine for clerical work or postage—but whatever it was I do not know; it has been too long ago. It was just simply an entry, leaving a balance of \$419.20. That balance lay in my hands until January 18, 1908, when I paid this balance to W. H. O'Brien, treasurer. In other words, I merely agreed to hold that until a treasurer was appointed, and insisted upon being relieved.

The CHAIRMAN. During the campaign of 1904 do you know of any contributions that were made?

Mr. BELMONT. No; I can not recall that. I have tried to, but it has been too long ago. I could not be exact enough to be willing to trust to my memory.

The CHAIRMAN. Without reference to trying to fix the amounts, do you recall any individuals or corporations which made contributions?

Mr. BELMONT. No contributions that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any individual making a contribution in behalf of any corporation?

Mr. BELMONT. Yes, sir; I do recall one.

The CHAIRMAN. What one was that?

Mr. BELMONT. That was one—I do not know whether it was made in behalf of a corporation—made by Henry Havemeyer. That was returned. It was a contribution of \$10,000, and was secured—I would not be too sure who secured it, and I would rather not say. My memory is not exact enough, but it came in and a letter was written and that contribution was returned.

The CHAIRMAN. Who had the active and direct receipt of these contributions during the campaign?

Mr. BELMONT. I imagine the treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not read Mr. Peabody's testimony, have you?

Mr. BELMONT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you come to know of this contribution of Mr. Havemeyer's?

Mr. BELMONT. Well, I heard of it in the office. I was at headquarters during the entire campaign and I remember a discussion in Mr. Taggart's room that that contribution was not desirable, and it was returned.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any other contributions of any amount, say, \$5,000 or upward?

Mr. BELMONT. No; I would not dare to state the amounts at all, because——

The CHAIRMAN. I am not speaking of amounts, but, first, whether you recall during this campaign of individuals making contributions aside from Havemeyer.

Mr. BELMONT. Yes, sir; I recall, for instance, Morton F. Plant. I recall his making a contribution at my solicitation, and I think it was \$2,500; but I am not sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did Mr. Plant reside at that time?

Mr. BELMONT. In New York.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his business?

Mr. BELMONT. It was the Plant system of railroads, but I believe he had retired. As far as that is concerned——

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any other?

Mr. BELMONT. No; I do not, because I had not very much to do with collecting.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you solicit, among your friends and acquaintances, contributions?

Mr. BELMONT. Some; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any that you solicited of?

Mr. BELMONT. Well, yes, sir; I solicited funds from Mr. Freedman, but such contributions as he made he probably made direct.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there not conferences where the question of raising funds for the campaign were discussed when you were present?

Mr. BELMONT. Yes, sir; there were. There was a conference at the outset, and a call for public contributions was made as a result of it, but I do not recall any concerted action afterwards. It was like all those things—each one does what he can.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea of the total amount that was raised by your committee in that campaign?

Mr. BELMONT. No; I never got the exact sum, and I would be——

The CHAIRMAN. Well, approximately.

Mr. BELMONT. I could not guess.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any sum that you care to state as an approximation?

Mr. BELMONT. I might be several hundred thousand dollars out of the way. I did not pay attention to that. It must have been quite a large sum, but I can not recall it.

The CHAIRMAN. It was in that campaign that Judge Parker ran, was it?

Mr. BELMONT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any consultation with the judge during that campaign as to funds?

Mr. BELMONT. Such conferences or talks as I ever had with him did not refer to campaign contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. They did not refer to campaign contributions?

Mr. BELMONT. No, sir; I never discussed such matters with him at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever discuss with him the contributions that were being made to the Republican campaign?

Mr. BELMONT. Yes, sir. His attitude on that subject was definite and one of the reasons why we were very careful in our position with regard to anything we thought would come from corporate sources.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever discuss with him with reference to the specific sources of the campaign funds for the Republican committee during that campaign?

Mr. BELMONT. No, sir; only in a general way.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are unable now to recall any contributions except those you have mentioned?

Mr. BELMONT. Yes, sir; accurately. I do not like——

The CHAIRMAN. I am not speaking with reference to accuracy of the amount. I am speaking of individuals.

Mr. BELMONT. Well, I could not. That seems to be the only one where I have a distinct recollection of the amount, and that I would not be too sure of.

The CHAIRMAN. But independently of the amount, do you recall a case of individuals making contributions?

Mr. BELMONT. I know of my intimate friends, like Mr. Nicoll and Mr. Auerbach and Mr. Freedman, and those whom I was in active touch with, who were Democrats. Almost everybody contributed.

The CHAIRMAN. What business was Mr. Freedman in?

Mr. BELMONT. He is not in active business. He is interested in the Interborough Co., and was one of the directors at the time. He used to be a very close friend of Mr. Croker and used to be active in local politics, but was not then.

The CHAIRMAN. What business was Mr. Nicoll in?

Mr. BELMONT. Lawyer.

Senator PAYNTER. What is Mr. Nicoll's given name?

Mr. BELMONT. De Lancey. He was on the committee; he was at headquarters. I attempted to make some collections, but I did not find any encouragement at New York. As to the talk of Wall Street, there were very little contributions from what you call Wall Street.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who had the more active work of soliciting and securing contributions during that campaign for the committee?

Mr. BELMONT. No, sir; I could not tell you. It was something that everybody takes a hand in, you know. I do not know how much the treasurer did himself. The treasurer is supposed to do considerable of that, but everybody helps.

The CHAIRMAN. Would there not naturally be a division of work there, so that some men would have some particular regard for one line of work and others for others?

Mr. BELMONT. I do not think so; no, sir. In the campaign what occupies their attention more is the distributing of speakers and sending out literature and the active work of the campaign. They always spend more money than they have, and they have to do the best they can to collect it. But I do not know anyone who was specifically appointed for that purpose at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think \$1,000,000 was raised by the committee for that campaign?

Mr. BELMONT. I doubt it—oh, I doubt it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean to be understood as saying that you doubt that the expenditures of the committee—the money raised by the committee and for the committee—was \$1,000,000?

Mr. BELMONT. I doubt if it was as much as that. I never heard so large a sum suggested.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the largest sum you have heard, that you recall?

Mr. BELMONT. Oh, I guess I might say \$600,000 or \$700,000; but I would not be accurate then. I do not know. I never asked for the specific report. I do not recall any statement. Those things are not conducted like business matters at all. There is no organization. An organization for the purpose of keeping books and keeping accurate accounts and running such an organization as a business enterprise would be very expensive, to have bookkeepers and organization which is utterly unnecessary. I do not think any committee has ever done it. At that time there was no obligation to make any specific report to anybody, and there is never enough money in a campaign, I suppose as you know. I do not imagine that any great expenditure is ever made on that score. People who are conducting it are supposed to be honest, and the requirements are paid out as the committee decides to do work.

I have one specific record which I had in the beginning, which I did myself, and that was I advanced to the committee in certain sums \$50,000, and the reimbursement I can not trace, but it was in the sum of \$32,000 and then \$10,000. The \$10,000 is entered as from the national committee which I presume was a check, but I can not tell about that, and the balance was not paid, and that was transferred to my private account. That is eight. That is the only record transaction I have, and that began in September—and I have tried to refresh my memory, and I think it was—that they asked for an advance. Those committees always begin by getting an advance in anticipation of subscriptions to pay ordinary expenses, and that was done, and they reimbursed me to the extent of \$42,000.

The CHAIRMAN. You advanced them \$50,000?

Mr. BELMONT. All told, at least I find that, although on this account there were two small items which I must have paid at headquarters and charged to the committee. That is the only name I have, Morris Cukor, and that I remember was a local Hungarian leader there, and I presume they asked him. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, being a member of the committee, and advancing a large sum to the committee, it would almost seem as though you would have naturally felt a great deal of interest in knowing at least that steps were being taken to supply the funds.

Mr. BELMONT. Well, I presumed they would come after a while. I was willing to run that risk, and the risk was as you see, they did not meet the balance, the final balance, at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You trusted entirely to the committee making good then without giving it any particular interest on your part?

Mr. BELMONT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you anything to do with the campaign of 1908?

Mr. BELMONT. Nothing whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Or the congressional campaign of 1906?

Mr. BELMONT. No, sir; nothing whatever.

Senator PAYNTER. It would result, then, from your statement, that it cost you about \$8,000—the advancement that was made?

Mr. BELMONT. I said that was the only definite record I have, and I gave it to you. Oh, no; that would not be the limit.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you remember any contribution that was returned except the Havemeyer contribution?

Mr. BELMONT. No, sir; there was no other that I know of.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you any books at all other than those you have mentioned here that would show the contributions and disbursements of the campaign?

Mr. BELMONT. No; I have no books. This was in my own private book, so far as the balance as treasurer was concerned, because I was only custodian; I was really not treasurer practically. It was nominal purely, and the advance that I made was in my book that I found, and I recall that it was in that form.

Senator PAYNTER. The advancement of \$50,000 that you made, then, was early in the campaign?

Mr. BELMONT. Yes, sir; it was during September.

Senator JONES. What was your total contribution to that campaign?

Mr. BELMONT. I could not tell you; it was considerable. I could not tell you exactly.

Senator JONES. You say it was considerable?

Mr. BELMONT. Oh, yes, sir.

Senator JONES. Do you think it was \$50,000?

Mr. BELMONT. Oh, no; it was more than that.

Senator JONES. It was more than that?

Mr. BELMONT. More than that; yes, sir. I can not recall quite because it was at different times.

Senator JONES. Was it as much as \$100,000?

Mr. BELMONT. Yes, sir; it must have been more than that.

Senator JONES. Do you think it was more than \$250,000?

Mr. BELMONT. No, sir; I doubt that; but I could not tell you as to such moneys. I tried to trace them and I can not. I proffered it in my own office; I did not care to have it known; and some of the amounts might have been for my private use, and I could not get at it.

Senator JONES. You do not remember whether your contributions were made in cash or by check?

Mr. BELMONT. Very often cash and checks; yes, sir. There was some by check, but very little.

Senator JONES. You think that your contribution did not exceed \$250,000?

Mr. BELMONT. I do not think it did, to the national committee. I doubt very much if it was as much as that; but I am willing that it was that in making up deficits, etc.

Senator JONES. Did you make other contributions to be used in connection with that campaign that were not made directly to the committee, but which were used in connection with it?

Mr. BELMONT. Well, Senator, I can not tell. In the campaign some people consider local and national one and the same issue. I could not tell you that; I do not know.

Senator JONES. Well, did you make contributions?

Mr. BELMONT. I subscribed, as I always do. I subscribe in my own locality where I live, and whether I have any interest actively in the campaign or not. I have done that all my life. I always subscribe to my State campaign and I always subscribe to my city campaign regularly. Recently such amounts as I have given have been published.

Senator JONES. Have you any idea as to what contribution you made to the State campaign, especially that year?

Mr. BELMONT. No, sir; I can not tell you.

Senator JONES. It was a considerable sum, I suppose?

Mr. BELMONT. Yes, sir; it was. Mr. Cord Meyer was the chairman of that committee and I can not tell you. You see, it is like asking me especially about one year, when I have always done things.

Senator JONES. And you have no means of ascertaining the amount now?

Mr. BELMONT. No, sir; I tried to but I could not.

Senator JONES. Did you ever discuss with any members of the national committee the amount of money that was raised or used by that committee in the 1904 campaign?

Mr. BELMONT. No, sir.

Senator JONES. You never heard anybody about headquarters, or connected with the committee, mention any amount that had been raised?

Mr. BELMONT. No, sir; the discussion was always to try to get some more money. The expenditures were always in excess of the funds on hand.

Senator JONES. After the campaign was closed you never heard anybody mention what had been raised or what had been expended?

Mr. BELMONT. No, sir.

Senator JONES. Do you know anything about any contributions that were made to the Republican committee in that campaign?

Mr. BELMONT. No, sir; I know nothing about that at all.

Senator JONES. You referred to a local Hungarian leader as having received some money. Do you know how much he received?

Mr. BELMONT. Yes, sir; there were two single sums of \$1,000. They must have been \$1,000 checks that I gave.

Senator JONES. That would be \$2,000. Were there any directions as to how this money should be used or for what purpose it should be used?

Mr. BELMONT. I can not recall; I believe he was a leader to organize clubs. That is the sort of thing that is usually done. I think it was that. I recall simply the campaign organization. That was early in the campaign.

Senator JONES. Was this money as compensation to him individually, or was it to be used by him in organizing, etc.?

Mr. BELMONT. Oh, no, sir; it was not for him personally, that I know. I should not have been able to have even recalled that if it had not been that I found those names.

Senator JONES. You can not give the committee any suggestions that would assist it in securing the information called for by this resolution other than you have given?

Mr. BELMONT. No, sir; I can not. The chairman of the committee and the treasurer were the actual people who have charge of affairs.

Senator JONES. But they do not seem to know very much about it, either one of them.

Mr. BELMONT. Well, that is not my fault. I am sorry.

Senator JONES. Do you know Mr. Hall?

Mr. BELMONT. Very slightly. He was assistant treasurer. He was a sort of clerk of Mr. Peabody's.

Senator JONES. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. BELMONT. No, sir; I do not.

Senator JONES. You do not know what his business was?

Mr. BELMONT. I have not seen him since that campaign that year, that I recall. He disappeared from my association.

Senator JONES. Could you suggest the name of anyone either as a member of the committee or connected with the committee, or who worked for the committee, other than the chairman and the treasurer, who might give the committee some information along the line of the resolution?

Mr. BELMONT. No, sir; I could not. You see each member of the executive committee would do special work day by day about sending speakers in this direction and that, and attending to correspondence and inquiries, and the question of money, while it is not secondary, is not a thing that anybody undertakes to devote their whole time to, and that is why I can not give you more information.

Senator JONES. Do you desire to give to the committee any explanation or reason as to why you contributed possibly as much as \$250,000 to the campaign fund?

Mr. BELMONT. Well, I was active in the nomination. I took an interest in that, and as I had consented to serve on the committee, and funds were not forthcoming at all—I never intended to make any such contribution, but when the deficit came, we had to conduct the campaign, and I was willing to do that, believing that at the time Judge Parker was a perfectly free and independent man, as he was; he had no obligations that I know of, and none to me.

Senator JONES. You did not expect, by reason of that contribution, in case of the success of the ticket, any special favors in connection with yourself individually, or with any business in which you were engaged?

Mr. BELMONT. No, sir; on the contrary, Judge Parker understood from me absolutely in the beginning that there would be nothing that I would accept of any kind. I had my own business, and under no circumstances would I have either been willing or able to leave it and accept an office, and I would not have been a necessary choice. So that was understood. My interest in the campaign then, as it has always been—and just as it has been in this—was purely as a Democrat, and I have not only not sought favors or anything of that kind, but I have always taken the reverse position.

Senator JONES. Now, did you expect to have any special influence with reference to legislation by reason of that contribution?

Mr. BELMONT. None whatever. There was no interest that I was connected with that could be served.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Belmont, I suppose early in life you had before you an example of a very liberal Democrat in the person of August Belmont, did you not?

Mr. BELMONT. I went to the convention of 1868 as a child with him. I was taken to Charleston as a child.

Senator PAYNTER. You were not embarrassed very much financially by reason of your contribution, I suppose?

Mr. BELMONT. Oh, no, sir. It was somewhat in excess of what I originally intended, but my habit has always been that if I feel in any way responsible for anything the question of my obligation is not measured by dollars and cents.

Mr. Belmont was thereupon excused and the committee took a recess until to-morrow, July 17. 1912, at 10 o'clock a. m.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 17, 1912.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. for the further consideration of Senate resolution 79.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Jones, Oliver, and Paynter.

TESTIMONY OF HON. FRANK H. HITCHCOCK.

Frank H. Hitchcock, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Please give your name in full for the purpose of the record.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Frank H. Hitchcock.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you any connection with the campaign of 1904, the national campaign?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In the active management of it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I was assistant secretary of the national committee and served at the New York headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any knowledge of contributions that were made for that campaign?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I had nothing to do with that branch of the work; that came under the treasurer's office.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I know.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. My work was administrative and organization work.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have no knowledge as to the contributions that were made in 1904?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I have no personal knowledge of those contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. What connection had you with the national Republican campaign of 1908?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I was chairman of the Republican national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you assume the position of chairman?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I was elected in July of that year.

The CHAIRMAN. And how long did you retain the position?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Until March 4, 1909, when I was appointed Postmaster General. I resigned immediately on my confirmation. I think the confirmation came the following day.

The CHAIRMAN. Your headquarters during that campaign were in New York?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. We had two headquarters—eastern headquarters in New York and western headquarters in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Which, if either, did you regard as the principal headquarters?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The New York headquarters were regarded as the principal headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. And did you spend most of your time there?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have an executive committee?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of whom did the executive committee consist?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Of nine members, as follows: Senator Borah, of Idaho; Victor Rosewater, of Nebraska; Frank Lowden, of Illinois; Charles H. Brooker, of Connecticut; Boies Penrose, of Pennsylvania; Coleman duPont, of Delaware; E. C. Duncan, of North Carolina; William L. Ward, of New York; and Charles Nagel, of Missouri.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was treasurer?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. George R. Sheldon, of New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he the active treasurer?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He was the active treasurer of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how much the total contributions which were received and disbursed by the national committee amounted to in 1908?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The total contributions received by the national committee and its agencies amounted to \$1,655,518.27, and of this amount \$620,150 was collected by the finance committees in the several States and used in the States where collected. That is to say, the collections were turned over to the Republican State committees without being remitted to the headquarters of the national committee; so that the amount that actually passed through the treasurer of the national committee was \$1,035,368.27.

The CHAIRMAN. This money which was collected in the States and turned over to the State committees was disbursed without any direction on the part of the national committee?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It was turned over to the States' chairmen of the several States with authority to disburse it in the campaign in accordance with their judgment. I authorized the chairmen of the finance committees of these States to turn over these sums to the chairmen of the State central committees. These transfers occurred toward the close of the campaign, and to save time that method was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the only direction that was given for their expenditures?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I meant.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Those went down in our records as allotments to State committees. But a full record was kept of the contributions received by the finance committees and transferred in that way—a full record of the contributions by persons.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that record now in existence?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir. Every dollar disbursed by the Republican national committee during the campaign of 1908 is accounted for in the records of the committee—accounted for in the records of

the committee that were filed with the secretary of state of New York immediately after the election. A law of New York requires that within 20 days after the election a statement of the receipts and expenditures in detail shall be filed with the secretary of state.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that record show all that was received and from whom received?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It shows all received and from whom received.

Senator PAYNTER. Are the original book accounts still in existence?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The original books are still in existence. A duplicate set of books is in the custody of the former treasurer of the committee, Mr. Sheldon.

Senator PAYNTER. Is there anything in the law of New York requiring the destruction of these accounts after a certain time?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I understand that the law requires the preservation of accounts for a certain period, and after that they may be disposed of. I am not certain whether the accounts filed with the secretary of state are still on file; but I do know this, that Mr. Sheldon, the treasurer of the committee at that time, has a duplicate set of those records. Those records show the receipts in detail and the disbursements in detail—show every dollar disbursed.

The CHAIRMAN. And you do not know of any contribution that was made in the campaign of 1908 except such as appear in those records?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No contributions to the Republican national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I mean to the committee.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Of course, contributions were made in the States.

The CHAIRMAN. What I mean is to the national committee, of course.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But you don't know of any?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of anyone who made contributions to State committees?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Offhand, I do not think I can recall a case, Senator. I did not follow that, of course. They had their own agencies.

The CHAIRMAN. I just ask if you recall?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I knew, of course, that the State committees were making collections, and often the chairmen of the States committees would report to me that they had secured so much money in their States. In fact, I invariably inquired what they had been able to collect, in order to determine with better judgment what allotments should be made. But I did not follow these collections or know whence they came.

Senator JONES. Do you mean by that collections for the national committee or for the State committee for its own campaign?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. For the State committee for its own campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. The collections that were made in the States for the national committee, and which you have stated were to a large extent at least turned back to the chairmen of the State committees, do these records in the possession of Mr. Sheldon, of which a copy is filed with the secretary of state of New York, show from whom those contributions were received?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir. May I explain our system of organization, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. We organized in each State what we termed a "finance committee." I appointed the chairman of that finance committee, and he was regarded as an officer of the Republican national committee, and responsible to me. I did that so as to control the method of collecting and recording collections. Each chairman was required to keep a record of every contribution he received on account of the Republican national committee, and to preserve that record for transmission to our treasurer, so that in cases where the funds were transferred directly to State chairmen we received a detailed statement of where those funds originated. They were required to send to us a full statement of the contributors of those funds, and those lists were incorporated in our general statement of contributions, so that those funds were treated in exactly the same way as the funds that came directly to the treasurer of the national committee or his assistants.

Senator JONES. Their expenditure was not so extensive?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The expenditures of the national committee were reported in detail, with the exception that allotments to State committees were stated simply as such allotments.

Senator JONES. That is what I supposed.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. And the chairman used those funds according to his judgment, and made no report to us of the details. That was not practicable.

The CHAIRMAN. When we get the books, which I have taken steps to have, and probably will have before long, I may then want to ask you as to your knowledge of the relation of the contributors to interests, corporations, etc., but until I get them here, of course, I shall not care personally to enter into that.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I shall be very glad to testify to anything of that kind that I can.

I should like to say, if it will be of interest to the committee, that we received very few large contributions. If my memory is correct, I think there were not more than 25 or 30 contributions that reached as high as \$5,000. At the very outset of the campaign we received several very generous contributions, before our system of collections had been put into operation. We needed money immediately to organize our headquarters, to make our contracts for printing, etc., and, therefore, it was a very fortunate thing that several friends of the party could step forward and make generous contributions, which they did. Mr. C. P. Taft contributed at the outset \$50,000. Mr. William Nelson Cromwell contributed \$25,000. Mr. and Mrs. Larz Anderson contributed \$25,000, and that made \$100,000 that we had at the opening of the campaign. Then Mr. Carnegie gave \$20,000. Mr. William Smith Cochrane gave \$15,000, and then there were several contributions of \$10,000. Mr. Frank Munsey gave \$10,000; Mr. Whitelaw Reid gave \$10,000; M. C. D. Bordon gave \$10,000; and Gen. Corbin gave \$10,000, but his contribution, however, was made up, I think, of several contributions from people in Washington who did not give their names.

The CHAIRMAN. Those all appear in the record?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Every contribution is in the record. And that reminds me of this fact: In some cases sums were grouped together, small sums, by our finance committee chairman. That is to say, a county officer would send in \$500 contributed by a number of people.

Our contributions, in the main, were very small. We organized with as much system as possible all over the country, went down into the districts, and into the counties. The State finance committee was supposed to organize all over the State and to solicit small contributions everywhere, our idea being that the more people we could induce to invest in the campaign the more earnest support we would receive. And so we had a vast number of small contributions. Our system of gaining contributions differed considerably, I think, from those of previous campaigns in that particular; but it took longer to get them, of course. They came in slowly, and it was necessary to have some funds early in the campaign, and, therefore, we accepted those large contributions as a matter of necessity at the very start.

Aside from those I have mentioned, I do not think there were any contributions that went as high as \$10,000. There were about 10 or 12 people who gave \$5,000 each, and that made, I think, 20 persons altogether, perhaps, who gave \$5,000 or upwards. All the rest of the contributions were smaller amounts.

Senator PAYNTER. Are the Andersons relatives of the President? I have the impression that they are.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. They may be; I am not certain about that. I know they are friends of his.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you in mind now the States that made collections for the national committee and the amount that was collected was retained or turned over to the chairman of the State committee? If you can recall any, I will be very glad if you will do so.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That is shown in our records. I have not the records in detail. They are bulky volumes.

Senator PAYNTER. I am not asking you to tell the amounts unless you have them and can do it conveniently.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Every State, I think, contributed something, and the amounts varied, of course. The Eastern States gave a great deal more than the Western States. I can give you the figures.

Senator PAYNTER. Was the entire amount collected in the several States retained by the States or turned over to the chairman of the committee?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Not always. It was not always the precise amount. In some instances a State would collect more than it would use. We had to exercise our judgment in the distribution of the funds. In other instances a State would collect less than it would use. Of course, it was important for us to distribute that money where it would bring the best results.

The Eastern States contributed more, of course, than the Western States. The amount collected by the finance committees in the East and turned over directly to the State committees—that is, the State executive committees—was \$522,503.70, and the amount collected in the West and turned over similarly was \$97,646.30. That made the total \$620,150. That we included in our grand total of \$1,655,518.27.

Senator PAYNTER. General, did the so-called Tobacco Trust make a contribution to your campaign?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir. Congress passed a law in 1907, the year before the campaign, that prohibited the receipt of contributions from any corporation, and we received no such corporation contributions in the campaign.

Senator PAYNTER. Did any of the stockholders of that concern make contributions that purported to be individual contributions?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Not that I am aware of; not to my knowledge.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know any of the stockholders of that concern?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I am not especially familiar with the stockholders of that organization. I know, by name, of course, the men who have the chief interest, and I do not recall that any one of them made a contribution. But that will all appear from these detailed lists.

Senator PAYNTER. If you could remember some of them, it might be of some interest to us.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not remember any of them. I do not think any such contribution was received.

Senator PAYNTER. The so-called Steel Trust—were there any contributions made by the stockholders of that concern? If so, and you remember the amounts, you can state it.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I fancy that some of the men whom I have mentioned were stockholders of the Steel Corporation, though I am not sure of that—yes, I think undoubtedly people who were stockholders in that corporation contributed. I think Mr. Frank Munsey is a stockholder in the Steel Corporation.

Senator OLIVER. Is not Mr. Cochrane, also?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. Cochrane, also; yes, sir. Of course, there are thousands of stockholders in that corporation.

Senator PAYNTER. Did any of the stockholders of the Sugar Trust make contributions? If so, and you can remember the names, we will be glad to have them.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not recall the names of any of the stockholders of that corporation, Senator.

Senator PAYNTER. Are you acquainted with any of the stockholders of the International Harvester Co.; that is, personally acquainted with any of them, or with the managers?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I am acquainted with several; yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I would be glad if you would give their names.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I know the McCormicks; I know Mr. Munsey—I think he is a stockholder—Mr. Perkins I know; I know Mr. Funk; he is an officer of the corporation.

Senator PAYNTER. What is his given name?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know.

Senator JONES. Clarence.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I know him slightly.

Senator JONES. Clarence S. Funk.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you named all that you know?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Here is one item that I did not think of when I was mentioning the large contributions, that I will mention now. Several banking concerns in New York gave contributions. I think they were usually of \$5,000 each. Well, I did not go into the \$5,000 contributions, but I assume that these firms would be interested in those corporations, possibly. But the amount, of course, for firms of that kind was exceedingly small.

Senator PAYNTER. You say Mr. Munsey is a stockholder and Mr. Perkins is a stockholder in the International Harvester Co., and Mr. Funk is the manager, and the McCormicks are interested?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes; I spoke of those.

Senator PAYNTER. Did the International Harvester Co. make a contribution to the campaign fund?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did any of the officers connected with it, other than Mr. Munsey—I do not believe you said Mr. Perkins made a contribution—make a contribution?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not think Mr. Munsey is an officer. I think he is simply a stockholder, and I am not sure that he is a stockholder, but it is my impression that he is.

Senator PAYNTER. Did Mr. Perkins make a contribution to the campaign?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I think not.

Senator PAYNTER. Did the McCormicks, any of them?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Not that I recall. I think the McCormicks would be making contributions to your party, rather than to ours, if they contributed.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not know anything about their politics.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I think they are Democrats, at least part of them are Democrats. I was thinking of the McCormicks who are largely interested in the Harvester Co.

Senator PAYNTER. It is the Harvester people I have in mind.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not recall that any McCormick made a contribution; I am not certain about it, however.

Senator PAYNTER. Did Clarence Funk make a contribution?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Not to my knowledge.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you ever talk to him upon the subject of contributions?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I never spoke to him about it; never talked to any officer of any corporation during the campaign respecting contributions.

Senator PAYNTER. So you did not solicit contributions?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I did not solicit contributions, but a good many contributions were sent to me in New York as chairman.

Senator PAYNTER. Was it understood by yourself and others connected with the committee that the Harvester Co., through any of these gentlemen, was making contributions to the committee?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir. Our desire was to avoid any such contributions, and it was with reluctance that we took those large contributions at the opening of the campaign. My desire was to go out over the country and get our funds from the people in small amounts, and it was only the necessities of the case that led me to accept those large contributions at the beginning of the campaign. I have mentioned, I think, all of the important contributions.

Senator PAYNTER. Who was chairman of the western committee?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I was chairman of the Republican national committee.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; I mean who had charge of the headquarters at Chicago?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The several members of the executive committee were in charge at intervals; they rotated—took turns—because it was

impossible for any one of them to be there all the time—the members who were there in the western headquarters.

Senator PAYNTER. Was any effort made, Mr. Hitchcock, to have funds collected through the various State committees with a view to or so that the record of the national committee would not show such large contributions?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No effort of that kind was made by the national committee or any of its officers.

Senator PAYNTER. That is what I mean.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I never heard it suggested that it was.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I think not. I have heard of no such complaints.

Senator JONES. Do you remember of any contributions or proposed contributions that were refused during the campaign?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. There was one contribution that I recall of \$20,000 that was proffered by Gen. du Pont—Coleman du Pont—a member of the executive committee. He turned that money into the treasury, and when I learned of it that day I sent for him and told him I did not think we ought to accept any contribution from him, because the Government had a civil suit against a corporation in which he was interested; and I instructed the treasurer to return the money, and that was done. That is the only case where we refused a contribution in specific terms.

I recall that now and then people would come in and say that they could get money from this or that interest, and they would like to contribute, and I always said: "No; we do not wish funds from sources of that kind; we do not want any corporation money, any money that would subject us to criticism." Repeatedly I was obliged to do that.

Senator JONES. Do you remember any particular suggestion of that kind?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; I do not recall any except this one of Gen. du Pont.

Senator JONES. Is there any duplicate copy of these accounts that you filed with the New York authorities in existence that could be filed with this committee?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The duplicate copies that are in the hands of the treasurer could be filed.

Senator JONES. He has a duplicate copy?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He has a complete duplicate of the records of the committee that were filed with the Secretary of State—itemized statements of the receipts and expenditures in detail, down to the cent. There are many contributions of \$1, you know, collected around over the country, and the number of contributors amounts up into the thousands.

Senator JONES. But you have a separate statement of each one, no matter how small?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No matter how small. There are a few cases where small sums were sent in from the counties in lump through a misunderstanding. Some representative of a State finance committee in a county, perhaps, would send in \$100 or \$500 in his name and not give the names of all the contributors. There are a few such items, but they are recorded under the name of the man who submitted them, and they are small sums at that.

Senator JONES. Who did solicit contributions? You have stated you did not. Who did?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That work was done by this organization over the country—our finance committee. We did not solicit contributions in New York. Those contributions were sent in voluntarily. The large contributions I have mentioned, I think, were proffered. Several of them came to me and said: "We want to help at the outset;" and they made those contributions, and I accepted them.

Then we adopted a plan that brought in a very large sum of money. We had compiled a list of the business men over the country. The list comprised about 45,000 names when completed, men of some means who were prospering in business, and to each of these men we sent a letter asking for a contribution of \$50, and in response to that call we collected, I think, about—well, between \$200,000 and \$300,000. That was quite a large factor, of course, in our contributions.

Senator JONES. That is, you specified the amount in your letter that you would like them to contribute?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. We sent these letters only to men of means.

Senator JONES. Yes.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Men who might be asked to contribute much more ordinarily, and asked them to give \$50, and in many cases they responded, of course, thinking that that was a reasonable request. By sending such letters to a very large number of men we collected a very large sum of money. It helped very much.

Senator JONES. Do you remember any contribution made by the national committee, or any of its agencies, to any individual in a State who was a candidate for office to assist him in his candidacy?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not.

Senator PAYNTER. General, do you recall who made collections in Chicago for the committee?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Made collections at Chicago?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; in Chicago.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. Frederick W. Upham was the assistant treasurer at the western headquarters.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know his address? Is it Chicago?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Chicago; yes, sir. He lives in Chicago. He was the assistant treasurer and had charge of the——

Senator PAYNTER. Of the collections there?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He had charge of the treasurer's office in Chicago. But there was a finance committee for the State of Illinois which made the collections in the State of Illinois, and Col. Smith, of Peoria, was the chairman of that committee.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you remember the names of the members of that committee?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That was a very large committee, organized by Col. Smith—hundreds of people all over the State. Col. Smith organized in every county of Illinois; took collections made in every county in Illinois.

Senator PAYNTER. Going back to the \$20,000 which was given by du Pont: Did that \$20,000 find its way into any campaign fund other than the national committee, that you know of?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir. That was not contributed.

Senator PAYNTER. So he did not seek in some other way to give the cause the benefit of the \$20,000?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Gen. du Pont talked over that matter with me and said that he felt that he was not doing his share. He was a member of the executive committee and a man of means, and he was naturally very anxious to help in a personal way in the campaign. He asked me if there was any way in which he could make a contribution that I felt would be justifiable, and I thought it would not be proper for him to contribute in it any way, to the State committee or otherwise.

Senator PAYNTER. So he did not give it, then, to any State committee, on account of the State committee's collections?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He did not give it to any State committee.

Senator JONES. In other words, he did not contribute at all to the campaign?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He did not contribute at all to the campaign, and of that fact I have personal knowledge, because he discussed the matter with me since the campaign and said that he had put aside this sum, because he had turned it over to the treasurer, and when it was received back he placed it on deposit, and sometime after the campaign he told me that he had that sum still on deposit. I felt that in the running of the national campaign it would be very unwise, aside from its being improper, to take the chances of subjecting the management to any criticism; that it would do a very great deal of damage, more damage than could be offset by a very large sum of money, and we were exceedingly careful to avoid anything of that kind.

There being no further questions, Mr. Hitchcock was thereupon excused.

Thereupon, at 10 o'clock and 45 minutes a. m., the committee adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, July 18, 1912, at 10 o'clock a. m.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

THURSDAY, JULY 18, 1912.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. for the further consideration of Senate resolution 79.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Oliver, and Paynter.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM F. SHEEHAN.

William F. Sheehan, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Please state your name and residence.

Mr. SHEEHAN. William F. Sheehan, New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sheehan, were you connected with the organization of the Democratic campaign of 1904, the national campaign?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I was a member of the Democratic executive committee, and was elected by the committee as its chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That committee had headquarters in New York City?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you assume the position of chairman of the executive committee?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I think some time early in August.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did that continue, as nearly as you can remember?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Until election night.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that committee have its separate treasurer?

Mr. SHEEHAN. No; not that committee. They acted through the treasurer of the full committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I supposed so, but I wanted that made clear. Had you any knowledge of the total funds, approximately, contributed for the national Democratic campaign of that year?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I have nothing, Senator, but an impression.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your impression?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I should say, approximately, \$1,000,000, which would include the money that went through the committee, but not through the committee's books, contributed for New York State.

The CHAIRMAN. That impression is the result of your association with those who were also in charge of the campaign?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Yes, sir; and my knowledge to some extent. I think I ought to make that a little more definite.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will take any explanation you care to make.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I read the testimony of Mr. Belmont, and I do not doubt but what his opinion as to the amount of money that was handled by the national committee is approximately correct. It is all a matter of impression, I suppose—it is with me. I think the committee handled directly about \$800,000. I think there came to the committee contributions that were made specifically for the purpose of using the same in New York State, and I have the impression that that amounted to about a couple hundred thousand dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know a man by the name of Hall, who acted in the capacity of assistant to the treasurer of the national committee, or in some similar capacity?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I think he was assistant treasurer. I went away directly after my selection; I went to Maine and stayed there for several weeks, and Mr. Peabody had been selected as the treasurer of the committee some time in the autumn, I have forgotten the exact date. Mr. Peabody wanted to be relieved in whole or in part of his duties, and Mr. Hall was selected, I think, as an assistant treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know him?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I do not; but he is a lawyer. I made inquiries the other day, but he is not in New York City. He is a prominent man, a reputable gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, I know.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I should not think there would be any difficulty in locating him. I think he is somewhere in New York. He did not live in New York City except for some little time.

The CHAIRMAN. The inquiry is not based on the suggestion that it goes in any manner to Mr. Hall's character.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I beg your pardon; I did not so understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. But it appears from the record that Mr. Peabody was not the active treasurer, and the committee is desirous of ascertaining from Mr. Hall what he may know of the campaign.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is why I asked the question.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I think in the latter days of the campaign Mr. Hall was more active than Mr. Peabody.

The CHAIRMAN. That was Mr. Peabody's statement, and either Mr. Peabody or somebody else has suggested to me that you might know Mr. Hall's address.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Hall originally came from Albany, and he may be living there still, for all I know. I made inquiries the other day as to his whereabouts in New York City, and we could not locate him.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not know of anyone who would be apt to know, that you recall?

Mr. SHEEHAN. No, sir; I have not heard of him in three or four years. I should say he would be in Albany more likely than in any other place.

Senator PAYNTER. You have a bar association, I suppose, in your State?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. And if he is a member of it you might locate him through the secretary of the bar association?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Yes; or if you have Bender's Diary here, or anything of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. Some one—I do not know who it was—suggested that they thought he had gone West.

Mr. SHEEHAN. That may be, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought maybe you might know.

Mr. SHEEHAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions having been made to the committee that fall, say, of \$5,000 or more, that you can recall the persons who made them?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Belmont, I recollect that, and it was largely because of his own testimony that my memory was refreshed about that. You see I was away, I think, approximately 30 days, and during that time I knew nothing about the moneys that were solicited or collected. There were contributions of more than \$5,000 made, but I did not charge my mind with them. For the moment I do not think of anyone. There were such people, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as you know, who had the more active work of securing contributions?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Why, Senator, this, I think, was what was done: Various people were solicited by members of the committee on their own responsibility to solicit funds, and each member of the committee acted in that respect upon his own motion. People were circularized, and we published requests for funds. Democrats or persons interested in the ticket would come in and inquire if it were satisfactory for them to go out and raise some money. There were a number of people who, upon the motion of the committee or upon the individual members of the committee's motion, or at the suggestion of the people themselves, were engaged in raising money.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, were you soliciting funds?

Mr. SHEEHAN. No; I did not do very much of that, Senator. I rather confined my efforts to the more practical affairs of the committee. I did solicit some funds, I have no doubt, and I obtained funds.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall now any contributions that were made in response to your solicitation or request?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Col. Lamont was very actively engaged in raising funds, and he succeeded in raising some; how much I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his business at the time?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I doubt if he then was in any business. It was not long before his death, and I think some time before his death he had retired, practically, from affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. Col. Lamont?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Col. Lamont. He had been Secretary of War during President Cleveland's administration.

The CHAIRMAN. What more immediate business relation had he sustained prior to his retirement from active business?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I guess he was identified with several corporations.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any particular ones?

Mr. SHEEHAN. No. I think he had been identified with the Great Northern Railroad or the Northern Pacific, I do not know which.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you recall how much he raised?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I do not; because if he contributed or if he handed it to the treasurer, I would not necessarily know the amount of it or from whom it came.

The CHAIRMAN. Was not the subject of the funds a matter of more or less conference on the part of the executive committee from time to time?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Oh, yes; yes, sir; we often discussed the question of financial resources.

The CHAIRMAN. And in those discussions, or with reference to those discussions, you do not now recall the name of anyone whom it was known to you had made any contribution of any size?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I have no doubt, Senator, that those who made contributions to me, with the request that I transmit the contributions to the State committee—that as to those I made a memorandum at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you that memorandum now?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Oh, no; oh, no. I am sorry I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any recollection of it?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I have no recollection. I would have nothing but a guess, and my guess would be no better than yours; it would be quite as unsatisfactory to you as it would be to me to make it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall whether the money that was contributed, with the request that it go to a State committee instead of to the national committee, came from any particular source, with reference to business alignment?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I think not, Senator, for this reason, that we made it a rule—just when that rule was adopted I do not know—not to accept money from trusts. That was specific. That was understood by all those in authority in the committee. I do not believe a dollar of money was accepted by the Democratic campaign committee, directly or indirectly, from trusts in the year 1908. There was the sum of \$10,000 contributed by the American Sugar Refining Co.—not by Mr. Havemeyer, but by the company itself—to the State committee, not to the national committee. We ascertained that fact before the check was cashed, and we requested those in charge at the State headquarters to return that check, and that was done. That is the only case I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the only case that you recall where the funds came either directly or by indirection from what might be called a trust?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And beyond what you have stated you are unable now to recall any individuals who made contributions?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Yes, sir. I recall some, but the amounts are small, and they were from personal or business associates of mine.

The CHAIRMAN. None of them running over \$4,000 or \$5,000?

Mr. SHEEHAN. No, sir; not that I now recall.

Senator PAYNTER. Were any of the funds collected for the national committee disbursed by its secretary to the various States in which active fights were made with a view of organizing a party and carrying the State?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Could you name any of them? Can you recall any of them just now?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I can recall Maine, I think, for one, with very gratifying results, as a Democrat.

Senator PAYNTER. Can you recall any others just now, Mr. Sheehan?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Yes. We sent money to Colorado; we sent money to Nebraska; we sent limited amounts of money to whatever few States seemed to bear a possibility for us to carry; what we considered doubtful. Not large sums of money, Senator.

Senator PAYNTER. Is there any record in existence showing the names of the contributors and the amounts contributed?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I do not believe it. I do not believe, Senator, there is any such record. I never knew about the record having been destroyed until I heard that as having been testified to here. Outside of that record, Senator Paynter, I doubt very much if there is any other. I haven't any.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Taggart said, I think, that he destroyed the records of that campaign, I think it was.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that was the campaign.

Senator PAYNTER. They were turned over to him, and they were destroyed, but I did not know whether there was a copy in existence or not.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I doubt it.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Sheehan, Mr. Belmont has testified that he contributed to that campaign approximately \$250,000. Do you remember whether Mr. Ryan was a contributor or not?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I think he was.

Senator OLIVER. Have you any idea or impression as to the amount Mr. Ryan contributed?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I have not.

Senator OLIVER. You have stated that some money had been sent to Nebraska. Have you any impression as to the amount that was contributed to Nebraska?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I think it was \$15,000; it might not have been over \$10,000.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Bryan was making a campaign for the senatorship in Nebraska that year, was he not?

Mr. SHEEHAN. Well, I can not say as to that, Senator Oliver, because there was no candidacy.

Senator OLIVER. Well, I did not know whether you remembered the fact or not. I think that was the case, was it not?

The CHAIRMAN. I think it was; yes.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Sheehan, do you know whether any funds outside of the committee were sent to Nebraska that year?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I do not believe so; not to my knowledge.

Senator OLIVER. Were you active or did you take any part in the campaign of 1908?

Mr. SHEEHAN. No; except as a contributor.

Senator OLIVER. You had no knowledge, then, as to whether either Mr. Belmont or Mr. Ryan contributed to that campaign?

Mr. SHEEHAN. I have not, sir.

There being no further questions, Mr. Sheehan was thereupon excused, and the committee took a recess on call of the chairman.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

SATURDAY, JULY 20, 1912.

**SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.**

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. for the further consideration of Senate resolution 79.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Oliver, and Paynter.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN J. MARTIN, PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF NEW YORK.

John J. Martin, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. What position do you occupy, Mr. Martin?

Mr. MARTIN. I am private secretary to the secretary of state of the State of New York.

Witness presents document marked "Exhibit A."

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Martin, what does Exhibit A purport to be?

Mr. MARTIN. Exhibit A is a report filed by Mr. Herman Ridder as treasurer of the Democratic national committee for the year 1908, as filed in our office on November 23, 1908, under the régime of Hon. John S. Whalen, who was then secretary of state.

The CHAIRMAN. You say "our" office. You mean the office of the secretary of state of New York?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Witness presents documents marked "Exhibit B."

The CHAIRMAN. What is Exhibit B, Mr. Martin?

Mr. MARTIN. Exhibit B is the report filed by Mr. Herman Ridder as treasurer of the Democratic national committee, showing the total amount of money received and the total amount disbursed for the year 1908 in all the States of the Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Martin, you are employed in the office of the secretary of state of the State of New York?

Mr. MARTIN. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibits A and B constitute all the records in your office relating to the national campaign of 1908 on the part of the Democratic national committee.

Mr. MARTIN. They do.

There being no further questions, the witness was thereupon excused. Exhibits A and B are to be retained by the committee under a receipt given by the chairman, and are hereafter to be returned to the secretary of state of the State of New York.

TESTIMONY OF MR. HERMAN RIDDER, TREASURER DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, 1908.

Herman Ridder, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Ridder, you were treasurer of the Democratic national campaign committee of 1908?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes, sir. I was elected at the end of September, 1908—I think on the 23d of September—when the other treasurer resigned.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the law of the State of New York, I believe you were required to file with the secretary of state of New York a verified statement of the receipts and disbursements made within the State of New York?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes, sir.

Exhibit A shown witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibit A purports to be a statement of the receipts and expenditures within the State of New York, does it not?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It was made by you?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And is a true and correct statement?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you file anything with the secretary of state in connection with that campaign in addition to the statement required as to the receipts and expenditures within the State?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes, sir; I filed, in compliance with the resolution of the Denver convention—I filed also what the law did not require in the State of New York, a complete list of all contributions of the whole United States of every kind and description.

Senator PAYNTER. To the national committee?

Mr. RIDDER. To the national committee. All of them.

Exhibit B shown witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibit B purports to be a statement of the receipts and expenditures covering all the receipts and expenditures of the committee in all the States of the Union for the campaign of 1908?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibit B was also prepared by you?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And is a true and correct statement of all the receipts and expenditures of that campaign coming to and passing through the national committee?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes, sir; through me and through my subordinates.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that is, the committee.

Mr. RIDDER. It includes everything; it includes every dollar. You will notice that is, for the rest of the country, only the contributions and not the expenditures, because the expenditures would make up an enormous volume. That is a complete list of the contributors.

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibit B, then, only includes receipts?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes, sir; although I can give you the others, but it would take a room full.

The CHAIRMAN. I haven't had time to go through these as yet.

Mr. RIDDER. There is a synopsis in front of the total amount. Shall I read them to you off the records?

The CHAIRMAN. I see the total amount received appears to be \$620,644.77 and the total amount disbursed \$619,410.05. Were there any large contributions made?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes, Senator. If you will let me have that list I will read them to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Read those of, say, over \$5,000.

Mr. RIDDER. Yes, sir. Tammany Hall made one of \$10,000.

Senator PAYNTER. Were those independent of the national committee?

Mr. RIDDER. No, sir. These are all to the national committee.

Senator PAYNTER. Oh, I thought they were independent of the national committee.

Mr. RIDDER. No. All to the national committee. One list is for the State of New York, and that had to be made in this abridged form to comply with the law.

Senator PAYNTER. I did not understand that.

Mr. RIDDER. I made the largest contribution—\$37,000. That is, I gave \$10,000 and each of my sons gave \$9,000; that made \$37,000. This was for the reason that Mr. Bryan would not allow any one to give individually more than \$10,000. Then the next largest is Tammany Hall. If you would like to have the others I will run through the list and give them.

The CHAIRMAN. You might do that.

Mr. RIDDER. When you go over this list you will find that there are States where a man collected—for instance, Ewing, of the State of Illinois, collected nearly \$3,000, all in small sums of 5 and 10 cent pieces. I think there were only two or three pieces that were larger. Of course, under that name comes "Ewing contribution." These lists we haven't got. That is to say, only the States, just like James Kerr, in Pennsylvania, who collected small sums and sent them in. These lists I will not read. I will read only those where they paid their own money individually.

I purposely did not make up a list, because I wanted to give it to you just as you asked for it.

William F. Sheehan, \$1,000. You might note he will come again. I will only take those making contributions of \$1,000 and over.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; for the present.

Mr. RIDDER. Edward M. Shepard—he is dead—\$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What business was Mr. Shepard engaged in?

Mr. RIDDER. He was a lawyer. He is dead now. Mr. Shepard was also the counsel for the Pennsylvania Railroad Co.

Senator PAYNTER. He was a prominent politician.

Mr. RIDDER. Yes; he was a reformer.

Senator PAYNTER. He was the Democratic candidate for mayor, also, of New York.

Mr. RIDDER. Yes; Tammany Hall candidate, and beaten. Then there is the Oklahoman, \$1,000. That is a newspaper out in Oklahoma. I think they gave that personally. Then there are others

here—other papers. Those were collections made through the papers. Tammany Hall, \$10,000—you have that. Most of the contributions are small. John T. McGraw, \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What business was he engaged in?

Mr. RIDDER. I guess he is a railroad man in West Virginia.

Senator PAYNTER. A lawyer.

Mr. RIDDER. Yes. Herbert H. Lehman gave \$1,000. Then Daniel E. Conway gave \$1,000. He is the present lieutenant governor of the State of New York. Then Samuel Untermyer gave \$1,500. He is a lawyer. He is a corporation lawyer; he is a trust lawyer, too. He is chairman of this committee, too. J. Sergeant Cram gave \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What business was Mr. Cram in?

Mr. RIDDER. Cram is a gentleman of leisure. He is now public-service commissioner. He is a Tammany Hall man. He is a high-class man. Edward F. Goltra, of St. Louis, gave \$3,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. RIDDER. Goltra was a capitalist. He is a corporation man. Morgan J. O'Brien gave \$500. I would like to put that in. He is a lawyer and a good one. Put Samuel Untermyer down for another thousand. Jacob Ruppert, the brewer, gave \$1,000. Delancey Nicoll, the lawyer, gave \$1,000. Nathan Strauss gave \$1,250. The National Democratic Club of New York gave \$2,500. Archibald McNeil gave \$1,000. William F. Sheehan gave another thousand. John T. McGraw gave another thousand. Then Melbert B. Cary gave \$1,500. I guess he is a lawyer: I do not know who he is. Then John W. Cox gave \$1,500. He was the assistant treasurer. He did all the work, and I got the credit. D. R. Francis of St. Louis gave \$3,000. Chilton, McCorkle & Chilton gave \$1,000. John W. Cox gave another \$1,500—that made his \$3,000. The Buffalo Times—that is Mack's paper—Norman E. Mack—\$1,000. W. F. Sheehan gave another thousand.

That is all of the large contributors there. Now, in this book [referring to Exhibit B]—

The CHAIRMAN. One minute: we will not have time to go through that; it will take too long.

Mr. RIDDER. I only want to say that these are the large contributors. There may be in this mass one or two large contributors, but I do not believe there are, because I am sure that all the large contributors sent their contributions directly to me in New York, so that they would have the advertisement or would be known.

Here is this other statement, and you can see—shall I just read this for one minute?

The CHAIRMAN. No; it is in the record.

Mr. RIDDER. This shows the large number. You have the figures there—receipts, \$620,644; expenditures, \$619,410; leaving a balance of \$1,234.

You see we have a list of over 25,000 names, representing more than 100,000 contributors, who contributed through newspapers, clubs, solicitors, and other organizations, whose names are on file in the office of the chairman of the Democratic national committee in Buffalo, N. Y. And then I had an audit made of this. I audited it or had it audited just the same as I would have it done for a corporation or a bank. There are over 25,000 names, representing 100,000 contributors.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any money raised by your committee or which passed through your committee to the State campaign that is not included in these statements?

Mr. RIDDER. No money passed through my hands that is not included in that statement. The State committee received money separately; of that I know nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. But you say there was none that passed through your hands that is not included in this record and in this total?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes, sir. Every dollar I received in any shape or manner, no matter what I did with it, is in there.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember whether Mr. Belmont made any contribution that fall?

Mr. RIDDER. No, sir; he did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RIDDER. No, sir; unless it is covered by these subscriptions—well, I am sure Sheehan's is his own. Mr. Belmont did not make any contribution to me, unless it is covered under these subscriptions.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any reason to suppose that any of these subscriptions cover contributions that in fact came from Mr. Belmont or Mr. Ryan?

Mr. RIDDER. No; they are too small. These people gave them themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether any of these parties' names in Exhibits A and B, who appear to have made contributions, made contributions in fact on behalf of interests which are not disclosed in the record?

Mr. RIDDER. No. I am sure there are none, because the amounts are too small.

The CHAIRMAN. And you know of no money that was received and disbursed by the national committee, the receipt of which does not appear either in Exhibit A or Exhibit B?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes; I know there are none. I am sure there was none, because I had control of the men, and everybody reported to me. There is no money which is not shown in this list which came to our committee through any source whatever, because I absolutely controlled it, and I was very particular, because I had distinct orders from Mr. Bryan that no money was to be taken from corporations.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any funds that were used in that campaign that did not directly pass through your hands and do not appear either in Exhibit A or Exhibit B?

Mr. RIDDER. I know of none, except the money raised by the State committee for the New York campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. I am speaking of the national campaign.

Mr. RIDDER. I know of no others.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with the campaign of 1904?

Mr. RIDDER. I did not. I say I did not. Of course, I have been active all my life, and when the campaign was on I would go up there and advise them about publications and that sort of thing, but I had nothing to do officially with the finances of that campaign. That is what you mean, isn't it?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. RIDDER. Of course I am an active Democrat.

The CHAIRMAN. I meant more particularly whether you have any knowledge of the contributions that were made in the campaign of 1904.

Mr. RIDDER. Nothing, except the newspaper accounts.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any knowledge as to the congressional campaign of 1906?

Mr. RIDDER. I know nothing about that, except from the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any knowledge as to the congressional campaign of 1910?

Mr. RIDDER. The same answer.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Ridder, did you maintain headquarters at Chicago also?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Who was in charge of the headquarters there? I did know but I have forgotten.

Mr. RIDDER. Woodson had a good deal to do with that. We had a number of men there. Sullivan had a good deal to do with that. Sullivan had one man there—I can not think of his name—who helped to keep this thing up. He was one of the most capable men I have ever met. I can not think of his name. But Woodson really ran it.

Senator PAYNTER. Did they report to you the funds collected there?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes; and I published them. In addition to that, they also published in Chicago what they collected there.

Senator PAYNTER. Published in the Chicago papers?

Mr. RIDDER. Yes; and I had them all sent to New York and then I made one publication of the United States. Here are the dates on which I published them; they ran from October 16 to 30. I published all the large contributions as far as the papers would publish them. I commenced on October 16. I took the office on the 23d of September. You know the other man resigned, and then I went in. Then I got everything together as rapidly as I could, and on the 16th of October I commenced publishing, and I published right on to the 30th of October—14 days. I put out all those dates except the 18th and 19th; they were put out from Chicago. The others were all put out from New York.

There being no further questions, Mr. Ridder was thereupon excused, and the committee took a recess on call of the chairman.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

MONDAY, JULY 22, 1912.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m., on call of the chairman, for the further consideration of Senate resolution 79, relating to campaign contributions during the presidential campaigns of 1904 and 1908.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Jones, and Paynter.

TESTIMONY OF HON. NATHAN B. SCOTT, FORMER UNITED STATES SENATOR.

Hon. Nathan B. Scott, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, had you any connection with the Republican national campaign of 1908?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir—

The CHAIRMAN. I should have said 1904.

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your official connection, if any?

Mr. SCOTT. I had charge of the speaking bureau.

The CHAIRMAN. As a member of the national committee or of the executive committee?

Mr. SCOTT. Well, I was both; I was a member of the national committee and was requested to act as one of the executive committee.

The CHAIRMAN. And the headquarters were at New York?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They also had headquarters that year at Chicago, did they?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you spend most of your time in connection with the work?

Mr. SCOTT. All the time in New York, until three weeks before the election.

The CHAIRMAN. About when did your connection with the campaign, as a member of the national committee, begin?

Mr. SCOTT. In 1888.

The CHAIRMAN. You had been continuously, then, in such connection?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When did it terminate?

Mr. SCOTT. At Chicago on May 19 or 20—you are asking me, as I understand now, how long I was on the national committee?

The CHAIRMAN. I asked you when your connection as a member of the national committee began.

Mr. SCOTT. Well, it commenced in 1888 and terminated in Chicago this last June—24 years.

The CHAIRMAN. During the campaign of 1904, do you know of any contributions having been made to the national campaign?

Mr. SCOTT. Well, Senator, would that mean a personal contribution to me?

The CHAIRMAN. A contribution that was made to you or any contribution that you had knowledge of through conferences with your associates or otherwise?

Mr. SCOTT. George W. Perkins gave me \$15,000 to be sent direct to West Virginia, not to the national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. About when was that contribution made—as near as you can remember it?

Mr. SCOTT. Well, I should say along the middle of October. Of course I am not sure.

The CHAIRMAN. What campaign was pending in West Virginia that year?

Mr. SCOTT. We were electing the electoral ticket for President and Vice President, and the State ticket—governor and other State officers.

The CHAIRMAN. And the congressional ticket, of course?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir; and the congressional ticket.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that pass through the national committee?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir; but possibly I had better state that Mr. Perkins asked me the situation in West Virginia. I said we had a very strong or very hard fight being made on our governor. Trouble existed before his nomination, and it was doubtful whether we could elect him or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was running for governor?

Mr. SCOTT. William M. O. Dawson. He said, as a friend of President Roosevelt's, he would be very sorry to see the State go Democratic, and said he would give me a contribution to be sent direct, to be used in West Virginia, and that was the contribution that I referred to, and that is the way it came up.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that sent direct to the chairman of the State committee?

Mr. SCOTT. Well, I sent that; yes; it came into my hands and I sent it to the State committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you recall any other contributions during that campaign in 1904?

Mr. SCOTT. Col. John J. McCook gave me \$1,000 to be sent direct to West Virginia. That did not go through Mr. Bliss's hands. Do you mean, when you are asking about contributions, that that would imply anything I gave myself?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, yes; of course, if it was a contribution of any size.

Mr. SCOTT. I want to tell you gentlemen what you want to know, but I do not want to go into details, if you do not want me to.

The CHAIRMAN. No. How much of a contribution did you make to the campaign of 1904?

Mr. SCOTT. Nothing to the national committee at all. I sent to the State committee between thirty and forty thousand dollars. That was my individual contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that. Do you recall any other contributions that were made that fall?

Mr. SCOTT. I recall only a number of letters that I got that had some small checks in them, Senator, but they were none of them to the amount of a thousand dollars, and, of course, they were turned over to Mr. Bliss. But they were just small contributions by acquaintances over the country, sent direct to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any tariff association or league making any contribution to the campaign of 1904?

Mr. SCOTT. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any manufacturers' association or league making any contribution?

Mr. SCOTT. I do not. You see, the contributions and the collecting of money was entirely out of my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. I know. I am just getting your knowledge. Do you know whether Mr. Morgan made any contribution that year?

Mr. SCOTT. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether Mr. Havemeyer made any contribution?

Mr. SCOTT. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contribution made by any one associated with any large manufacturing interest in this country?

Mr. SCOTT. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of anyone making a contribution who was associated with the Steel Trust?

Mr. SCOTT. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Or the Oil Trust?

Mr. SCOTT. I do not, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. With the Beef Trust?

Mr. SCOTT. I do not. I probably ought to say, in justice to Mr. Cortelyou and Mr. Bliss, that in conversation around a table like this where we used to meet, it was generally understood they would take no contribution from any of those large concerns at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that discussed in your conferences?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir; it was discussed, or, at least, I know I was present when it was said they would not take a contribution from the Stanadrd Oil people and others.

The CHAIRMAN. And you know of no contribution, directly or indirectly, made by any of those combinations?

Mr. SCOTT. I do not, Senator. You can imagine—with hundreds of speakers in every part of the country; with numerous clerks and stenographers, and directing them—I was never taken into the inner circle of raising money. That was not my part of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You were engaged at that time in manufacturing?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Along what line?

Mr. SCOTT. Glassware.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you solicit or talk to other manufacturers of the necessity of raising funds to carry on that campaign?

Mr. SCOTT. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. With no one?

Mr. SCOTT. I did not ask my own corporation, of which I was president, for a dollar, and to the best of my knowledge they did not contribute a dollar.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you recall the correct designation of such associations as existed at that time with reference to organizations or manufacturers or organizations in support of the tariff?

Mr. SCOTT. The only thing, Senator, that I could think that you might want to bring out there would be that the national committee had a contract for certain printing with the so-called Tariff League there in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, there was one association of which the correct designation is the Tariff League—is that what it was called?

Mr. SCOTT. The American Protective Tariff League; I think that is it. We had a contract—that is, I say “we”—the committee had a contract with them, of which I was, I suppose, a part, in contracting for literature, you know, and sending certain campaign documents.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the nature of the contract with them, as to whether they should be paid for the work, or whether their work should be a contribution to the campaign?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir; they were paid in good, hard dollars and cents for every dollar's worth of work they did.

The CHAIRMAN. And so far as you know they made no contribution?

Mr. SCOTT. So far as I know, not a dollar.

The CHAIRMAN. Directly or indirectly?

Mr. SCOTT. Directly or indirectly.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not believe that Senator Clapp asked you about the International Harvester Co. Do you know whether that concern made a contribution or not?

Mr. SCOTT. I do not.

Senator PAYNTER. Are you acquainted with anybody connected with that concern, by personal acquaintance?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not know Clarence Funk?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I supposed that Mr. Perkins was connected with that institution.

Mr. SCOTT. Well, I understood the contribution that Mr. Perkins gave me for West Virginia direct was a personal matter of his own, and because of the personal relations between he and President Roosevelt, and he did not want to feel that President Roosevelt should

lose our State from the fact that we had a weak candidate for governor. If you will allow me to say it, we carried the State, I think, by 32,000 for Roosevelt, and our governor was only elected by between 7,000 and 8,000, if I recollect aright. That was the scare that we had.

Senator PAYNTER. Did anybody—any of these concerns that were mentioned by Senator Clapp—make contributions direct to the State campaign committee in West Virginia?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Through you or directly?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir; I think not. Well, the national committee itself contributed.

Senator PAYNTER. I was not asking about that. I mean individuals or corporations.

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you recall any large amount that was contributed to the Republican national committee, or campaign committee, whatever it is called?

Mr. SCOTT. I do not, Senator.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all I care to ask.

Senator JONES. I want to be clear about this Perkins contribution. As I understand, that was, so far as your understanding goes, Mr. Perkins' personal contribution?

Mr. SCOTT. Absolutely.

Senator JONES. And it was to be used in the State campaign of West Virginia, especially, however, in behalf of the national ticket?

Mr. SCOTT. In behalf of President Roosevelt and his electors, and positively stated by him that it was a personal contribution and that it was on account of the personal friendship between he and the President.

Senator JONES. The thirty or forty thousand dollars that you say you contributed I understand was also your personal contribution?

Mr. SCOTT. And not the committee's; no, sir.

Senator JONES. And it was not money contributed by manufacturing associations with which you were connected, but was purely your personal contribution?

Mr. SCOTT. Purely my own personal money; out of my own bank account.

Senator JONES. And was to be used in connection or, rather, to advance the presidential and also the State ticket?

Mr. SCOTT. It was sent to the treasurer and chairman of the State committee to be used as they thought best in whatever counties. You all know how that is done to further the interest of the party.

Senator PAYNTER. Was Mr. Perkins then a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co.—in 1904?

Mr. SCOTT. I am not sure.

Senator PAYNTER. It seems to be understood that he has now retired from it, but you do not remember the date?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir; I do not.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not know whether Perkins interceded with the President with reference to taking over the Alabama & Tennessee Coal & Coke Co.?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir; I do not know anything about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with the campaign of 1908?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether Mr. Perkins made any contribution in 1904 other than the one he made to you?

Mr. SCOTT. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You know of no contributions except those you have stated?

Mr. SCOTT. None at all.

Mr. Scott was thereupon excused and the committee took a recess on call of the chairman.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

THURSDAY, JULY 25, 1912.

**SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
*Washington, D. C.***

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. for the purpose of further considering Senate resolution 79, relative to contributions made to the Republican and Democratic campaigns of 1904 and 1908.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Oliver, and Paynter.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE R. SHELDON, BANKER, NEW YORK.

George R. Sheldon, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Please state your name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. SHELDON. George R. Sheldon; New York City; banker.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sheldon, you were connected in the national campaign of 1904 with the Republican national committee. were you not?

Mr. SHELDON. Not officially.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you associated with it?

Mr. SHELDON. I had been associated with Mr. Bliss since 1896, but never officially until 1908.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you in conference with the members of the national committee or executive committee during the campaign of 1904?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions that were made to the national committee in 1904?

Mr. SHELDON. Officially, no, sir; I do not; excepting those that I raised myself.

Senator PAYNTER. What do you mean by you do not know officially, Mr. Sheldon?

Mr. SHELDON. Well. in conversation with people I have heard of contributions in 1904 and 1896 and 1900.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you mean by that that the knowledge did not come to you by reason of the fact that you were an official?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. That is what I supposed. That is, you were not an official?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions made to the Republican national campaign committee in the campaign of 1904, by any one connected with the United States Steel Corporation?

Mr. SHELDON. It is difficult to answer that, Senator. Not of my personal knowledge; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I shall put the same question with reference to a number of these combinations without repeating each time. The Tobacco Trust?

Mr. SHELDON. No sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Harvester Trust?

Mr. SHELDON. No sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Sugar Trust?

Mr. SHELDON. No sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Standard Oil?

Mr. SHELDON. No sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The American Protective Tariff League?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Manufacturers' Association?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions having been made by any person connected with any of those organizations that I have named that were made indirectly as a contribution to the campaign of 1904.

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any individual contributions that were made in 1904 of any amount, say of \$5,000 or upward?

Mr. SHELDON. Of my own knowledge; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, or that came to you in conversation with those who were in the management of that campaign, such as you would usually expect in your everyday association with members?

Mr. SHELDON. I remember very well to have heard of the subscriptions of Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co. and Henry C. Frick.

Senator PAYNTER. You are speaking of the campaign of 1904?

Mr. SHELDON. I am, and I am only giving you what I heard. I can not answer you officially.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear this from men who were in the management of the campaign likely to know what was going on?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir; likely. I could not say now from whom because it is eight years ago and I did not burden my mind with it, as I had nothing to do with it.

The CHAIRMAN. You could not recall now who it was?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did understand in a general way that contributions were made by Frick and Morgan?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any others?

Mr. SHELDON. I would not want to say just who, because it is just simply a question of memory; that would be all.

The CHAIRMAN. What connection had you with the Republican national campaign of 1908?

Mr. SHELDON. I was treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. And did you keep a record of the receipts and disbursements of that campaign?

Mr. SHELDON. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you that record now?

Mr. SHELDON. I have it here [producing a book].

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask the reporter to mark this book "Exhibit A."

The book was accordingly marked.

Mr. SHELDON. I was conducting my business under the law of the State of New York, and that law required that the report should be filed within 20 days, I think it was, after the election. That was too short a time to get the accounts of the national campaign, so I filed a provisional account of expenses and then followed it up with a supplementary account, which gives in detail every cent that was spent.

The CHAIRMAN (showing Exhibit A to the witness). Mr. Sheldon, what is Exhibit A?

Mr. SHELDON. Exhibit A is the copy of the report filed by me with the secretary of state of New York and contains an exact statement of every dollar received and every dollar spent in the campaign of 1908.

The CHAIRMAN. It is verified, I notice, by you?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. About when was Exhibit A filed?

Mr. SHELDON. Is not the date there?

The CHAIRMAN. The date of the verification is the 23d day of November, 1908.

Mr. SHELDON. That is it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the date?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And Exhibit A contains a statement of all the moneys received by the committee during the campaign of 1908?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And who received from?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the total receipts of that campaign?

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Hitchcock testified to that the other day.

Mr. SHELDON. Yes; he got it from this [referring to Exhibit A]; \$1,655,518.27.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as you know there was no money directly or indirectly contributed to that national campaign outside of what appears in Exhibit A?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There was no money, so far as you know, disbursed, directly or indirectly, in the national campaign of 1908 except what appears in Exhibit A?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibit A shows, among other items, the allotments to the various States?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom were those allotments delivered, as to the physical control of the funds?

Mr. SHELDON. Delivered to the State chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. And there were no allotments made by the national committee other than those appearing in Exhibit A?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (showing exhibit, being book marked "B," to the witness). What does Exhibit B purport to be?

Mr. SHELDON. It is an itemized statement of the expenditures of the campaign, which in Exhibit A were lumped together.

The CHAIRMAN. And is therefore simply explanatory of some items in gross in Exhibit A?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibit B is also verified by you on the 10th day of December, 1908?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir; you see, it took a little longer time.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the law of the State of New York does not require that the receipts and expenditures outside of the State be filed there, as I understand it?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But in addition to the receipts and expenditures within the State, you did file this complete statement of the entire financial transactions of the committee?

Mr. SHELDON. I did.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Sheldon, did you have any connection with the State committee of New York during that campaign?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. When you say you filed a statement with reference to New York matters you mean contributions made by persons in New York and sums expended in the State of New York.

Mr. SHELDON. All the contributions contributed from every source and all the expenditures made by the national committee in the State of New York, but, of course, none made by the State committee.

Senator PAYNTER. You had no connection with the State committee, then, other than if your account shows that you made a distribution to the committee; I do not know whether it does or not?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You said that J. P. Morgan & Co. made a contribution to the campaign of 1904 as you understood from those connected with the management of the campaign?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you remember the amount?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir; I do not.

Senator PAYNTER. And Mr. H. C. Frick also made a contribution, I think you said?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Then Senator Clapp asked you to mention others, and you said it would be a matter of memory. That is the case as to the two as to any others, is it not?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir; because I happen to know about those two.

Senator PAYNTER. What do you mean when you say it would be a matter of memory?

Mr. SHELDON. Well it would be simply remembering it; to be sure that I was remembering something that I heard eight years ago. I would not want to be accurate about it.

Senator OLIVER. It is a matter of hearsay?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. If you have in your mind the name of anybody—else who made a contribution to your campaign—I mean a large amount—will you state who it was from your best recollection and the information you obtained from those connected with you in the campaign?

Mr. SHELDON. I have been connected with the national committee in the campaigns since 1896, and to ask me whether it was 1896 that I remember, or 1900 that I remember, or 1904, or 1908, I would not want to do it.

Senator PAYNTER. Can you recall anyone other than those you have mentioned who contributed in 1904—a large amount, I do not mean an insignificant sum?

Mr. SHELDON. No; I would not be able to.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know where the books are that were kept, or the record that was kept of the contributions of 1904?

Mr. SHELDON. I understood they were destroyed.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Bliss is dead, I believe?

Mr. SHELDON. He is.

Senator PAYNTER. He was treasurer in 1904?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Does your record show a contribution of Mr. Kerens, our minister to—what country is he minister to?

Mr. SHELDON. Austria.

Senator PAYNTER. Or do you remember it?

Mr. SHELDON. I do not remember it.

Senator PAYNTER. The book would show if he made a contribution?

Mr. SHELDON. Certainly.

Senator PAYNTER. There has been some discussion in the newspapers and otherwise about the contribution that was raised by Mr. Harriman in 1904.

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. What do you know about that contribution, if anything, and please give us the source of your information?

Mr. SHELDON. Well, that has all been printed, Senator, from my letter to Mr. Roosevelt.

Senator PAYNTER. I did not know you had written a letter to Mr. Roosevelt.

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir. It was widely published.

Senator PAYNTER. Suppose you give us the explanation now, in order to have it in substantial and permanent form?

Mr. SHELDON. About a week before the election Gov. Odell, who was State chairman, and very much interested——

Senator PAYNTER. The State election took place at the same time the presidential election did?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir. He was very much interested in the election of Mr. Higgins as governor, and he came to Mr. Bliss, who was then treasurer, and told him that whereas it was perfectly clear that Mr. Roosevelt would be elected the State ticket was in doubt, and asked Mr. Bliss for some money. Mr. Bliss told him that he had no money to give him, but that he would see what he could do. He went to Mr. Harriman and told him about it, and Mr. Harriman got, together with Mr. Bliss, some \$230,000, and that money was handed directly to the State committee and never went into the hands of the national committee.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, was it possible to use that money without helping the national ticket the same as the State ticket?

Mr. SHELDON. I should say not.

Senator PAYNTER. It went into the hands of the officers of the Republican Party, who were looking after both the State and national tickets in the State of New York?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you say Mr. Odell came to Mr. Bliss, the treasurer of the national committee?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Who saw Mr. Harriman?

Mr. SHELDON. Mr. Bliss.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, did Mr. Harriman see anybody else who was interested in that election before the contribution was raised or made?

Mr. SHELDON. I do not catch your question.

Senator PAYNTER. I say, did Mr. Harriman see anybody, other than Mr. Odell or Mr. Bliss, in connection with that contribution before it was made?

Mr. SHELDON. I assume he did. It was made by a number of people through his request.

Senator PAYNTER. Was it not the subject of correspondence between Mr. Harriman and the then President, Mr. Roosevelt?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Before the election?

Mr. SHELDON. Mr. Roosevelt never knew anything about this contribution until long afterwards.

Senator PAYNTER. Until after it was made?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. What was that letter, that disappeared from Mr. Harriman's files, that public attention was called to at that time?

Mr. SHELDON. I do not know.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know the date of that?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir; I do not know anything about it.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not recall either; I am just asking you for information.

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir; I do not remember.

Senator PAYNTER. And was not the first time the public was apprised of that contribution, the appearance of a letter that the President had written to Mr. Harriman?

Mr. SHELDON. I do not remember, Senator.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not know about that. Do you remember that letter at all?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir; there was a letter——

Senator PAYNTER. The contents of it?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you understand how much the Frick contribution of 1904 was, that you heard of?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir; I do not remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you understand, or do you recall, how much the Morgan contribution was?

Mr. SHELDON. Not exactly; no, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I will get you to explain, in that connection, how it was that you came to know about those contributions. You mentioned the fact that you did know about those because you could recall them?

Mr. SHELDON. Because they told me.

Senator PAYNTER. Who do you mean by "they"?

Mr. SHELDON. The members of the firm of Morgan & Co. and Mr. Frick himself.

Senator PAYNTER. Did Mr. Morgan tell you himself?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you remember the names of the members of the firm who told you?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. It is desired that these books be retained by the committee for a while.

Mr. SHELDON. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. And instead of taking the time this morning to go through the books I will have a list made up of the more important contributors, and also we may want to ask you beside what you know of the relation of those contributors to the various interests.

Mr. SHELDON. Senator, there are only a few there of any size to interest anybody. You see I had nearly 16,000 names, and a million six hundred thousand dollars would be only \$100 apiece.

Senator PAYNTER. You said that Mr. Roosevelt did not have any knowledge of it until after the contribution was made. You mean so far as you have heard he had no knowledge of it?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir. I might say that there are 3,200 polling places in the city of New York, and with one watcher on the inside and two outside, at \$5 a day apiece, which is the price usually paid, it cost \$47,000. Then to circularize the city the postage alone would amount to about \$12,000.

Senator PAYNTER. You mean the State, not the city?

Mr. SHELDON. The State; yes, sir.

Mr. Sheldon was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. The official reporter will make a list of all contributors appearing in Exhibit A of Mr. Sheldon's testimony and Exhibit B of Mr. Ridder's testimony, where the amount contributed is \$5,000 or upward. He will also copy the summaries showing the total receipts and expenditures and for what purpose expended, as appears by said Exhibit A of Mr. Sheldon's testimony and Exhibit B of Mr. Ridder's testimony, and insert them in the record.

The extracts from the exhibits referred to are as follows:

List of contributors to the national Republican campaign of 1908, in sums of \$5,000 and over, appearing in Exhibit A, introduced in testimony of George R. Sheldon.

J. G. Schmidlapp.....	\$5, 000. 00
C. N. Bliss, treasurer.....	19, 389. 88
Andrew Carnegie.....	20, 000. 00
Alex. Smith Cochran.....	15, 000. 00
William Nelson Cromwell.....	15, 000. 00
Larz Anderson.....	25, 000. 00
M. C. D. Borden.....	10, 000. 00
Jacob H. Schiff.....	5, 000. 00
Simon Guggenheim.....	5, 000. 00
Fred. P. Smith.....	5, 000. 00
Whitelaw Reid.....	10, 000. 00
Kountze Bros.....	5, 000. 00
Mark T. Cox.....	7, 500. 00
William P. Clyde.....	5, 000. 00
J. & W. Seligman & Co.....	5, 000. 00
Frank A. Munsey.....	10, 000. 00
Charles P. Taft.....	50, 000. 00
A. D. Julliard & Co.....	5, 000. 00
J. P. Morgan & Co.....	20, 000. 00
Norman B. Ream.....	5, 000. 00
Members Union League, Philadelphia, Pa.....	5, 000. 00

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

Fred. P. Smith.....	\$5,000.00
Jacob H. Schiff.....	5,000.00
Robert Bacon.....	5,000.00
George Lauder.....	5,000.00
C. Sidney Shepard.....	5,000.00
D. R. Hanna.....	5,000.00
G. A. Garretsch.....	6,000.00
T. H. Shevlin.....	5,000.00
Mrs. A. A. Anderson.....	5,000.00
Members Union League Club, Philadelphia, Pa.....	5,000.00
E. A. Corbin.....	10,000.00
C. P. Taft.....	10,000.00
Thomas F. Walsh.....	5,000.00
E. C. Converse.....	5,000.00
William Barbour.....	5,000.00
Ferdinand Sulzberger.....	5,000.00
Max J. Sulzberger.....	5,000.00
G. A. Garretson, treasurer.....	5,000.00
W. J. Behan, treasurer.....	5,000.00
G. A. Garretson, treasurer.....	5,000.00
W. J. Behan, treasurer.....	5,000.00
Members Union League, Philadelphia, Pa.....	10,000.00
A. M. Huntington.....	5,000.00
G. A. Garretson, treasurer.....	5,000.00
G. F. Baker.....	5,000.00
James Speyer.....	5,000.00
A. G. Paine, representing members of the Union League Club.....	34,777.00
A. Busch.....	5,000.00
C. P. Taft.....	25,000.00
Myron T. Herrick, chairman.....	25,000.00
C. P. Taft.....	25,000.00
Myron T. Herrick, chairman.....	25,000.00
H. W. Coe, chairman.....	5,000.00
R. C. Kerens.....	5,000.00
W. S. Dickey.....	5,000.00
E. T. Stotesbury, chairman.....	10,000.00
R. C. Kerens.....	5,000.00
S. Vail and associates.....	9,000.00
J. Bromley.....	5,000.00
E. T. Stotesbury.....	5,000.00

SUMMARY.

[From Exhibit A appearing in testimony of George R. Sheldon.]

Net amount received and disbursed at New York and Chicago headquarters.....	\$1,035,368.27
In addition to the above, there was collected by the national committee's finance committees in the several States and turned over to the Republican State committees for use in their own States.....	620,150.00

Summary of receipts and expenditures, Republican national committee, New York headquarters, 1908.

[From Exhibit A of testimony of George R. Sheldon.]

RECEIPTS.

General income account..... \$1,134,182.28

EXPENDITURES.

Literary bureau:

Salaries of employees.....	\$22,404.28	
Postage.....	1,959.60	
Miscellaneous bills.....	65,914.38	
		\$90,278.26

Assistant Secretary's office:

Salaries of employees.....	28,169.67	
Postage.....	1,250.00	
Salaries and traveling expenses of special agents.....	5,462.63	
Miscellaneous bills.....	3,052.02	
		37,934.62

Treasurer's office:

Salaries of employees.....	4,356.25	
Postage.....	700.00	
Petty cash.....	526.40	
Miscellaneous bills.....	2,652.61	
		8,235.26

Executive committee:

Salaries of employees.....	8,703.54	
Postage.....	440.70	
Miscellaneous bills.....	5,056.42	
		14,200.66

Railroad bureau:

Salaries of employees.....	13,663.07	
Postage.....	200.00	
Railroad fares.....	1,535.55	
Miscellaneous bills.....	9,994.00	
		25,392.62

Advisory committee:

Salaries of employees.....	11,317.99	
Postage.....	740.00	
Miscellaneous bills.....	1,143.50	
		13,201.49

Speakers' bureau:

Salaries and traveling expenses of employees.....	41,296.91
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Cincinnati office:

Salaries of employees, rent, etc.....	12,787.21
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Chicago headquarters:

Remittances.....	\$75,000.00	
Miscellaneous bills.....	7,239.34	
		82,239.34

Special train service.....

24,267.96

Special organizations, including First Voters' Club,

Commercial Travelers, College League, etc.....	17,402.51
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Sundry disbursements:

Photographs.....	\$2,002.45	
Telegraph service.....	3,265.98	
Telephone service.....	686.14	
News service.....	27,897.05	
Advertising.....	26,372.69	
Buttons and badges.....	30,863.58	
Furniture.....	5,861.94	
Rent.....	7,001.92	
Printing speeches, text books, campaign literature, general printing, pamphlets, documents, etc.....	76,679.14	
Stationery.....	2,903.09	
Lithographs.....	43,456.43	
		226,990.41

Allotments to State committees:

Sent to the chairmen thereof, viz—

New York (State and county).....	\$284, 675. 00
Ohio.....	21, 745. 00
Maine.....	20, 000. 00
Delaware.....	20, 000. 00
Indiana.....	61, 000. 00
Maryland.....	25, 000. 00
Massachusetts.....	11, 000. 00
Pennsylvania.....	30, 000. 00
New Jersey.....	10, 000. 00
Iowa.....	4, 000. 00
West Virginia.....	5, 825. 00
Virginia.....	1, 500. 00
Tennessee.....	1, 500. 00
Missouri.....	2, 300. 00
Republican congressional committee	9, 250. 00

To chairmen of State committees in the following States, each \$1,000, viz:

Oregon, Nevada, Arizona, Illinois, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Montana, Kansas, Wyoming, Utah, Texas, California, Idaho, Colorado, Oklahoma, North Dakota, New Mex- ico.....	21, 000. 00
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\$528, 795. 00

Total expenditures..... 1, 123, 022. 25

Petty cash..... 473. 60

Cash in bank..... 10, 686. 43

11, 160. 03\$1, 134, 182. 28*Summary of receipts and expenditures, Republican national committee, Chicago head-
quarters, 1908.*

[From Exhibit A, of testimony of George R. Sheldon.]

General income account..... \$423, 689. 69

State treasurers' collections:

Michigan.....	\$5, 000. 00
Illinois.....	13, 446. 05
Missouri.....	39, 192. 20
Nebraska.....	4, 230. 55
Oregon.....	5, 777. 50
Pennsylvania.....	25, 000. 00
Wisconsin.....	5, 000. 00

97, 646. 30

Literary bureau:

Salaries.....	8, 455. 94
Express.....	11, 976. 23
Campaign novelties.....	566. 99
Advertising.....	250. 00
News service.....	51. 03
Kellogg's plates, and others.....	50, 633. 72
Buttons and badges.....	13, 037. 09
Lithographs.....	20, 167. 76
Pictures.....	1, 843. 28
Traveling expenses.....	1, 036. 75
Miscellaneous, including printing, etc.....	10, 777. 52
Documents.....	48, 504. 07

167, 300. 38

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

83

Speakers' bureau:

Salaries.....	\$17,523.27
Campaign novelties.....	106.80
News service.....	900.00
Pictures.....	627.22
Traveling expenses.....	14,906.18
Miscellaneous.....	6,458.11
Special-train service.....	31,872.73

\$72,394.31

Secretary's office:

Salaries.....	5,687.27
Traveling expenses and board.....	823.15
Miscellaneous.....	282.35

6,792.77

Treasurer's office (including expense State chairmen and State finance committees):

Salaries.....	5,850.68
Express.....	9.05
Traveling expenses.....	108.00
Miscellaneous, including all supplies, auditor's office, treasurer's office, printing, etc.....	7,411.39

13,379.12

Executive committee:

Salaries.....	8,259.17
Pictures.....	532.10
Traveling expenses, including hotel, etc.....	11,878.65
Miscellaneous.....	5,990.50

26,660.42

Rent.....	7,900.00
Postage.....	8,601.96
Telegraph.....	5,039.51
Telephone.....	1,319.27
Furniture.....	6,236.16
Allotments to State committees.....	100,636.45
Collected by State finance committees and used in States where collected.....	97,646.30
Cash.....	7,430.34

521,335.99

FRED W. UPHAM, Assistant Treasurer.

List of contributors to the Democratic national campaign of 1908, in sums of \$5,000 and over, appearing in Exhibit A, introduced in testimony of Herman Ridder.

Tammany Hall.....	\$10,000.00
Herman Ridder.....	10,000.00
Victor F. Ridder.....	9,000.00
Bernard H. Ridder.....	9,000.00
Joseph E. Ridder.....	9,000.00

Summary of receipts and expenditures of the Democratic national committee during the campaign of 1908, as appears by Exhibit B, in testimony of Herman Ridder, treasurer.

Total amount of money received by the Democratic national committee for the year 1908.....	\$620,644.77
Total amount disbursed.....	619,410.06
Balance in hand.....	1,228.71

Distribution of disbursements by vouchers shown by departments of the Democratic national committee, 1908, as appears in Exhibit B, in testimony of Herman Ridder.

Auditor's office.....	\$866. 50
Secretary's office.....	4, 108. 51
Treasurer's office.....	5, 073. 21
Commercial travelers.....	153. 00
Club organization bureau.....	5, 020. 76
Labor bureau.....	37, 401. 36
Advisory committee.....	3, 020. 95
Organization of States.....	129, 053. 62
Purchasing agent department.....	1, 340. 73
Finance committee.....	26, 586. 54
Congressional committee.....	3, 625. 00
Publicity bureau.....	87, 899. 43
Ex-treasurer's account, miscellaneous, sight draft on Oklahoma bank....	4, 010. 85
Sergeant at arms.....	4, 046. 37
Documents.....	142, 537. 25
Chairman and vice chairman.....	6, 430. 00
Reproduction bureau.....	5, 115. 60
Speakers' bureau.....	33, 786. 95
General fund.....	38, 111. 80
Rent of headquarters.....	13, 746. 72
Telegrams.....	13, 761. 90
Telephones.....	2, 199. 30
Express charges.....	13, 061. 17
Postage.....	37, 452. 54
Total.....	619, 410. 06

The CHAIRMAN. The following letter and statement of William Mailly, secretary of the Socialist Party during 1904, will be put in the record:

GEORGETOWN, MASS., July 23, 1912.

Hon. MOSES E. CLAPP,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I inclose herewith verified statement of the receipts and expenditures of the national organization of the Socialist Party during 1904, which included the national campaign report of the party for that year, during which time I was national secretary of the party. I trust that this statement will meet with the requirements of your committee in its investigation of the national campaign funds of the respective political parties.

As I shall leave Georgetown on July 27, you can address me hereafter, if you desire, at the office of the Metropolitan Magazine, 286 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

With respectful regards, I am, very truly, yours,

WILLIAM MAILLY.

HAVERHILL, MASS., July 23, 1912.

The subscriber, William Mailly, deposes and says that the hereunto attached printed report of the finances of the National Socialist party for the year 1904, as published and circulated in the Socialist Party Official Bulletin, issue of January, 1905, is a truthful and correct statement of the financial transactions of the said party in every particular. Further, deponent sayeth that there were but two contributions of \$500 each, these being made by the national organization of the United Brewery Workers of America, and the Appeal to Reason, a weekly paper published at Girard, Kans., respectively. The sources of revenue distinctly raised for campaign purposes are found under the following captions: Supplies, literature, propaganda and campaign fund, buttons, lithographs, and Debs and Hanford campaign account.

WILLIAM MAILLY.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 23d day of July, 1912.

[SEAL.]

RALPH EDWIN GARDNER,
Notary Public.

Commission expires December 27, 1917.

TABLE A.—Receipts and expenditures from Jan. 1, 1904, to Dec. 31, 1904.

RECEIPTS.

	Dues.	Supplies.	Literature.	Propaganda and camp fund.	Buttons.
January.....	\$983.90	\$43.85	.....	\$101.50	\$7.85
February.....	1,248.00	55.88	.....	373.58	19.55
March.....	1,123.85	26.85	.....	340.79	10.15
April.....	1,157.10	16.02	.....	116.30	10.95
May.....	962.85	10.05	\$4.00	92.68	9.20
June.....	947.91	106.80	26.26	185.02	15.74
July.....	1,013.20	117.38	363.23	1,753.71	44.28
August.....	933.70	155.45	952.78	1,286.35	279.21
September.....	966.93	143.21	1,335.21	1,697.88	442.01
October.....	1,379.25	99.69	1,371.92	4,006.59	355.87
November.....	940.80	110.59	79.07	710.13	66.15
December.....	1,170.45	116.56	67.36	240.62	32.50
Total.....	12,827.94	992.33	4,199.83	11,865.15	1,293.46

	Litho- graphs.	Lecture bureau.	Debs and Hanford camp ac- count.	Miscella- neous.	Total.
To balance.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$168.44
January.....	.....	\$38.00	.....	\$5.83	1,180.93
February.....	.....	19.65	.....	3.10	1,719.76
March.....	.....	5.55	.....	18.20	1,525.39
April.....	.....	35.00	.....	12.85	1,348.22
May.....	.....	4.50	.....	23.31	1,106.59
June.....	.....	.....	.....	4.95	1,286.68
July.....	\$1.25	.....	.....	17.20	3,310.25
August.....	66.47	.....	.....	10.90	3,684.86
September.....	182.85	.....	\$320.00	27.11	5,115.20
October.....	440.28	.....	753.53	51.75	8,508.88
November.....	67.65	.....	94.00	60.19	2,128.58
December.....	.....	.....	.....	32.13	1,674.62
Total.....	758.50	102.70	1,167.53	267.52	32,743.40

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

TABLE A.—Receipts and expenditures from Jan. 1, 1904, to Dec. 31, 1904—Continued.

EXPENDITURES.						
	Ex-change.	Expense.	Freight and express.	Organiza-tion and agitation.	Office equip-ment.	Office help.
January.....	\$1. 15	\$80. 69	\$21. 74	\$349. 79	\$13. 30	\$150. 00
February.....	.....	40. 41	11. 99	522. 81	73. 15	138. 00
March.....	3. 69	149. 30	37. 82	344. 20	60. 95	93. 00
April.....	. 65	84. 59	6. 65	89. 20	19. 10	94. 00
May.....	. 33	20. 12	18. 01	460. 37	5. 00	91. 00
June.....	1. 18	15. 91	79. 92	296. 01	21. 55	91. 50
July.....	6. 12	14. 84	30. 69	893. 99	49. 04	120. 56
August.....	5. 83	41. 56	256. 57	425. 40	36. 25	230. 00
September.....	4. 75	68. 02	263. 39	602. 92	25. 35	305. 00
October.....	11. 30	58. 26	969. 93	762. 38	67. 97	483. 00
November.....	3. 80	39. 56	68. 24	161. 92	8. 50	223. 00
December.....	1. 25	28. 83	11. 10	315. 64	15. 92	158. 00
Total.....	40. 05	622. 09	1, 776. 05	5, 224. 63	396. 08	2, 187. 00

	Postage.	Printing.	Salary.	Tele-grams.	Quorum.	Merchan-dise, literature, and buttons.
January.....	\$50. 50	\$193. 00	\$203. 33	\$21. 10	\$124. 50	.....
February.....	82. 58	121. 50	283. 33	43. 02	51. 45	.....
March.....	88. 82	270. 08	263. 33	10. 93	4. 15	\$77. 88
April.....	53. 00	107. 75	308. 33	17. 87	7. 50	.....
May.....	66. 78	75. 38	263. 33	16. 88	19. 45	.....
June.....	86. 65	173. 30	323. 33	42. 75	70. 56	.....
July.....	122. 24	513. 55	427. 93	6. 80	87. 65	633. 20
August.....	228. 35	1, 093. 90	466. 50	11. 77	17. 50	453. 45
September.....	424. 41	1, 295. 75	495. 00	38. 22	24. 50	1, 175. 36
October.....	731. 20	3, 120. 63	585. 00	36. 73	87. 50	1, 656. 22
November.....	158. 30	438. 50	445. 85	20. 05	12. 50	345. 17
December.....	76. 21	543. 00	370. 15	51. 16	7. 00	94. 64
Total.....	2, 056. 04	7, 946. 64	4, 533. 31	323. 28	514. 26	4, 435. 92

	Lecture bureau (old debt).	Office rent.	Milwau-kee special speakers.	National com-mittee, 1902.	Miscel-laneous.	Total.
January.....	.....	\$33. 00	.....	.....	\$2. 35	\$1, 264. 45
February.....	\$40. 00	33. 00	\$187. 90	\$25. 00	34. 70	1, 689. 84
March.....	41. 00	33. 00	102. 46	.....	8. 75	1, 564. 36
April.....	10. 00	61. 50	64. 13	61. 75	165. 50	1, 242. 85
May.....	101. 33	33. 50	.....	.....	73. 49	1, 143. 64
June.....	.....	65. 00	.....	.....	51. 83	1, 319. 79
July.....	.....	100. 00	.....	.....	123. 25	3, 129. 70
August.....	.....	100. 00	.....	.....	201. 82	3, 568. 90
September.....	.....	120. 00	.....	.....	232. 81	5, 075. 48
October.....	.....	120. 00	.....	.....	215. 84	8, 905. 96
November.....	.....	100. 00	.....	.....	83. 55	2, 103. 94
December.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5. 10	1, 678. 00
Total.....	192. 33	799. 00	354. 49	86. 75	1, 198. 99	32, 686. 91
Cash balance Jan. 1, 1905.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	56. 49
Total.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	32, 743. 40

TABLE B.—*Dues paid by States.*

	Unorgan- ized States.	Organized States.	Total.	Balance due to na- tional office for dues, stamps, received dur- ing—	
				1903	1904
Alabama.....		\$59.50	\$59.50	\$23.20	
Arizona.....		141.00	141.00		
Arkansas.....		94.00	94.00		
California.....		969.00	969.00	70.10	
Colorado.....		367.03	367.03	50.15	
Connecticut.....		229.00	229.00	25.00	
Delaware.....	\$10.00		10.00		
District of Columbia.....	20.00		20.00		
Florida.....		130.00	130.00	22.95	
Georgia.....	30.20		30.20		
Idaho.....		218.25	218.25		
Illinois.....		1,115.00	1,115.00	150.00	
Indiana.....		372.60	372.60		
Indian Territory.....	125.15		125.15		
Iowa.....		300.60	300.60	10.85	
Kansas.....		382.45	382.45	2.85	
Kentucky.....		132.00	132.00	2.55	
Louisiana.....	6.70	75.50	82.20	5.40	
Maine.....		102.50	102.50	28.60	
Maryland.....	79.40		79.40		
Massachusetts.....		779.15	779.15	31.25	
Michigan.....		275.00	275.00	1.80	
Minnesota.....		500.00	500.00	1.75	
Mississippi.....	17.80		17.80		
Missouri.....		465.00	465.00		
Montana.....		258.35	258.35	11.60	
Nebraska.....		150.00	150.00	26.25	
Nevada.....	14.10		14.10		
New Hampshire.....		59.80	59.80		
New Jersey.....		450.25	450.25	21.25	
New Mexico.....	69.00		69.00		
New York.....		1,074.65	1,074.65		
North Carolina.....	10.30		10.30		
North Dakota.....		79.90	79.90	2.50	
Ohio.....		805.00	805.00	95.00	
Oklahoma.....		86.75	86.75		\$158.50
Oregon.....		289.55	289.55	7.50	
Pennsylvania.....		668.10	668.10	210.00	
Rhode Island.....	39.80	30.00	69.80	10.00	
South Carolina.....	1.10		1.10		
South Dakota.....		76.20	76.20		
Tennessee.....	113.45		113.45		
Texas.....		190.40	190.40	10.29	
Utah.....	100.95		100.95		
Vermont.....		17.80	17.80		
Virginia.....	38.35		38.35		
Washington.....		673.31	673.31	56.24	
West Virginia.....		59.00	59.00		
Wisconsin.....		390.10	390.10		102.50
Wyoming.....	47.10	20.90	68.00		For lithos.
Members at large.....	16.90		16.90		
Total.....	740.30	12,087.64	12,827.94	886.58	261.00

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

TABLE C.—*Lecturers and organizers.*

RECEIPTS.

	Lectures.	Donations and collections.	National office.	Total.
Bigelow, Geo. E.....		\$388.40	\$185.71	\$1,074.11
Brown, J. W.....	\$388.00	142.37	277.53	1,508.90
Breckon, Ch. L.....	13.50	3.84	13.52	50.34
Breslau-Huat, Oertrude.....		98.08	13.52	102.20
			42.00	42.00
	34.00	175.94	93.00	303.94
	1,127.15	14.70	179.59	1,321.44
	5.00	26.00	164.21	194.21
			40.00	40.00
			26.97	26.97
	2,265.00			2,265.00
	90.50	1,265.82	204.50	1,679.82
		30.87	44.65	84.52
	1,771.00			1,771.00
	125.50	120.00	10	245.50
			72.50	72.50
		10.06	122.39	142.47
		22.10	19.96	41.96
			24.05	24.05
n)		50.00	75.90	125.90
		593.99	256.54	840.53
	155.90	4.22	145.70	305.82
	190.50	59.40	192.47	432.37
	101.75	123.70	361.23	626.68
		304.09	353.64	745.22
			55.20	55.20
			40.63	40.63
		2.00	345.36	367.36
	300.00		115.86	505.86
			40.41	40.41
		7.01	45.00	52.01
		72.55	186.75	259.30
Wentworth, F. H.....	194.00		80.27	254.27
Work, J. M.....		2.17	70.73	72.90
Work, J. M. (organiser).....	44.00	42.55	71.52	158.07
White, Dan A.....		22.52	83.05	105.57
Wilkins, M. W.....	9.00	804.92	569.18	1,483.10
	7,509.90	5,082.22	4,881.88	17,483.40

TABLE C.—*Lecturers and organizers—Continued.*

EXPENSES.

	Salary.	Hotel.	Railroad fare.	Miscellaneous.	Total.	Due organizers.	Remitted to national office.	Paid balance 1903.
Bigelow, Geo. E.....	\$570.00	\$145.00	\$303.11	\$56.00	\$1,074.11			\$49.49
Brown, J. W.....	615.00	348.35	536.43	10.12	1,509.90			61.36
Breckon, Ch. L.....	21.00	5.25	18.15	5.94	50.34			
Breslau-Hunt, Gertrude.....	63.00	4.10	28.75	6.35	102.20			
Bennett, J. W.....								88.16
Brover, Jas. H.....	21.00	9.50	10.95	.55	42.00			
Carr, E. E.....	141.00	71.85	85.48	18.00	316.33	\$12.39		
Carey, James F.....	516.00	276.25	498.89	30.30	1,321.44			
Chase, John C.....	117.00	45.25	30.46	1.50	194.21			
Carrol, J. W.....	60.00	25.00			85.00	45.00		
Cohen, Ella Reeve.....		2.00	19.80	5.17	26.97			
Dewart, W. L.....								1.00
Debs, Eugene V.....		413.00	843.70	206.04	1,462.74		\$802.26	
Goebel, G. H.....	702.00	364.10	562.45	51.27	1,679.82			147.21
Gaylord, W. R.....				84.52	84.52			62.53
Hanford, Ben.....	911.94		529.06		1,441.00		330.00	
Hazlett, Ida Crouch.....	125.00	15.50	84.90	20.10	246.50			
Haves, Max S.....	27.00	14.50	30.00	2.00	73.50			
Hyland, J. P.....								73.20
Lucas, Thos. H.....	90.00	20.95	30.88	.64	142.47			
Miller, Guy E.....	27.00	3.65	9.96	1.35	41.96			
Mailly, Wm.....		1.50	18.55	4.00	24.05			
Origo, Silvio (Italian).....	60.00	39.50	17.00	4.40	126.90			
McKee, Harry M.....	342.00	91.50	372.93	34.10	840.53			.25
Petriella, Teofilo.....	105.00	55.65	125.75	19.42	305.82			
Pergler, Chas.....	276.00	13.50	142.87		432.37			
Ray, John M.....	339.00	96.60	189.13	1.95	626.68			
Saltiel, Robert.....	390.00	212.55	130.78	15.00	748.33			
Seeds, F. E.....	21.00	5.50	28.20	.50	55.20			
Simons, A. M.....	21.00	9.95	9.33	.35	40.63			
Slayton, J. W.....	129.00	68.75	157.00	12.63	367.38			
Spargo, John.....	162.00	80.00	243.11	20.55	505.66			
Strickland, F. G.....	24.00	3.40	12.11	.90	40.41			
Toole, Wm. A.....	10.00	14.40	25.57	3.70	53.67	.66		
Towner, C. G.....	156.00	26.65	74.40	2.25	259.30			36.80
Wentworth, F. H.....	93.00	46.30	106.47	8.50	254.27			
Work, J. M.....	40.00		32.90		72.90			
Work, J. M. (organizer).....	110.00		48.43		158.43			
White, Dan A.....	30.00	11.50	58.15	6.90	106.55			
Wilkins, M. W.....	912.00	211.85	389.71	48.83	1,562.39	67.29		50.10
	7,238.94	2,753.35	5,805.36	683.83	16,476.48	125.34	1,132.26	565.09

TABLE C.—*Lecturers and organizers*—Continued.

	States visited.	Days out.	Towns visited.	Meetings held.	Locals organized.	Miles traveled.
Bigelow, Geo. E.....	12	166	143	173	.....	9,193
Brown, J. W.....	15	146	95	102	.....	7,971
Breckon, Ch. L.....	2	7	5	7	.....	705
Breslau-Hunt, Gertrude.....	1	22	16	18	2	.....
Brower, Jas. H.....	1	7	3	7	.....	368
Carr, E. E.....	2	55	56	36	2	2,999
Carey, James F.....	22	173	128	189	.....	15,992
Chase, John C.....	3	39	33	23	.....	1,045
Carrol, J. W.....	1	20	.....	.....	.....	.....
Debs, Eugene V.....	29	61	76	76	.....	16,157
Goebel, G. H.....	22	237	196	227	2	17,222
Hanford, Ben.....	21	131	50	86	.....	.....
Hazlett, Ida Crouch.....	3	44	24	38	.....	.....
Hayes, Max S.....	1	9	2	9	.....	1,000
Lucas, Thos. H.....	1	30	23	24	.....	.....
Miller, Guy E.....	1	9	8	7	.....	443
Mailly, Wm.....	1	7	1	10	.....	609
Origo, Silvio (Italian).....	3	22	9	15	3	890
McKee, Harry M.....	10	117	85	106	11	9,936
Petriella, Teofilo.....	8	37	28	30	5	.....
Pergler, Chas.....	8	91	45	78	17	5,528
Ray, John M.....	7	112	73	86	6	6,420
Saltiel, Robert.....	12	130	63	129	13	4,015
Seeds, F. E.....	1	7	5	7	.....	938
Simons, A. M.....	1	7	3	7	.....	315
Slayton, J. W.....	4	44	25	31	1	4,572
Spargo, John.....	17	54	38	56	.....	7,514
Strickland, F. G.....	1	8	4	9	.....	605
Toole, Wm. A.....	2	9	14	8	.....	909
Towner, C. G.....	7	52	38	42	4	2,317
Wentworth, F. H.....	9	31	21	21	.....	3,040
Work, J. M.....	1	7	2	1	.....	1,154
Work, J. M. (organizer).....	4	22	14	16	.....	1,673
White, Dan A.....	5	13	9	13	.....	1,045
Wilkins, M. W.....	18	289	198	193	18	12,859
.....	.....	2,315	.....	1,836	.....	.....

The CHAIRMAN. The following letter and statement of J. Mahlon Barnes, campaign manager for the Socialist campaign for the year 1908, will be put in the record:

CHICAGO, ILL., July 19, 1912.

MORRIS E. CLAPP, Esq.,
Interstate Commerce Committee, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: It is with pleasure that I comply with your request of July 2, in which you ask for a verified statement of the receipts and expenditures for the Socialist campaign during the year 1908. These records are on file and accessible in the national office of the Socialist Party.

Herewith is inclosed a printed financial report accompanied by an affidavit as to its correctness. If I can be of any further service, kindly inform me.

Very truly, yours,

J. MAHLON BARNES,
Campaign Manager.

CHICAGO, July 20, 1912.

The subscriber, J. Mahlon Barnes, deposes and says that the hereunto-attached printed report of the finances of the National Socialist Party for the year 1908, as published and circulated in the Socialist Party Official Bulletin, issue of January, 1909, is a truthful and correct statement of the financial transactions of the said party in every particular. Further, deponent sayeth that there were no contributions in excess of \$500 except by the national organization of the United Brewery Workers of America. That three persons loaned sums in excess of \$500, which loans were repaid prior to the close of the campaign. The sources of revenue distinctly raised for campaign purposes are found under the following captions: Supplies, literature, buttons, campaign fund, red special fund, and red special loans.

J. MAHLON BARNES.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 20th day of July, 1912.

[SEAL.]

JAS. P. LARSEN,
Notary Public.

Commission expires February 15, 1915.

TABLE A.—Dues and mileage assessments paid by States, locals in unorganized States, and members at large.

	Organized States.	Unorgan-ized States.	Total.	Mileage assessment.
Alabama.....	\$144.10		\$144.10	\$27.45
Alaska.....		\$35.40	35.40	
Arizona.....	168.25		168.25	131.95
Arkansas.....	411.00		411.00	184.45
California.....	1,860.00		1,860.00	574.70
Colorado.....	529.00		529.00	195.65
Connecticut.....	322.75		322.75	131.60
Delaware.....		30.00	30.00	7.00
Florida.....	137.50		137.50	49.40
Georgia.....		42.60	42.60	16.45
Hawaii.....		19.00	19.00	7.00
Idaho.....	403.75		403.75	156.80
Illinois.....	1,783.50		1,783.50	419.70
Indiana.....	645.10		645.10	132.60
Iowa.....	520.00		520.00	219.80
Kansas.....	775.00		775.00	246.85
Kentucky.....	140.00		140.00	26.60
Louisiana.....	150.00		150.00	44.80
Maine.....	154.35		154.35	62.90
Maryland.....	150.00		150.00	47.60
Massachusetts.....	1,066.75		1,066.75	365.30
Michigan.....	712.90		712.90	199.05
Minnesota.....	1,102.70		1,102.70	373.91
Mississippi.....		37.15	37.15	
Missouri.....	981.00		981.00	364.00
Montana.....	426.80		426.80	145.50
Nebraska.....		306.75	306.75	53.55
Nevada.....	76.10	128.30	204.40	28.70
New Hampshire.....	131.20		131.20	39.55
New Jersey.....	850.00		850.00	369.60
New Mexico.....	25.00	160.85	185.85	42.55
New York.....	2,075.00		2,075.00	860.80
North Carolina.....		79.10	79.10	23.80
North Dakota.....	137.55		137.55	54.60
Ohio.....	1,293.55		1,293.55	350.70
Oklahoma.....	1,346.20		1,346.20	617.05
Oregon.....	554.50		554.50	315.70
Pennsylvania.....	1,584.40		1,584.40	328.65
Rhode Island.....	121.00		121.00	66.00
South Carolina.....		4.30	4.30	.35
South Dakota.....	184.80		184.80	82.60
Tennessee.....	74.00		74.00	33.50
Texas.....	922.39		922.39	347.75
Utah.....	205.00		205.00	.20
Vermont.....	30.25		30.25	9.10
Virginia.....		47.80	47.80	13.10
Washington.....	950.90		950.90	329.75
West Virginia.....	124.50		124.50	56.00
Wisconsin.....	977.10		977.10	513.50
Wyoming.....	819.75		819.75	135.80
Members at large.....		75.12	75.12	51.45
Total.....	24,567.64	966.37	25,534.01	8,929.41

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

TABLE B.—Receipts, 1908.

	Dues.	Supplies.	Literature.	Buttons.	Campaign fund.	Red Special fund.	Refund and railroad fare on Red Special.
January.....	\$1,881.00	\$156.93	\$71.50	\$35.85	\$13.25		
February.....	2,178.55	116.59	71.75	31.49	201.20		
March.....	2,175.55	243.08	70.15	50.50	16.50		
April.....	1,912.15	182.40	47.27	36.10	22.25		
May.....	1,466.85	282.25	50.45	68.63	78.92		
June.....	1,863.65	127.50	54.19	97.18	20.75		
July.....	2,310.45	165.09	84.65	92.69	543.96	\$418.55	
August.....	2,390.15	191.63	237.55	225.90	485.74	12,938.00	
September.....	2,269.90	447.44	1,888.14	222.49	1,113.46	16,512.11	\$644.32
October.....	2,717.49	279.82	1,944.63	161.99	867.50	8,026.28	5.04
November.....	2,288.45	115.92	1,314.09	39.47	621.00	3,072.34	
December.....	2,079.82	219.48	146.21	17.30	59.21	246.52	
Total.....	25,534.01	2,528.13	5,980.58	1,079.59	4,043.74	41,213.80	649.36

	Delegate mileage fund.	W. F. Miners' defense fund.	Red Special loans.	Mileage assessment.	Subscriptions Daily Socialist.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
Balance Jan. 1, 1908.....							\$565.47
January.....		\$1.65			\$11.50	\$15.35	2,187.03
February.....		800.00		\$22.85	10.00	15.03	3,417.46
March.....				1,042.90	35.00	16.55	3,650.23
April.....	\$18.00			4,163.10	12.50	19.82	6,413.59
May.....	554.44	18.00		3,426.86	2.00	1.40	5,949.80
June.....	38.21	184.23		142.50	4.00	.42	2,532.63
July.....				131.20		6.00	3,752.59
August.....						7.23	16,476.20
September.....			\$3,100.00		6.50	27.93	26,232.20
October.....					9.00	60.00	14,071.75
November.....						1.00	7,452.27
December.....						3.75	2,772.29
Total.....	610.65	1,003.88	3,100.00	8,929.41	90.50	174.48	95,508.60

TABLE C.—Expenses, 1908.

	Exchange.	General expenses.	Express and freight.	Postage.	Telegrams and telephone.	Office rent.	Literature and supplies.
January.....	\$2.55	\$5.06	\$18.39	\$177.95	\$21.33	\$100.00	\$24.05
February.....	2.70	11.79	42.01	197.50	11.86	100.00	52.10
March.....	3.55	3.00	35.66	190.10	14.88	100.00	22.46
April.....	4.30	14.02	25.44	241.78	15.17	100.00	
May.....	5.50	11.52	86.92	185.57	8.52	100.00	248.33
June.....	3.70	20.72	146.36	195.80	48.35	100.00	209.97
July.....	5.50	27.03	158.56	276.42	27.14	100.00	231.62
August.....	14.40	28.80	215.51	475.51	60.68	100.00	596.21
September.....	20.20	51.25	376.48	637.42	133.65	100.00	359.85
October.....	22.50	91.40	492.55	588.30	116.99	200.00	539.56
November.....	4.30	11.54	65.34	157.30	81.74		137.00
December.....	5.64	38.45	70.07	211.88	39.13	100.00	343.63
Total.....	94.84	314.60	1,733.29	3,535.53	579.44	1,200.00	2,764.78

TABLE C.—*Expenses, 1908*—Continued.

	Printing literature and supplies.	Lighting.	Office equipment.	Executive committee meetings.	Plate matter, electro-types.	Travels.	Speakers.
January.....	\$70.17	\$24.41	\$84.75			\$521.00	\$594.09
February.....	225.00	10.04				608.50	301.25
March.....	413.30	9.24	69.60		\$27.00	580.50	404.70
April.....	231.25	9.96	75.25		35.50	705.10	285.00
May.....	288.50		460.64	\$89.90	64.32	913.40	458.94
June.....	416.25	5.04	272.51	139.50	53.59	834.00	1,002.40
July.....	535.00		15.00	228.10	81.18	793.00	941.00
August.....	1,122.40	10.71	77.00	154.00	101.00	1,083.50	1,565.30
September.....	1,268.75		46.00			1,086.15	793.28
October.....	3,019.61	5.52	81.00		32.75	1,263.00	1,702.62
November.....	1,238.15	15.31	2.95		34.21	951.00	1,299.89
December.....	561.25	6.18	2.14	270.00		732.80	960.48
Total.....	9,389.63	96.41	1,186.84	881.50	429.55	10,071.95	10,308.95

	Stationery and mimeograph supplies.	Buttons.	Red special expenses.	Printing of bulletins.	New York Evening Call.	Delegate mileage.
January.....	\$50.15	\$45.00		\$95.00		\$175.75
February.....	63.63			430.00		
March.....	75.30	43.20		244.00		
April.....				104.00		50.00
May.....	90.85			114.00		7,519.98
June.....	24.09	93.75		121.00		72.50
July.....		1.25				92.50
August.....		100.00	\$5,004.15	93.00		
September.....	138.85	400.00	19,553.46	326.00		
October.....	111.84	377.85	5,402.17	162.80		
November.....	96.07	254.50	4,082.67	154.85		
December.....	23.80	77.85	146.30	114.75	\$500.00	
Total.....	674.06	1,393.40	34,188.75	1,959.40	500.00	7,910.73

	Reporting convention proceedings.	Repayment of loans for red special.	Chicago daily subs.	W. F. Miner's defense fund.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
January.....					\$25.00	\$2,034.67
February.....			\$60.53	\$801.65	14.40	2,932.96
March.....			60.86		33.00	2,330.35
April.....			81.63		10.00	1,988.40
May.....				18.00	54.60	10,719.49
June.....	\$200.00			184.23	57.60	4,201.36
July.....	250.00				40.54	3,803.84
August.....	100.00				175.26	11,077.43
September.....	224.75				10.00	25,526.09
October.....		\$3,100.00			18.55	17,329.01
November.....	150.00				48.68	8,785.50
December.....					161.82	4,365.67
Total.....	924.75	3,100.00	203.02	1,003.88	649.45	95,094.77
Cash balance on hand Jan. 1, 1909.....						408.83
						95,503.60

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

TABLE D.—*Lecturers and organizers.*

RECEIPTS.

	Lectures.	Donations and collections.	National office.	Total.
J. Bertelli.....		\$302.42	\$177.99	\$480.41
James H. Brower.....		310.56	188.22	498.78
Harvey Dee Brown.....		170.55		170.55
John W. Brown.....		811.78	327.53	1,139.31
Thomas L. Bule.....		114.49	280.00	394.49
D. Burgess.....		144.19	63.00	207.19
Howard H. Caldwell.....	\$79.64	99.97	335.26	514.87
Phil Callery.....		43.43		43.43
Edwin A. Cantrell.....			30.00	30.00
John C. Chase.....		573.04	228.00	801.04
Stanley J. Clark.....		891.97	338.97	1,230.94
John Collins.....		575.62	276.00	851.62
Samuel Clark.....		82.30	26.00	108.30
Asa Warren Drew.....		5.31	214.42	219.73
Eugene V. Debs.....			432.30	432.30
George Eisler.....			15.00	15.00
J. L. Fitts.....	22.00	128.76	107.00	257.76
Thomas N. Freeman.....			30.00	30.00
M. E. Fritz.....			15.00	15.00
Winfield R. Gaylord.....	231.00	208.63	157.28	596.91
Milan Glumac.....			120.00	120.00
Louis Goazlon.....		24.61	72.95	97.56
George H. Goebel.....		996.27	375.00	1,371.27
Ben Hanford.....			800.00	800.00
S. A. Hauser.....			23.00	23.00
Gertrude Breslau Hunt.....	70.00	84.85		154.85
J. S. Ingalls.....		79.95	169.22	249.17
George R. Kirkpatrick.....	72.00	1,107.95	54.38	1,234.33
W. B. Killingbeck.....			60.00	60.00
Ralph Korngold.....	206.00	113.79	145.58	465.37
Joseph J. Kral.....	80.00	13.41	71.30	164.71
J. Kochanowicz.....	10.00	102.50	30.70	143.20
Lena Morrow Lewis.....		614.56	25.00	639.56
Arthur Morrow Lewis.....	308.00	143.30		451.30
T. J. Lewis.....		763.19	145.00	908.19
Mrs. S. F. J. Linn.....			60.00	60.00
R. A. Maynard.....		468.83	181.82	650.65
A. W. Mance.....			10.00	10.00
W. H. McFall.....		173.36	50.00	223.36
Harry McKee.....		244.10	108.25	352.35
James H. Mauer.....			7.92	7.92
A. C. Meyer.....		231.50	150.00	381.50
J. Edward Morgan.....		216.20	195.57	411.77
John Molek.....		150.30	48.00	198.30
Guy E. Miller.....	393.50	164.84	171.08	729.42
Jacob Panken.....		119.00	6.10	125.10
H. C. Plymouth.....			20.00	20.00
G. C. Porter.....		112.69	172.58	285.27
Clinton H. Pierce.....		177.32	416.50	693.82
Marguerite Prevey.....		263.16	147.75	410.91
S. M. Reynolds.....			298.16	298.16
W. E. Rodriguez.....		143.86	31.50	175.36
Sumner W. Rose.....	211.65	121.19	174.92	507.76
M. A. Smith.....		42.70	46.70	89.40
A. M. Simons.....		64.00	75.90	139.90
May Wood-Simons.....		20.00	30.00	50.00
Seymour Stedman.....			74.50	74.50
J. G. Phelps-Stokes.....		217.75		217.75
Clarence H. Taylor.....		50.97	247.52	298.49
C. S. Vander Porten.....		16.81	7.99	24.80
A. Wagenknecht.....	60.16	97.13	127.44	284.73
Dan A. White.....		696.02	316.45	1,012.47
James Williams.....		139.49	414.61	554.10
M. W. Wilkins.....		1,150.07	410.28	1,560.35
John M. Work.....	166.88	322.37	480.73	969.98
G. W. Woodbey.....		438.80	150.00	588.80
Total.....	1,910.83	14,349.86	10,066.37	26,327.06

TABLE D.—*Lecturers and organizers*—Continued.

EXPENSES.

	Wages.	Hotel.	Railroad fare.	Miscellane- ous.	Total.
J. Bertelli.....	\$315.00	\$34.60	\$122.61	\$8.20	\$480.41
James H. Brower.....	246.00	120.50	121.09	11.19	498.78
Harvey Dee Brown.....	96.00	37.50	33.60	3.45	170.55
John W. Brown.....	441.00	317.20	365.69	15.42	1,139.31
Thomas L. Buie.....	201.00	71.35	111.64	10.50	394.49
D. Burgess.....	126.00	40.15	41.04	.....	207.19
Howard H. Caldwell.....	249.00	165.25	77.33	23.29	514.87
Phil Callery.....	21.00	6.50	15.93	.....	43.43
Edwin A. Cantwell.....	30.00	.....	.....	.....	30.00
John C. Chase.....	345.00	205.75	244.95	9.04	804.74
Stanley J. Clark.....	738.00	221.55	260.49	10.90	1,230.94
John Collins.....	608.00	87.35	234.45	25.65	950.45
Sammel Clark.....	78.00	14.15	12.55	3.60	108.30
Asa Warren Drew.....	141.00	59.60	18.18	.95	219.73
Eugene V. Debs.....	425.00	7.30	.....	.....	432.30
George Eisler.....	15.00	.....	.....	.....	15.00
J. L. Pitts.....	294.00	85.25	78.51	.....	457.76
Thomas N. Freeman.....	30.00	.....	.....	.....	30.00
M. E. Fritz.....	15.00	.....	.....	.....	15.00
Winfield R. Gaylord.....	417.00	59.70	111.76	8.45	596.91
Milan Glumac.....	120.00	.....	.....	.....	120.00
Louis Goasion.....	48.00	20.00	29.56	.....	97.56
George H. Goebel.....	714.00	186.25	441.53	86.31	1,428.09
Ben Hanford.....	800.00	.....	.....	.....	800.00
S. A. Hauser.....	23.00	.....	.....	.....	23.00
Gertrude Breslau Hunt.....	81.00	36.45	27.00	10.40	154.85
J. S. Ingalls.....	156.00	52.45	37.77	2.95	249.17
George B. Kirkpatrick.....	621.00	381.15	408.06	24.47	1,434.68
W. B. Killingbeck.....	60.00	.....	.....	.....	60.00
Ralph Korngold.....	201.00	80.90	177.72	5.75	465.37
Joseph J. Kral.....	75.00	28.50	51.22	9.99	164.71
J. Kochanowicz.....	84.00	3.00	46.75	9.45	143.20
Lena Morrow Lewis.....	327.00	83.95	299.80	6.75	716.80
Arthur Morrow Lewis.....	111.00	74.00	266.30	.....	451.30
T. L. Lewis.....	471.00	222.50	316.24	5.60	1,015.34
Mrs. S. F. J. Linn.....	60.00	.....	.....	.....	60.00
R. A. Maynard.....	411.00	83.95	148.55	7.15	650.65
A. W. Mance.....	10.00	.....	.....	.....	10.00
W. H. McFall.....	159.00	16.65	10.83	36.88	223.36
Harry McKee.....	165.00	69.35	91.75	26.25	352.35
James H. Mauer.....	.....	.....	7.92	.....	7.92
A. C. Meyer.....	210.00	55.00	97.05	4.10	366.15
J. Edward Morgan.....	249.00	41.75	113.07	7.95	411.77
John Molek.....	144.00	34.45	13.65	6.20	198.30
Guy E. Miller.....	471.00	167.10	181.89	.....	819.99
Jacob Panken.....	.....	54.75	70.35	.....	125.10
H. C. Plymouth.....	20.00	.....	.....	.....	20.00
G. C. Porter.....	195.00	48.10	33.04	9.13	285.27
Clinton H. Pierce.....	354.00	215.75	69.76	54.31	693.82
Marguerite Prevey.....	219.00	47.10	169.62	34.02	469.74
S. M. Reynolds.....	189.00	25.00	20.00	64.16	298.16
W. E. Rodriguez.....	126.00	36.40	11.56	1.40	175.36
Sumner W. Rose.....	252.00	64.55	176.46	14.75	507.76
M. A. Smith.....	57.00	15.65	16.75	.....	89.40
A. M. Simons.....	54.00	5.50	80.40	.....	139.90
May Wood-Simons.....	.....	5.00	43.00	2.00	50.00
Seymour Stedman.....	45.00	8.50	18.00	3.00	74.50
J. G. Phelps-Stokes.....	.....	58.70	101.55	23.70	183.95
Clarence H. Taylor.....	162.00	107.75	25.14	3.60	298.49
C. S. Vander Porten.....	12.00	8.00	4.80	.....	24.80
A. Wagenknecht.....	159.00	39.20	72.71	13.82	284.73
Dan A. White.....	402.00	256.30	308.54	45.63	1,012.47
James Williams.....	315.00	159.50	64.60	15.00	554.10
M. W. Wilkins.....	918.00	373.15	236.13	33.07	1,560.35
John M. Work.....	438.00	292.00	216.39	6.80	953.19
G. W. Woodbey.....	405.00	79.65	98.58	5.57	588.80
Total.....	14,919.00	5,070.95	6,453.86	710.80	27,154.61

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

TABLE D.—*Lecturers and organizers—Continued.*

EXPENSES—Continued.

	Due organ- izers.	Paid balance of 1907.	States visited.	Days out.	Towns visited.	Meet- ings held.	Locals organ- ized.	Miles trav- eled.
J. Bertelli.....			13	105	54	75	17	4,904
James H. Brower.....			6	82	62	49	1	5,199
Harvey Dee Brown.....			3	32	31	34	6	1,449
John W. Brown.....			25	147	121	125	1	12,762
Thomas L. Buie.....			10	67	58	64	3	4,251
D. Burgess.....			4	42	27	28	1	1,360
Howard H. Caldwell.....			11	83	56	119		3,510
Phil Callery.....			1	7	6	6		640
John C. Chase.....	\$3.70		15	115	83	81		7,607
Stanley J. Clark.....			23	246	172	237	14	9,770
John Collins.....	98.83		18	201	142	166	2	9,408
Samuel Clark.....			1	26	13	20		502
Asa Warren Drew.....			4	47	24	16	4	587
Eugene V. Debs.....			32	71	360	366		10,200
George Eisler.....			1	3	1			
J. L. Fitts.....	200.00		16	98	86	97	1	3,208
Thomas N. Freeman.....			1	30				
M. E. Fritz.....			1	5				
Winfield R. Gaylord.....			7	139	54	97		4,252
Milan Glumac.....			1	40	3			
Louis Goazion.....			6	16	13	15	2	1,248
George H. Goebel.....	56.82	\$89.25	35	223	218	233	13	17,578
Ben Hanford.....			2	160				
S. A. Hauser.....			1	10	6	6		
M. Henddickson.....		44.84						
Gertrude Breslau Hunt.....			1	27	24	24		1,194
J. S. Ingalls.....			4	52	32	44		1,594
George R. Kirkpatrick.....	200.35		40	207	181	192		14,582
W. B. Killingbeck.....			1	30				
Ralph Korngold.....			15	67	54	52		6,137
Joseph J. Kral.....			6	25	20	22		2,049
J. Kochanowicz.....			10	28	20	25	2	1,866
Lena Morrow Lewis.....	77.24		19	109	87	91	1	7,611
Arthur Morrow Lewis.....			13	37	26	26		8,303
T. J. Lewis.....	107.15		24	157	127	163		11,499
Mrs. S. F. J. Linn.....			1					
R. A. Maynard.....			12	137	121	120	4	5,971
A. W. Mance.....			1	5	5	5		
W. H. McFall.....			2	53	14		7	433
Harry McKee.....			5	55	37	39		3,213
James H. Maurer.....			3	10				
A. C. Meyer.....			11	42	29	36		3,882
J. Edward Morgan.....			13	83	54	64		4,520
John Molek.....			2	48	5	5	1	580
Guy E. Miller.....	90.57	253.92	19	157	115	132	3	7,245
Jacob Panken.....			7	20	17	17		2,818
H. C. Plymouth.....			1	20				
G. C. Porter.....			3	65	38	69	19	1,715
Clinton H. Pierce.....			6	118	67	77	4	3,328
Marguerite Prevey.....	58.83		10	73	51	56		6,854
S. M. Reynolds.....			29	65	275	280		10,200
W. E. Rodriguez.....			3	42	8	58		476
Sumner W. Rose.....			11	84	74	85		5,918
M. A. Smith.....			2	19	16	13		504
A. M. Simons.....			9	18	40	40		4,600
May Wood-Simons.....			1		2	3		1,800
Seymour Stedman.....			7	15	2			
J. G. Phelps-Stokes.....			8	32	27	26		4,602
Clarence H. Taylor.....			4	54	31	39	2	989
C. S. Vander Porten.....			1	4	4	4		200
A. Wagenknecht.....			7	53	40	38	4	2,764
Dan A. White.....			21	134	98	101		11,065
James Williams.....			8	105	54	58		2,824
M. W. Wilkins.....		121.66	21	291	184	263	6	11,914
John M. Work.....			13	146	126	160	49	7,348
G. W. Woodbey.....			13	135	79	131		5,105
Total.....	893.49	509.67		4,907		4,292	167	254,128

NOTE.—The combined totals of columns 3 and 11 of this table exceeds by \$267.09 the total reported paid to speakers in table C. This is accounted for by the necessity of balancing the account of each organizer. The following sums paid to organizers were charged to the Red Special expense account: John C. Chase, \$50; S. M. Reynolds, \$149; A. M. Simons, \$30; are noted here and do not appear in Table C. On the other hand, an item of \$1.91, paid for special organizing work, appears in Table C and does not appear in this table.

The committee thereupon took a recess to meet on call of the chairman.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

MONDAY, AUGUST 5, 1912.

**SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
*United States Senate.***

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. for the purpose of further considering the resolution (S. 79) relating to contributions to the Republican and Democratic campaigns of 1904 and 1908.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman) and Jones.

TESTIMONY OF HON. NORMAN E. MACK, OF BUFFALO, N. Y.

Norman E. Mack, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mack, had you any connection with the Democratic campaign in 1904?

Mr. MACK. I was a member of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You live at Buffalo?

Mr. MACK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a member of the executive committee?

Mr. MACK. No, sir; I was not. I was the year before that, but I was not put on that committee that year.

The CHAIRMAN. I am speaking now of 1904?

Mr. MACK. Yes, sir. I was not, but I was on four years before that.

The CHAIRMAN. And the national committee in 1904 had its headquarters at New York?

Mr. MACK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you spend much of the time during the campaign in New York?

Mr. MACK. I did, but not at the national committee headquarters. I was at the State headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. You were also that year connected with the State committee?

Mr. MACK. Well, the duty of a national committeeman, as I understand it, is to look after his own State, unless he should be a member of the executive committee of the national committee. I used to go there occasionally. I suppose what you want to find out from me is what I know of the matter of contributions?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MACK. I used to go up there occasionally, but I really knew nothing whatever about the raising of funds any more than an outsider who was naturally interested in what they were doing. I read the newspapers and used to hear about the progress they were making, and all that, but I knew nothing personally about the subject.

The CHAIRMAN. What business were you engaged in at that time?

Mr. MACK. I was the publisher of the Buffalo Times, which I had been for 30 years. I had no other business but that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, of your own knowledge or by conference with members of the committee or others who were close in hand in the management of the campaign and its activities, of any large contributions made in 1904—and by the word “large” I would suggest, perhaps, \$5,000 or upward?

Mr. MACK. Well, all I know about that is what I read in the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not enter into conferences with any members with reference to the financing of the campaign?

Mr. MACK. At no time.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1908 you were chairman, were you not?

Mr. MACK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And your headquarters were at New York in 1908?

Mr. MACK. No, sir; in Chicago; the headquarters were in Chicago in 1908. I also had a branch headquarters in New York which was almost as large as the headquarters in Chicago—not as large, but we had quite an extensive establishment.

The CHAIRMAN. I had rather inferred from the testimony of previous witnesses that the New York headquarters was considered the headquarters.

Mr. MACK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chicago headquarters was the real headquarters?

Mr. MACK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You say New York was not?

Mr. MACK. Oh, no, sir. Chicago was the real headquarters. Most of the money was raised in Chicago. That is where I organized the finance committee. I organized that in Chicago the first thing that I did when I started in.

The CHAIRMAN. (witness shown Exhibit B of Herman Ridder's testimony). Mr. Mack, the paper I show you is said to be a statement of the receipts and expenditures of your committee in 1908.

Mr. MACK (after examining Exhibit B). Yes, sir. I have got that right here, Senator, I think. It is the same thing. [Exhibiting paper.]

The CHAIRMAN. Had you anything to do with the preparation of Exhibit B?

Mr. MACK. Yes, sir. It was all done under my supervision.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are familiar with it?

Mr. MACK. Yes, sir; it was all done under my supervision.

The CHAIRMAN. To the best of your knowledge and belief, that exhibit contains a statement of all the receipts and disbursements of that campaign?

Mr. MACK. Absolutely; to the dollar.

The CHAIRMAN. And you know of no contribution directly or indirectly to the national committee outside of what appears in Exhibit B?

Mr. MACK. Not a thing; in fact, there was not any. After the election we were preparing to close up. Sometime before I had in mind that we had, of course, a lot of bills that came in, and I cautioned all the fellows to say “Now, we have got to have money to pay our

bills," and I thought I had enough, but in a week or ten days I found I did not; that I was short about \$10,000; and I had to get that the best way I could, by asking men who I thought would contribute, which they did. It took me two or three weeks to do it, and that also is provided for here—have you read it?

The CHAIRMAN. That is included in this Exhibit B, all that you subsequently did?

Mr. MACK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So, to the best of your knowledge, so far as you know, there was no contribution, directly or indirectly, to the campaign of 1908 except what appears in Exhibit B?

Mr. MACK. Well, I want to make the statement that I know there was not; absolutely, I know there was not a dollar. And I would like to correct an impression. Instead of our having about 25,000 subscribers, we had over 100,000. For instance, in my own case, the other day it was said that I had myself raised \$1,000. Instead of that, I raised seven or eight thousand dollars, including my own thousand dollars, which I contributed personally. Well, now, as to that seven or eight thousand dollars, \$7,000 came from probably twelve or fifteen hundred people in my own county in western New York. In Louisiana Mr. Ewing, where his name and the name of his paper appear possibly a dozen times, contributing one payment of \$1,500 to the committee and another of \$2,500. There must have been 4,000 contributors to that fund of eighteen or twenty thousand dollars. The Memphis Appeal and a dozen other large newspapers, where possibly the names of contributors appeared, probably 25 or 30 names, including the paper and the publisher, it would mean twenty-five or thirty thousand names instead. Then we had several hundred small newspapers that appeared as giving \$150, \$300, \$400, or \$500, and the sums contributed would really be smaller from individuals than from the other papers. Here [indicating] is a statement that I published October 9, 1908. It was a call that I made for money. This has got the only part that would interest the committee. I made an appeal for money, and that shows how I felt about it at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps it would be well to put this in the record as part of your testimony.

Mr. MACK. I assume what the committee wants is to throw as much light on this method of raising money as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

The paper referred to is as follows (marked "Exhibit A; testimony of Norman E. Mack"):

EXHIBIT A.

(Testimony of Hon. Norman E. Mack.)

The following amount received by the Democratic national committee up to and including October 9, 1908, \$248,567.55; disbursements, \$225,962.88; leaving a balance on hand of \$22,604.67. Of this amount, \$90,712.35 has been contributed in amounts of \$100 and over by 343 subscribers and \$115,355.22 received from other sources, who contributed from 25 cents up to \$100, and \$42,500 left over from the Denver convention fund.

The number of contributors to the national committee fund is estimated at about 50,000 people, and about \$100,000 of the whole amount contributed came from the Democratic newspapers throughout the United States.

Senator JONES. This itemized statement covers all the items received at Chicago or New York or anywhere else and disbursed by the committee?

Mr. MACK. Everywhere. For instance to show you and to prove my statement about the number of subscribers that we had—for instance, we had a branch in Denver. You will find in this statement here this accounting (Exhibit A), that Denver has a contribution of \$5,000 and one of \$3 000 and one of \$2 000—probably \$15 000 altogether. The name only appears in a very few places. I suppose in that section there must have been at least 5 000 subscribers, probably more; perhaps 10. You know we started to print all the names. Of course they were always published in a home newspaper, and we would give them out to the press every day, but the newspapers, of course, would not print except the names of prominent contributors. They would not print the names of fellows who would give a dollar or \$5. If I sent in the name of some big contributor of \$500 or \$1 000 or some in the name of some prominent man of \$100 they would print that and every name was published at home. So it answered the purpose of this theory of raising money. It was also published at home, which really answered every purpose, but we could not get it published in a national way, because the papers would not print it. But it was published at home, which answered the purpose.

Senator JONES. Who was the largest individual contributor that you know of during that campaign?

Mr. MACK. The largest was Mr. Murphy. He gave \$10,000. Senator Clark gave \$2,000 for New York and \$2,000 for Chicago—I remember that—for the western headquarters, the Chicago headquarters. They really were the only large contributors except those that came from newspapers, and they were really small contributors.

Senator JONES. Do you know of any contributions that were offered and refused?

Mr. MACK. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. Tell us.

Mr. MACK. Well, I had several people offer me money; I do not know that I could tell you just who they were. I did not accept it, and it sort of passed out of my mind.

Senator JONES. Why were they not accepted?

Mr. MACK. I will tell you—you probably suspect why. When I was elected chairman of the committee, on our way from Denver we stopped at Lincoln, and it was decided there by vote of the committee, and urged by Mr. Bryan and Mr. Kern, that we should not accept money from so-called corporations. After I was elected chairman of the committee on July 25, Mr. Bryan talked with me in a general way and told me what he would like to have me do in the way of raising money and how to raise it, and I felt that it was his fight and his campaign and I should keep faith with him and not accept money from corporations or from those who were supposed to be contributing for the purpose of getting some return, as it was talked. I do not say that, but that was the impression that I got from Mr. Bryan and from Mr. Kern, and I made up my mind that I would not do anything that would put me in position after the election, if Mr. Bryan should be elected, of placing the man under obligations to them, and for that

reason I accepted no money that I thought Mr. Bryan could criticize me for accepting.

Senator JONES. Do you recall any particular contribution that you refused?

Mr. MACK. I could not.

Senator JONES. You do not remember any of them?

Mr. MACK. No, sir.

Senator JONES. Either in size or by whom offered?

Mr. MACK. Well, now, Col. Guffey offered me money. He wanted to contribute \$5,000 to the campaign before election. He wanted me to take it. He said it was the first time in his life that he had not contributed and he wanted me to accept the contribution, but I would not accept it. I said to him, "Colonel, I would like to do it, but I can not do it."

Senator JONES. Was that because of his representing some special interest, so called, or was it because of a feeling that existed—

Mr. MACK. No, sir; that did not influence me. It was on the theory that he represented the Standard Oil. Whether that was true or not, that was the impression the public had, and after election I accepted the money.

Senator JONES. From Col. Guffey?

Mr. MACK. Yes, sir; to pay bills with. If Mr. Bryan had been elected, I would not have accepted it, to be frank about it, but Mr. Bryan was not elected and the colonel wanted to help the party pay its bills, and I accepted the money.

Senator JONES. Did he intimate when he offered this that it was his personal contribution or in behalf of some one else?

Mr. MACK. Yes, sir; it was a personal contribution.

Senator JONES. So you refused all proposed contributions during that campaign that could have been traced, as you thought, to any special interest or corporation?

Mr. MACK. Absolutely. I was told by men every day, "I know you can get some money if you will ask for it. We will get it for you." But that was the only instance where I accepted any money from a source that it might be charged came from what Mr. Bryan and others who held the same way—a good many of them—that I should not accept, and I did not accept it before election. I did accept it afterwards. That election was over, and I felt I was not betraying Mr. Bryan's confidence in any way by getting some money to pay our bills with.

Senator JONES. That was the only particular contribution, or proposed contribution, that you remember was refused?

Mr. MACK. That was the only one.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further that you desire to state, Mr. Mack?

Mr. MACK. I do not think so, Senator. I do not know of anything more. This thing was an open book, as a matter of fact, and there was nothing to it. I have told you everything, and everything is contained in these books, and this was my report that I made to the national committee in January.

Senator JONES. Is that report included in this?

Mr. MACK. Yes, sir; that is, the gist of this.

Senator JONES. That is a summary of this?

Mr. MACK. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. Is there any summary of this [indicating Exhibit B, Ridder's testimony]? I have not had time to examine it.

Mr. MACK. No, sir; no summary. For instance, there is a list of names that is not in there at all.

Senator JONES. I suggest that you put that summary in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is duplicated in Exhibit B.

Mr. MACK. That is really the same thing. It is taken from this.

The CHAIRMAN. This is all in Exhibit B.

Senator JONES. I supposed it was all in there; but is this summary in there?

Mr. MACK. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. Then, of course, we would not need to put it in.

Mr. MACK. I took it from this, because I did not want to bring that book down to Washington, so I had that printed form with the names of all the large contributors.

The CHAIRMAN. The reporter will mark this paper "Exhibit B" of Mr. Mack's testimony and incorporate it in the record.

Mr. MACK. The names of all the large contributors are in here.

The paper referred to is accordingly marked "Exhibit B, Norman E. Mack's testimony," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT B.

(Testimony of Norman E. Mack.)

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES--THE 1908 CAMPAIGN EXPENSE FUND STATEMENT SHOWS THAT COMMITTEE HAS BALANCE OF \$186.42 AFTER PAYING OUT \$629,340.87 IN LAST PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

The Democratic national committee received in all \$629,527.29, and spent \$629,340.87 in the conduct of the presidential campaign of 1908, and now has a balance of \$186.42 in the treasury.

Under date of November 23, 1908, the financial report of the campaign was made public. It was given to the press on that date and was published broadcast throughout the land. That report was practically a complete one. It included all of the receipts and expenditures up to and including election day. It was afterwards found, however, that a number of legitimate bills remained unpaid, and it was necessary to raise about \$9,000 more in order to meet these bills.

At the close of the 1908 campaign an itemized statement of the committee's receipts and expenditures in the campaign was filed for record in the office of the Secretary of state of the State of New York in compliance with the resolution adopted by the Democratic national committee at Lincoln, Nebr., in July, 1908.

The statement made public at the close of the 1908 campaign and filed at Albany was certified by Myron D. King, of Indiana, auditor of the Democratic national committee.

The statement is as follows:

(CHICAGO, ILL., November 18, 1908.)

To the Democratic National Committee:

GENTLEMEN: Following is a statement of all the receipts and expenditures:

Total amount of money received by the Democratic national committee for the year 1908.....	\$620, 644. 77
Total amount disbursed.....	619, 410. 06
Balance on hand.....	1, 234. 71

In compliance with the election law of the State of New York, we have filed in the office of the secretary of state at Albany a complete list of all receipts and expenditures of the headquarters at New York; and in compliance with a resolution of the national committee, passed at Lincoln, Nebr., last July, we have filed in the office

of the secretary of state at Albany a list of over 25,000 names, representing over 100,000 contributors, who contributed through newspapers, clubs, solicitors, and other organizations, whose names are on file in the office of the chairman of the Democratic national committee at Buffalo, N. Y.

The auditor's report confirming the above is attached hereto.

Yours, respectfully,

NORMAN E. MACK,
Chairman.

UREY WOODSON,
Treasurer.

HERMAN RIDDER,
Treasurer.

JOHN E. OSBORNE,
Vice Chairman Finance Committee.

JOHN W. COX,
Assistant Treasurer.

JOHN B. DOOLIN,
Assistant Treasurer.

CHICAGO, ILL., November 16, 1908,

AUDITOR'S OFFICE,
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Hon. Norman E. Mack, chairman, and Herman Ridder, treasurer, Democratic national committee, Buffalo, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: I herewith submit the following report of the records of the auditor's office showing vouchers drawn on requisitions of the heads of the departments and duly authorized bills. The classifications of all of said disbursements by vouchers is shown by departmental exhibit. I have included in the itemized statement the cost of telegrams, postage, and express charges separately.

I respectfully suggest that the national committee give attention to the great importance of a well-directed business system for the conduct of future departments of the committee in the work of a national campaign. The proper selection of a person to fully prepare such system as I deem necessary to urge would prove a saving of a large amount of money.

Respectfully submitted.

MYRON D. KING,
Auditor Democratic National Committee.

Total amount of money received by the national democratic committee for the year 1908.....	\$620, 644. 77
Total amount disbursed.....	619, 410. 06

Balance on hand.....	1, 234. 71
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Distributions of disbursements by vouchers shown by departments of the Democratic national committee, 1908:

Auditor's office.....	\$866. 50
Secretary's office.....	4, 108. 51
Treasurer's office.....	5, 073. 21
Commercial travelers.....	153. 00
Club organization bureau.....	5, 020. 76
Labor bureau.....	37, 401. 36
Advisory committee.....	3, 020. 95
Organization of States.....	129, 053. 62
Purchasing agent department.....	1, 340. 73
Finance committee.....	26, 586. 54
Congressional committee.....	3, 625. 00
Publicity bureau.....	88, 899. 43

Ex-treasurer's account—miscellaneous:

Sight draft on Oklahoma bank.....	\$4,010.85
Sergeant at arms.....	4,046.37
Documents.....	142,537.25
Chairman and vice chairman.....	6,430.00
Reproduction bureau.....	5,115.60
Speakers' bureau.....	33,786.95
General fund.....	38,111.80
Rent of headquarters.....	13,746.72
Telegrams.....	13,761.90
Telephones.....	2,199.30
Express charges.....	13,061.17
Postage.....	37,452.54
Total.....	619,410.06

SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENT.

The foregoing report showed a balance of \$1,234.71 in the treasury at the time the report was made at the close of the campaign of 1908. It was thereafter found that a large number of bills were still outstanding, and in order to meet these bills there was raised by the chairman and turned into the treasury of the committee in the months of November and December, 1908, and January, 1909, the additional sum of \$8,882.52. Adding this sum to the \$1,234.71 balance on hand at the time the finance committee's report was made shows a balance of \$10,117.23. The additional expenditures amounted to \$9,930.81 and there is now in the treasury of the Democratic national committee the sum of \$186.42.

The subcommittee thereupon adjourned to meet on call of the chairman.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

MONDAY, AUGUST 12, 1912.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS, UNITED STATES SENATE.

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. for the purpose of further considering the resolution (S. Res. 79) relating to contributions to the Republican and Democratic campaigns of 1904 and 1908.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Jones, and Oliver.

TESTIMONY OF HON. WILLIAM B. M'KINLEY, A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

Hon. William B. McKinley, a Representative in Congress from the State of Illinois, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McKinley, you succeeded Hon. James Sherman as treasurer of the Republican congressional committee in 1906, did you not?

Mr. McKINLEY. I was elected treasurer. I do not know who I succeeded.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you any official relation with the Republican congressional committee in the campaign of 1904?

Mr. McKINLEY. None whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. At what time did you take charge of the position of treasurer of the committee in 1906, as near as you can tell?

Mr. McKINLEY. I would guess about March, 1906.

The CHAIRMAN. You were treasurer of the committee in 1908?

Mr. McKINLEY. No—well, I was treasurer of the committee until June, 1908, when Mr. Sherman, who was then chairman, resigned, and I was elected chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. And you continued to act as chairman during the campaign of 1908?

Mr. McKINLEY. Clear through until now.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any record of contributions which were made to the campaign of 1908?

Mr. McKINLEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as you know were any records kept?

Mr. McKINLEY. So far as I know, no.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give any information from your memory of contributions that were made in 1908?

Mr. McKINLEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a separate finance committee?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who had the more important supervision of raising and disbursing funds in 1908?

Mr. McKINLEY. The secretary, Mr. Loudenslager.

The CHAIRMAN. Aside from the general Republican committee, did you have a subcommittee in the nature of an executive committee?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was at the head of that committee?

Mr. McKINLEY. Mr. Tawney, who was vice chairman of the committee, was the head of the executive committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea as to how much was raised altogether by the committee in that campaign of 1908?

Mr. McKINLEY. All I could state about that would be that we spent about \$60,000 and did not have anything left, to speak of.

The CHAIRMAN. You think \$60,000 was approximately the total of the amount raised by the committee?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you recall at this time any particular individual contribution to that fund?

Mr. McKINLEY. I recall my own.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was that?

Mr. McKINLEY. Five or six or seven thousand dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any other?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was any rule adopted by the committee with reference to the character of the source of contributions as to combinations?

Mr. McKINLEY. We would accept nothing from corporations.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as you know nothing was accepted from any corporations?

Mr. McKINLEY. As far as I know nothing was accepted from any corporation.

The CHAIRMAN. When I use the word "corporation"—

Mr. McKINLEY. You mean somebody closely connected with it.

The CHAIRMAN. I include first combinations, trusts, and associations, although they may not have been legally incorporated. I assume that is what you mean?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any contribution made by any individual who was associated with the United States Steel Corporation?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The International Harvester Corporation?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or the Sugar Trust?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Tobacco Trust?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Oil Trust?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions having been made by any association of manufacturers?

Mr. McKINLEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Or any contribution made by any individual indirectly for any association of manufacturers?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When was the rule, if I may use that expression, that no contribution should be received from corporations, adopted in that campaign?

Mr. McKINLEY. Well, it was adopted prior to that, because the law was passed prior to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Then do I understand it is your statement now that that was the rule simply because there was a law or did the committee determine for itself that it would not receive such contributions?

Mr. McKINLEY. I can not remember what the committee did. Of course if it was law they would not do it anyhow.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there anyone connected with the committee who had a more direct personal relation to the getting of contributions than you had?

Mr. McKINLEY. Mr. Loudenslager had been with the committee for, I do not know; perhaps 16 years. When I was elected treasurer of the committee in 1906, he was then secretary, and before that had acted as assistant secretary. He always ran the New York headquarters and was in touch down there, and he could have received contributions that I would have known nothing about. I was in the Chicago headquarters part of the time. We had headquarters in 1906, 1908, and 1910 in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, you think he was in closer touch with the subject of raising funds than you were?

Mr. McKINLEY. I know he was.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. McKinley, suppose—referring to one of the questions of the chairman—a contribution was offered to you by a man who happened to be a manufacturer, you would not turn it down?

Mr. McKINLEY. Surely not.

Senator OLIVER. I thought perhaps you might. But——

Mr. McKINLEY. Well, we would not accept a contribution with a tail attached to it that so and so should be done.

Senator OLIVER. I understand that; but you kept strictly to, or obeyed strictly, the act of Congress which prohibited the receiving of contributions from corporations; you obeyed that law in its fullest spirit as well as in its letter?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. What you have testified to refers to the campaign of 1908?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. Not to 1910?

Mr. McKINLEY. 1910 is all on record.

Senator JONES. Mr. Loudenslager is dead?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir; we filed the report of 1910 with the clerk. About \$70,000, my recollection is.

Senator JONES. In the campaign of 1908 about \$60,000 was the total expenditures and receipts?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say that the resolution only covers 1904 and 1908.

Senator JONES. Is that all? I supposed it covered 1910, too.

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Senator JONES. It just covers presidential years?

The CHAIRMAN. Presidential years. It covers the congressional campaigns of those two previous years.

Mr. McKinley was thereupon excused, and the committee adjourned to meet on call of the chairman.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1912.

**SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.**

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. for the purpose of further considering the resolution (S. Res. 79) relating to contributions to the Republican and Democratic campaigns of 1904 and 1908.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman) and Jones.

TESTIMONY OF HON. JAMES T. LLOYD, A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE STATE OF MISSOURI.

Hon. James T. Lloyd, a Representative in Congress from the State of Missouri, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lloyd, were you in an official way connected with the Democratic congressional campaign committee of 1904?

Mr. LLOYD. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you connected with the Democratic national campaign committee of 1908?

Mr. LLOYD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity?

Mr. LLOYD. Chairman of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you assume that relation, approximately?

Mr. LLOYD. Some time in the latter part of the year 1907.

The CHAIRMAN. And how long did you remain in that capacity?

Mr. LLOYD. Well, I have been in office continuously ever since.

The CHAIRMAN. Did your committee have any treasurer during the campaign of 1908?

Mr. LLOYD. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who acted as treasurer?

Mr. LLOYD. Well, I suppose it might be said that I acted as treasurer. The employees in the office assisted me.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you have your headquarters?

Mr. LLOYD. Here and at Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a subcommittee, known as an executive committee?

Mr. LLOYD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was at the head of that?

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Rainey.

The CHAIRMAN. What are his initials?

Mr. LLOYD. Henry T.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any records of the amount that was contributed to your campaign committee in 1908?

Mr. LLOYD. We have not a complete record. We have very nearly a complete record; so nearly complete that I can tell you, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was the total contribution?

Mr. LLOYD. The total contribution was \$27,645.

The CHAIRMAN. And the expenditures?

Mr. LLOYD. The expenditures were \$27,532.

The CHAIRMAN. Who had the more immediate charge of getting in the funds?

Mr. LLOYD. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the matter of the contributions——

Mr. LLOYD (interrupting). The contributions and big expenditures were under my charge.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). And the expenditures were largely under your personal supervision?

Mr. LLOYD. Yes, sir. We received from the sale of literature \$7,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What literature was that?

Mr. LLOYD. That was such literature as we published here that might be franked—speeches mainly. We furnished quite a number of these to the national committee, and we furnished them in some instances to private individuals. We received about \$1,600 from Charles A. Keene, of New York, for certain speeches that he wanted distributed.

The CHAIRMAN. That was a part of this \$7,000?

Mr. LLOYD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you get for these speeches in excess of the cost of printing?

Mr. LLOYD. Just the cost of printing. We never got anything out of them.

The CHAIRMAN. What other receipts were there?

Mr. LLOYD. Along the same line, we received from the sale of the campaign book which we prepared that year \$1,395. The campaign book was made up of extracts from the Congressional Record, and the price of the book was 25 cents. The greater number of them, however, were distributed, like campaign books are usually distributed, without receiving compensation for the book. That is all along the literature line, unless you want to ask me something else.

We received in contributions from Members of the House of Representatives, in sums from \$25 to \$200, \$6,750. There were only two persons who paid \$200, and they were Champ Clark and Burton Harrison. We received in contributions—dollar contributions, \$5 contributions, \$10 contributions, or any contributions under \$100—an aggregate of \$8,250. We received in contributions from Senator Jones, of Arkansas, lately deceased, who was kind enough to act as an assistant here, \$3,500. But from whom he received that \$3,500, I do not know. He did not contribute it himself; he may have contributed part of it, but not all of it. Then, we received from Herman Ridder, \$250; from W. G. Conrad, of Montana, \$250; and from R. P. Daniel, \$250. That is the extent of the contributions. That makes a total of \$27,645.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any knowledge yourself of the contributions made to the Democratic congressional committee in 1904?

Mr. LLOYD. No, sir.

Mr. Lloyd was thereupon excused, and the committee adjourned to meet on call of the chairman.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14, 1912.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE.

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. for the purpose of further considering the resolution (S. Res. 79) relating to contributions to the Republican and Democratic campaigns of 1904 and 1908.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Jones, and Oliver.

TESTIMONY OF HON. B. B. ODELL, JR., OF NEWBURGH, N. Y.

Hon. B. B. Odell, jr., having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, you live in New York?

Mr. ODELL. I do—that is, New York State—Newburgh, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. And for some years have been more or less associated with political activities in that State?

Mr. ODELL. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. During what years were you governor?

Mr. ODELL. I was governor from 1901 to January 1, 1905.

The CHAIRMAN. What official relation did you sustain, if any, to the campaign of 1904?

Mr. ODELL. I was chairman of the State committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Were any records kept by that committee, or by anyone in its behalf, of the contributions and distributions?

Mr. ODELL. There was a record kept; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where the record is?

Mr. ODELL. It was destroyed at the close of the campaign, in January or February of 1905. It was always the custom to destroy those records at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you recall, approximately, the total contributions to the State campaign, outside, of course, of the sum, if any, that may have been turned over by the national committee to the State committee?

Mr. ODELL. I should say, approximately, \$200,000, outside of the national committee's contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you now recall how much the national committee turned over?

Mr. ODELL. \$500,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Was your attention ever called to a letter purporting to have been written by E. H. Harriman to Sidney Webster along in 1906?

Mr. ODELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In which Mr. Harriman was said to have stated, in effect, that in the fall of 1904 President Roosevelt sent a request for him to come to Washington?

Mr. ODELL. Yes, sir; I have seen that letter.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen the letter?

Mr. ODELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of that request, aside from the statement of it in the letter referred to?

Mr. ODELL. I do; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state what you know of that request.

Mr. ODELL. Along early in October of 1904 I was requested by Mr. Harriman to lunch with him, and I went to his office and had lunch with him. He showed me a letter from President Roosevelt asking him to come to Washington. We had some conversation as to what the President desired to see Mr. Harriman about, and I said to Mr. Harriman my opinion was that he wanted to consult with him with reference to New York and the financial condition of the national committee, which at that time was at rather a low ebb. Mr. Harriman said he did not care to go, but after talking the matter over at some length he said he would go.

I requested Mr. Harriman on his visit to President Roosevelt to bring to his attention the condition of affairs in the State of New York with reference to the coming Senatorial situation and state to him that the organization was in favor of the election of Governor Black to succeed Senator Depew, at the same time they had a very kindly feeling for Senator Depew, and they would like to have him taken care of; and I suggested to Mr. Harriman that he state to the President that if he could consistently do so, it would be a very happy solution of the problem if he would send Senator Depew as Ambassador to France.

Mr. Harriman came to Washington, and a few days afterwards I again lunched with him and went over with him what he said had occurred at the conference with the President. He said I was correct, that the President was anxious about the financial condition in New York, and that he would be glad to have Mr. Harriman help. I asked him about the conference with reference to the solution of the senatorial matter, and he said the President had said to him that if it were necessary he would do as was requested. Mr. Harriman told me he was ready to help out the national committee. I suggested that he wait until the national committee had exhausted other resources before he undertook that part of the work.

Subsequently Mr. Cortelyou came over to my office and told me that they were unable to raise the balance of the money that was due to the State committee—\$200,000. I said to him that that was a very embarrassing situation for me, and he asked me if I could not help out in some way. I told him I did not know; I would let him know later.

I called up Mr. Harriman on the phone and told him of the situation and said that if he desired to help the national committee that that was the opportunity to do so. He asked me to have Mr. Bliss and Mr. Cortelyou come down to his office, and I communicated with Mr. Cortelyou, asking him to come down to Mr. Harriman's office and take Mr. Bliss with him, and they went there.

Some time during that day, later on, Mr. Harriman telephoned me that he had made arrangements for the raising of money, and that he had raised, to the best of my recollection, \$240,000, which he had turned over to Mr. Bliss. Mr. Bliss subsequently, the same day, came over and gave me the national committee's check, signed by him as treasurer, for \$200,000 and I signed a receipt for it.

That may seem to be at variance with some testimony that Mr. Sheldon gave, and which I recollect. Mr. Sheldon was correct in part, but not wholly so.

The agreement for aid by the national committee was made along in July of 1904. I stated to Mr. Bliss and to Mr. Cortelyou what I desired to do, and they said to me that I was perfectly safe in going ahead with the work. That work consisted, for instance, in a canvas of the city of New York, which cost over \$100,000. Mr. Bliss gave me a check, as I recall, for that particular amount. He also gave me a check for \$50,000 for the manning of the polls during the four days' registration in New York.

Mr. Sheldon says that I made an appeal to the national committee for help for the support of the State ticket. There was no question in my mind at any time as to the success of the national and State tickets, because all the work had been done prior to that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you now quoting from Mr. Sheldon or expressing your own view?

Mr. ODELL. I am expressing my own view on this.

The CHAIRMAN. I took it that way, only it might not appear that way in connection with the discussion of the Sheldon letter.

Mr. ODELL. Now the \$200,000 was used for the purpose of carrying out agreements that I had made with the various county chairmen and the district workers throughout 2,300 districts, which embraced all of Greater New York, Hudson River counties, and the counties outside of the greater city on Long Island, in which there were over 800,000 voters, and in payment of bills which had been incurred, etc. So that Mr. Sheldon is correct as far as he goes, but he does not go far enough, that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Has your attention been called to a letter written by Mr. Sheldon addressed to Col. Roosevelt?

Mr. ODELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I quote from that letter:

About a week before the election Mr. Odell, then chairman of the New York State committee, came to Mr. Bliss and told him that unless he had \$250,000 from the national committee that the State ticket would be defeated. Mr. Bliss told Chairman Odell that he had no money to give him, but would see what could be done. He visited E. H. Harriman at his office and explained to him the urgency of the situation as told him by Mr. Odell. Mr. Harriman thereupon called up several of his friends on the telephone and next day handed Mr. Bliss \$160,000. Mr. Bliss himself raised \$80,000. This sum of \$240,000 was handed directly to Chairman Odell and never in any way entered into the treasury of the national committee which had in charge the presidential election.

So far as that letter relates to matters that are within your knowledge, what do you say of that?

Mr. ODELL. I say, first, that the original contributions of \$200,000 did not come to me. They were paid directly to Mr. Bliss, and Mr. Bliss gave me of the \$240,000 a check for \$200,000, signed by him as treasurer; that is, the national committee's check, signed by him as treasurer.

So Mr. Sheldon is in error so far as that part is concerned. It must have gone through the national committee, because it did not go through me.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you understand Mr. Bliss raised in connection with this Harriman matter and from other sources at that particular time with reference to this particular request?

Mr. ODELL. I never understood until this letter came out that Mr. Bliss raised any of it. My understanding always was that Mr. Harriman was responsible for gathering it all together. Mr. Harriman had informed me that.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you understand that amounted to at that time?

Mr. ODELL. \$240,000.

The CHAIRMAN. And of the \$240,000 you say there was only \$200,000 turned over to you?

Mr. ODELL. Two hundred thousand dollars was paid over to us; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was expended through the State committee?

Mr. ODELL. That was expended through the State committee in manning 2,300 districts, where there were 800,000 voters.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the national committee at the same time, so far as you know, in touch with the local organizations throughout the State?

Mr. ODELL. No; they were not.

The CHAIRMAN. That was done through your State committee?

Mr. ODELL. Yes, sir; the State committee had it in charge. Whatever the national committee did was done through me as chairman of the State committee. That was my understanding. It may have done some secret work.

The CHAIRMAN. I know; but that was as you understood it at the time?

Mr. ODELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have stated that you had no fear for the national ticket?

Mr. ODELL. Nor for the State ticket, either. I was in the position of owing the various county chairmen money for their uses which had been pledged earlier in the campaign and which I was relying upon the national committee to redeem for me. In other words, the money was not for a special, but for the general purpose of election.

The CHAIRMAN. And, according to your statement, was rather to make good existing obligations than to meet any crisis of a political character?

Mr. ODELL. Yes, sir. We had the victory won in New York State the latter part of September. We never had any doubt from that time on.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be in direct conflict, would it not, with Mr. Sheldon's statement, quoting again:

About a week before the election Mr. Odell, then chairman of the New York State committee, came to Mr. Bliss and told him that unless he had \$250,000 from the national committee the State ticket would be defeated.

Mr. ODELL. I suppose it is, but in politics they sometimes tell white lies, you know, for the purpose of opening up sources of information.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean to intimate that brother Sheldon tells a white lie in the letter or that you told one in the exigencies of the situation?

Mr. ODELL. No; I do not mean that. Mr. Bliss may have, in the exigencies of the occasion, said certain things which Mr. Sheldon may have heard.

Senator JONES. Do you mean to say that you never told Mr. Bliss what Mr. Sheldon said you did there?

Mr. ODELL. No.

Senator JONES. That is, you mean you did not tell him that?

Mr. ODELL. No; I did not tell him that, because I was in closer and more intimate relations than that; and I told Mr. Bliss absolutely as I found things. So I did Mr. Cortelyou.

Senator OLIVER. You might have told him what you considered your obligations to the local chairmen?

Mr. ODELL. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. And that they needed the money badly for the purpose of carrying out your promises?

Mr. ODELL. Yes, sir; I undoubtedly did tell him that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, of your own knowledge or of that general hearsay which we accept in political matters as current facts, who made contributions to the national campaign committee in the fall of 1904?

Mr. ODELL. No, I do not; only the general rumors that people hear. I know, for instance, that Mr. Harriman, in his Sidney Webster letter, said he contributed \$50,000 of that particular fund. I never asked Mr. Harriman who were the contributors for that fund. I never was very curious about those things.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you or have you not stated, as to whether the State central committee had any funds other than those which came from the national committee?

Mr. ODELL. Yes; I have stated. I think about \$200,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall who made the contributions to that fund?

Mr. ODELL. No, sir; I do not. Those contributions were paid directly to Col. Fox, who was secretary and acting treasurer for the committee; and I never saw any of the contributions or the checks, excepting those from the national committee, because I absolutely refused to have anything to do with them, for indorsement or anything of that kind—that was all left with them—and the only thing I did was to direct how disbursements should be made on the larger propositions, and the minor ones were taken up by Col. Fox.

The CHAIRMAN. In conferences of your committee was the matter discussed as to who was making contributions or who might likely be induced to make contributions?

Mr. ODELL. In those days the State committee was called once together and never afterwards.

The CHAIRMAN. That avoided all subsequent disagreements in the committee?

Mr. ODELL. The State committee usually in those days was rolled into one man. He was given full power.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any discussions between you and Mr. Fox as to where contributions might likely be obtained?

Mr. ODELL. No, sir. The only conference I would have with him, I would ask him how much money he had on hand. I never signed any checks or indorsed any checks nor ever received any money. If anyone wanted to make a contribution and it would inadvertently come upon me, I would turn it over to Col. Fox.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is Col. Fox now?

Mr. ODELL. He is, unfortunately, dead.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you connected in any manner, either officially or in intimate consultation and conference, with the management of the Republican National campaign of 1908?

Mr. ODELL. No, sir; I had no connection with it whatever. I retired from the State committee in 1906.

The CHAIRMAN. And you know nothing of the contributions made in 1908?

Mr. ODELL. No, sir; I know nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. During the campaign of 1904 did you know of any contributions made by what is known as the Sugar Trust?

Mr. ODELL. I have no knowledge of that; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or by the Steel Trust?

Mr. ODELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or the Harvester Trust?

Mr. ODELL. No, sir; I know of none—none to the State committee. I know of none of those.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean that came under your observation, that men associated with those trusts made contributions to the national committee?

Mr. ODELL. No; I do not know anything about the contributions to the national committee. I never inquired. The State committee and the national committee were absolutely apart and had no connection in that respect. The only agreement we had was the national committee should make the collections and the State committee should depend upon them for assistance. That was due to the fact that the contributions were largely made in New York, where we otherwise would have been able to collect.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bliss is dead?

Mr. ODELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Harriman is dead?

Mr. ODELL. Yes; Mr. Harriman is dead.

Senator JONES. What was exactly the agreement between the State committee and the national committee with reference to the New York campaign?

Mr. ODELL. They agreed to contribute \$500,000.

Senator JONES. That was at the opening of the campaign?

Mr. ODELL. In July; yes, sir.

Senator JONES. They agreed to furnish you with \$500,000?

Mr. ODELL. Yes, sir. That is, I told them I would need that much, and they instructed me to go ahead on what was my plan.

Senator JONES. And that was made with Mr. Cortelyou?

Mr. ODELL. Mr. Cortelyou and, I think, Mr. Bliss.

Senator JONES. And up until a short while before the close of the campaign they had turned over to you \$300,000?

Mr. ODELL. Yes; about \$300,000.

Senator JONES. And then Mr. Cortelyou came to your office and told you they could not turn over the other \$200,000?

Mr. ODELL. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. What was in this letter from President Roosevelt to Mr. Harriman that you saw?

Mr. ODELL. As nearly as I can recall, nothing more than an invitation to come down and talk over matters with him and take luncheon with him.

Senator JONES. Did it say what matters they wanted to talk over?

Mr. ODELL. I do not recollect that.

Senator JONES. You do not remember whether it was any more than a mere invitation to come to Washington to discuss matters?

Mr. ODELL. I think that was about all it was.

Senator JONES. Without mentioning any particular matters?

Mr. ODELL. Yes, sir; I think so, as nearly as I can recollect it.

Senator JONES. So, then, \$200,000 was turned over to you by Mr. Bliss by a check of the national committee before the election came off?

Mr. ODELL. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. I believe you have said you never had any talk with Mr. Bliss as to whom it was who contributed this money?

Mr. ODELL. No; I never said anything to him about it.

Senator JONES. You know nothing about that except what you might have seen in the papers?

Mr. ODELL. Yes; that is all I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you not know at that time that Mr. Harriman would be consulted or was being consulted with reference to the getting of this money?

Mr. ODELL. What do you mean by that, Mr. Chairman? I do not understand that.

The CHAIRMAN. You have just said, in response to an inquiry from Senator Jones, that you did not know anything about where this money came from.

Mr. ODELL. Excepting through Mr. Harriman; I knew that.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course. Otherwise your answer would have been somewhat contradictory.

Mr. ODELL. Yes. What I understood from the Senator's inquiry was as to the individual units of contribution.

Senator JONES. That is, as to the individuals who contributed money?

Mr. ODELL. Yes. That is what you meant, was it not?

Senator JONES. Yes.

Mr. ODELL. As to the lump sum coming from Mr. Harriman, I understood that——

The CHAIRMAN. Are you sure that that came to you through a check of the national committee?

Mr. ODELL. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you as certain that Mr. Cortelyou was a party to the arrangement or understanding made early in the season that the national committee would advance you \$500,000 for the New York campaign?

Mr. ODELL. To the best of my recollection; yes, sir.

Mr. Odell was thereupon excused, and the committee took a recess to meet on call of the chairman.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 28, 1912.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. for the further consideration of Senate resolution 79, relating to campaign contributions to the Republican and Democratic campaigns during the years 1904 and 1908.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Jones, Oliver, and Pomerene; also Hon. Boies Penrose, a Senator from Pennsylvania.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN D. ARCHBOLD.

John D. Archbold, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. State your residence, please.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Archbold, in the year 1904 what relation did you sustain with the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I was vice president.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew Cornelius Bliss?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. He was treasurer, I believe, of the Republican national campaign committee in that year?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I did know Mr. Bliss.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew Mr. Cortelyou?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I did not know Mr. Cortelyou at that time personally.

The CHAIRMAN. By the way, do you recall when Mr. Bliss died?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have not it in mind.

The CHAIRMAN. The date is in the record, and I thought possibly you might recall.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have not it in mind; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What contributions did you make directly or for the Standard Oil Co. to the Republican national campaign of 1904?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I made two contributions—one through Mr. Bliss of \$100,000 and one through Senator Penrose of \$25,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know when the contribution of \$100,000 was made?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have not the date in mind, nor did I have time to thoroughly search with reference to it. The best recollection I have in the matter is that it was some time in September. I should say perhaps not later than the middle of September.

The CHAIRMAN. You made it by check, I assume?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; my recollection is that it was given to Mr. Bliss in currency.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was present, if anyone, when you gave him the currency?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. To the best of my recollection, I was alone.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you at that time?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. At my office.

The CHAIRMAN. The number of your office, please.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. 26 Broadway.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any written data that would fix that date?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Mr. Bliss gave a receipt—sent me a receipt for the money, but in such investigation as I have been able to make in the very hurried time I have not found the receipt. I hope to find it.

The CHAIRMAN. You think it was some time in September?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I think it was some time in September.

The CHAIRMAN. If you subsequently find the receipt, will you be kind enough to send it to me as chairman of the committee?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I will do it, with pleasure.

The CHAIRMAN. And the committee trusts that you will make an effort.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I will do so, surely.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you had any previous talk with Mr. Bliss in regard to this contribution before the time you made it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I had.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was that?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. At my office or at Mr. Rogers's office—Mr. Henry H. Rogers's office—I can not say definitely which. My impressions are that early, very early, in September Mr. Bliss came for a talk and we went over the whole question and policies, and I told him that I would have to submit the matter to our board, which I did, and with certain instructions with regard to the matter which were given to me in the expectation that I would again see Mr. Bliss, we agreed to make the contribution of \$100,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rogers at that time was also an officer of the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He was.

The CHAIRMAN. His office was in the same building?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. In the same building.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Rogers is dead?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Mr. Rogers is dead.

The CHAIRMAN. About when did he die?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He died in 1905—in June, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there anyone present besides Mr. Rogers when you had the conversation with Mr. Bliss?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. There was not.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that Mr. Bliss came to your office?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He did.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated that you made one contribution of \$25,000. That was in a check sent to Mr. Penrose?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I should have said not. I do not find any record of any letter such as purports to be published, and if I may speak of it, the chairman and the committee will notice that in the alleged

copy of the letter—being the only one of the stolen letters which bears my signature—it is marked "Signed, John D. Archbold," and the signature is quite unlike mine. There is that suspicion about the matter.

The CHAIRMAN. How, as you recall it, did you make the payment of \$25,000?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I would say that I had given it to Senator Penrose in currency, but I find, as I say, after careful investigation of my letter books for that period, no copy of any such letter to Senator Penrose.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall distinctly the fact of making the payment of \$25,000?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I recall that we agreed to make the payment, and of course did make it, but the letter such as purports to have been written I do not find.

The CHAIRMAN. Who did you make the agreement with?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Senator Penrose.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was the agreement made?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I think in my office.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was the payment made, to the best of your recollection?

Mr. ARCHBOLD, I think there—either there, or it is just barely possible it was by check; but, as I say, I do not find a copy of the letter. But the suspicious nature of the signature which purports to be attached to the letter as published renders it open to grave suspicion, in my mind.

The CHAIRMAN. What time would you fix as the time you made payment to Mr. Penrose?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I should think it was either during September or very early in October.

The CHAIRMAN. Was anyone present when you made this payment beside yourself and Mr. Penrose?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Not that I recall. It is barely possible that Mr. Rogers may have been present. We had talks during the campaign with Senator Penrose, as well as with Mr. Bliss and others, and it is possible that Mr. Rogers may have been present, but I do not remember. Mr. Rogers and I worked a good deal together, Mr. Rogers having a good deal of responsibility in such matters in those days.

The CHAIRMAN. I take it that you were the man of the Standard Oil who had charge of any matter of this kind, were you not?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Only in respect to certain localities. I had known particularly about our business and its relationships in Pennsylvania and perhaps in Ohio, in both of which States I had lived and had acquaintanceship extending over practically all my life.

The CHAIRMAN. What conversation did you have with Mr. Bliss in regard to the \$25,000 paid Mr. Penrose?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I think Mr. Bliss was agreeable that a part of the total contribution should go to Senator Penrose to be used by him with reference to the needs in Pennsylvania for the national campaign then on and in any other way. He said that could be easily arranged.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the discussion as to the \$25,000 was involved in the discussion with Mr. Bliss of the \$100,000?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, yes, sir; it was known and talked about with Mr. Bliss and Senator Penrose.

The CHAIRMAN. Subsequent to the payment of the \$100,000 to Mr. Bliss and the \$25,000 to Mr. Penrose did you have any conference with any member of the national committee or anyone in their behalf with reference to further contributions?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. With whom?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. With Mr. Bliss.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that, as nearly as you can recollect?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, I should say it was early in October; I should say not later than the 10th, perhaps, of October.

The CHAIRMAN. And what was the result of that conference, or was there more than one?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, there were one or two, or perhaps two or three, conferences, all told, regarding it.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was present at those conferences?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Possibly Mr. Rogers may have been at one, but my recollection is that Mr. Rogers was not well at the time and that I had principal conduct.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall anyone who was present at any conversation between you and Mr. Bliss except Mr. Rogers?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the result of the subsequent conference with Mr. Bliss?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. The result was that we declined to make the further contribution requested.

The CHAIRMAN. What conferences, if any, did you have with Mr. Cortelyou during the summer and fall of 1904?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No conferences.

The CHAIRMAN. What conferences, if any, did you have with anyone who was a member of the national committee or appeared to be acting for the committee or in the interest of the campaign?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not remember having any conference with reference to contributions. I may have had, and probably did have, personal talks with different gentlemen—possibly with Senator Dick and possibly with Senator Scott, of West Virginia—but only with reference to the progress of the campaign, in which, of course, we were all much interested.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am asking you now with special reference to contribution—whether you recall any conference with anyone.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not recall any?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In the fall of 1904 were you interested in the United States Steel?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I may have been as a small shareholder, but not in any official, representative way. I do not know that I even was a shareholder at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know of any conference that you had with anyone with reference to the United States Steel making any contributions to the campaign?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I had no such conference.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you any interest that year in the organization or association known as the Sugar Trust?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or the Tobacco Trust?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. None.

The CHAIRMAN. Or the Harvester Trust?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. None.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any conference with anyone during that summer and fall that you even understood to be associated with either of those trusts with reference to contributions to the campaign?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not recall any conference.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you connected during the summer and fall of 1904 with the affairs of any railroad company or system of railroads?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you during the fall and summer of 1904 have any conference with anyone connected with any railroad or railroad system with reference to contributions?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not recall any such conferences.

The CHAIRMAN. Then your conferences and acts with reference to contributions to the Republican national campaign fund of 1904 were limited to what you did as a member and directing officer of the Standard Oil?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. They were.

The CHAIRMAN. During the summer and fall of 1904, aside from your conferences with Mr. Bliss, did you have any conference with anyone with reference to contributions to the Republican campaign of 1904 whom you understood or knew represented Col. Roosevelt?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, except with Mr. Bliss.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I say—aside from your conferences with Mr. Bliss.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. With nobody else except Mr. Bliss, representing President Roosevelt.

The CHAIRMAN. He was treasurer of the campaign committee?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir. I talked very frankly with Mr. Bliss about the matter. I said to him—when it came to the question if we had decided to make the \$100,000 contribution—I said to Mr. Bliss, “Now, Mr. Bliss, we want to make this contribution. Our sympathies are with the Republican side, and we want to help; but we do not want to do it without it is being known and thoroughly approved of by the powers that be”; and by the powers that be I meant, of course, Col. Roosevelt—Mr. Roosevelt and his immediate supporters.

Senator PENROSE. Will you speak a little louder, Mr. Archbold?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I said to Mr. Bliss, “We do not want to make this contribution unless it is thoroughly acceptable and will be thoroughly appreciated by Mr. Roosevelt,” and Mr. Bliss smilingly said we need have no possible apprehension on that score.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did you, in your individual capacity, make any contribution to the Republican national campaign of 1904?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not recall whether I did. If I did, it was a small amount—a thousand dollars or so, if I made any. I do not recall that I did. I may have made some local contribution, but it is a little confused in my mind—a good many things have happened.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, within the range of communication with the parties themselves or such common repute as you

would accept among business associates, of any contribution made that summer and fall by Mr. Rogers?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I can not testify to anything of the kind. Mr. Rogers——

The CHAIRMAN. By Mr. Rockefeller?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Mr. Rogers was a man of large affairs and large associations, and I do not know, naturally, what he may have done as an individual.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not within your knowledge?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. None that I can testify to.

The CHAIRMAN. By conference or ordinary repute?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. None that I could testify to.

The CHAIRMAN. As to Mr. Rockefeller?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I would say the same as to Mr. Rockefeller—you mean Mr. John Rockefeller?

The CHAIRMAN. John D. Rockefeller.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I know of none.

The CHAIRMAN. You say Mr. John Rockefeller. Was there any other Rockefeller?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Mr. William Rockefeller was even more active than Mr. John Rockefeller.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any such with reference to William Rockefeller?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not. Mr. William Rockefeller was cognizant of these contributions to Mr. Bliss and Senator Penrose, but I do not know of anything outside of that on his part.

The CHAIRMAN. He was cognizant of these matters only through your communicating them to him?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know within the range of communications with individuals or by such common repute as would ordinarily pass current of any contributions to the Republican campaign of 1904 outside of that that you have testified to?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no absolute personal knowledge. Of course——

The CHAIRMAN. We desire your personal knowledge.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I was cognizant of the general reports, but I have no personal knowledge that would justify me in testifying to other contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, such as might possibly put the committee in possession of something that they might pursue further.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, well; I do not know of anything that would be helpful to the committee. Of course I was well aware of the talk about the Harriman contribution and all that, but I have no personal knowledge of the matter.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first hear of the Harriman contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I think I heard of it very early; I can not recall the date.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you solicited by Mr. Harriman to contribute to that general contribution which he made?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I was not solicited by Mr. Harriman personally, as well as I can recall. I find in reading on the subject that my name has been mentioned recently as one of the contributors, but if it was

given it was given by Mr. Rogers without my knowledge. I would not absolutely testify that it was not given, and yet I was not personally a party to it at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you understand at the time the amount of the so-called Harriman contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I understood it was \$240,000 or \$250,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know at that time of contributions being made by insurance companies?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Only by newspaper reports. I have no relation with any insurance company.

The CHAIRMAN. In asking your business connections I omitted the insurance companies.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no connection with any insurance companies.

The CHAIRMAN. You had no connection with any insurance companies?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you with any bank or trust or other financial institution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I had not.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Archbold, I understand it was ex-Secretary Bliss who first talked with you on the subject of this contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It was.

Senator POMERENE. Where was that?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. At my office in New York.

Senator POMERENE. Can you fix the date?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, I should say it was in September, as nearly as I can fix it, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. How long prior to the time that you gave the contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, I should think a week or so might have elapsed.

Senator POMERENE. Was anyone else present at the time?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. My recollection is that Mr. Rogers and myself had the first interview with Mr. Bliss.

Senator POMERENE. Do you recall that conversation?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. We went over the platform and talked about the individuals, and Mr. Bliss tried to impress us with the importance of the campaign, etc.

Senator POMERENE. Will you, as nearly as you can, give that conversation?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, I should say that was the tendency—the drift of it. We talked over men and measures; talked a little about Mr. Roosevelt.

Senator POMERENE. Tell us what was said.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, well, the question as to Mr. Roosevelt's attitude toward business interests was touched upon. Mr. Bliss thought Mr. Roosevelt could be a fair and conservative man when it came to the test and generally lauded him, and we talked over the policies, which, of course, we were in the main in accord with, feeling that the Republican side was the safest side from the business point of view, and agreed to recommend to our associates the contributions.

Senator POMERENE. Was anything said about his attitude on public questions?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not recall that there was anything special. We were, of course, specially interested in the business matter—the tariff. It was thought he would take a conservative view as to the treatment of the tariff—that sort of general discussion which would attach to an interview of that kind under those circumstances.

Senator POMERENE. And it was because of his supposed conservative views on business propositions and his attitude on the tariff question in particular, and business matters in general, that led you to make the contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. A party question first, and the assurance on Mr. Bliss's part—that is, the expression of strong belief on his part from what he knew and what he was told—that Mr. Roosevelt would conservatively and fairly carry out the party pledges and would be fair in his treatment of the business interests.

Senator POMERENE. Was anything said at that time about his knowledge of the methods of Mr. Bliss in securing funds?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Not at the first interview; no, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Nor of persons from whom he was to solicit those funds?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not recall that there was anything said about it.

Senator POMERENE. And it was Mr. Bliss's view, was it, that because of Roosevelt's supposed attitude on these business and legislative problems that therefore the large business interests would be interested in the election of the Republican ticket, and for that reason you became interested in the matter?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. That is correct. Of course, he urged the view that his policies would conserve the welfare of the country and the people as a whole, and all that.

Senator POMERENE. Now, after you and Mr. Rogers and Mr. Bliss had this conference, you and Mr. Rogers had some further talk with your business associates?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. We did.

Senator POMERENE. When was that?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Immediately following the interview with Mr. Bliss.

Senator POMERENE. You say immediately. Do you mean on that day?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Perhaps not on that day, but within a day or so.

Senator POMERENE. Who were your other business associates?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. The directors of the company.

Senator POMERENE. Name them, will you please?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not know that I can name all of them.

Senator POMERENE. Such as you can.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes. They were Mr. Harry Tilford, F. Q. Barstow, Walter Jennings, William Rockefeller, Mr. Rogers, and myself—perhaps one or two others; I am not sure.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. John D. Rockefeller?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; Mr. John D. Rockefeller was not in attendance on business for many years.

Senator POMERENE. Will you tell us what was said at that time among those associates?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. We went over the matter substantially as we had gone over it with Mr. Bliss.

Senator POMERENE. That is perhaps giving conclusions. Can you not be a little more definite in giving the conversation, as near as you can, or, if you can not remember the conversation, give the substance.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. The result was that——

Senator POMERENE. No; the substance of it, if you please?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, the substance of it was that it appearing that our interests as a business organization lay in the line of the Republican side, that we would make this contribution.

Senator POMERENE. How long did that conference last?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, a very short time, probably.

Senator POMERENE. Now, at that time you decided to give \$125,000?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. \$125,000.

Senator POMERENE. And did you and your associates determine how that was to be distributed as between the Republican national committee and the Pennsylvania State committee?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. We did not, except that it was understood that \$100,000 was to be given to Mr. Bliss and that \$25,000 was to be given to Mr. Penrose for use in the national campaign.

Senator POMERENE. When did you arrive at that understanding?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. At that time.

Senator POMERENE. Then, that must have been talked over between you and Mr. Bliss, was it, in this conversation?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, I rather think, perhaps, not in the first conversation. Perhaps the question of giving the \$25,000 to Senator Penrose was later—a few days later. I think perhaps our first talk with Mr. Bliss only contemplated \$100,000. In the mean time I think I had had a talk with Senator Penrose and he said they were greatly in need of help, and he said it would help the general purpose if we would do this much through him, and we decided to go beyond the \$100,000 to the extent of this \$25,000, and spoke of it to Mr. Bliss, and had the understanding with Senator Penrose that it would be used through him for the purposes in Pennsylvania if not needed there in the general campaign.

Senator POMERENE. Now, let me understand you. Was this money Standard Oil Co. money, or the money of the individual directors?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It was company money.

Senator POMERENE. Company money?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, after this conference with your business associates when did you next see Mr. Bliss?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Probably within the next few days—two or three days.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Bliss was at that time treasurer of the national committee, and he had been formerly a Cabinet officer, had he not?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Under Roosevelt?

Senator OLIVER. Harrison.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Harrison; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, when you had this second talk with Mr. Bliss, that was at your office?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You did not go to see Mr. Bliss?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; not then; I did later.

Senator OLIVER. It was President McKinley's administration Mr. Bliss was a Cabinet officer under President McKinley, not Harrison.

Senator POMERENE. When Mr. Bliss called I wish you would tell us as much in detail as you can this conversation.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, I said to him, "Mr. Bliss, I have to report to you that we are disposed to make a contribution of \$100,000 to you, but I want to say to you in advance of positively promising it that I want it to be known to the powers that be. I want it to be known to the President."

Senator POMERENE. You named the President, did you?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I named the President.

Senator POMERENE. Roosevelt?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I named Mr. Roosevelt; yes, sir; and "I certainly do not want to make the contribution unless it is to be gratefully received."

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any misgivings at that time?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. There had been some little talk in the newspapers about it.

Senator POMERENE. About what?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. About the question as to who were making contributions, and all that, and just in the fullness of caution, I said this to Mr. Bliss, and was so instructed to say to him, indeed.

Senator POMERENE. Up to that time did you have any knowledge of Roosevelt's attitude toward the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. My impression was that there had been some little talk that there was a feeling of antagonism, although at that time there was no direct evidence of it.

Senator POMERENE. Well, do you know out of what facts this antagonism grew?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; I do not. I think it was only a suspicion at that time.

Senator POMERENE. Well, now when you said to Mr. Bliss that you wanted this to be known to President Roosevelt and wanted it understood that it was entirely satisfactory to him that you should make this contribution toward his reelection, what did Mr. Bliss say?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Mr. Bliss said, "I will certainly do so; you need have no apprehension about it whatever."

Senator POMERENE. Now, up to this time did you have any knowledge that Mr. Bliss had in fact talked with President Roosevelt upon this subject?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no positive knowledge except——

Senator POMERENE. Through your conferences with Mr. Bliss or otherwise?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. His assurances regarding the matter were altogether reassuring.

Senator POMERENE. Will you tell us what those assurances were? Give us the language as nearly as you can?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He said, "You need have no apprehension on that score whatever, and I will undertake to represent you thoroughly in the matter, and undertake to have it thoroughly known."

Senator POMERENE. Was that statement made at your first conference or at your second conference?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. At the second conference when we had come to the point of agreeing to give the \$100,000.

Senator POMERENE. Can you give us any further details in connection with this second conference with Mr. Bliss?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I think that is the substance of it.

Senator POMERENE. How long were you together?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, not over 15 or 20 minutes probably.

Senator POMERENE. And you gave him the money then?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; not as I recall. I recall that we had still another meeting, at which I handed him the money. It is barely possible that we gave him the money then.

Senator POMERENE. Now, whether you gave it at that time or not, did you give a written subscription for the amount or was it simply an oral arrangement between you?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It was oral, as far as I recall.

Senator POMERENE. You have no recollection of having signed any pledge for a contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; I have no recollection of it.

Senator POMERENE. Well, when you gave this money to him I believe you stated in answer to the chairman that you thought you gave it in currency. What was the object of giving it in currency?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. There was no object. It was a matter of convenience all around. There was no purpose—nothing to conceal about it.

Senator POMERENE. It would have been just as easy to have written a check?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I suppose it could have been; but probably the money was drawn and was there and handed to him.

Senator POMERENE. And, of course, having given him the currency, there would have been no checks to pass through the banks or the clearings, or anything of that sort?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And I assume that at that time you were not anxious it should be known beyond "the powers that be" and those who were directly interested in the campaign?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, I do not suppose there was any desire for publicity of the matter on the part of either of us.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have another conference with Mr. Bliss after this second conversation?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I did.

Senator POMERENE. Where was that?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. At my office.

Senator POMERENE. Now tell us what was said at that time?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, Mr. Bliss came to my office and said: "Mr. Archbold, I come again to you on the money question. We are greatly in need of money, and we would like to have you help us." I said: "Mr. Bliss, I do not know about it. I am afraid that our people will feel that we have already done pretty liberally." And then he went into some further detailed statements of the needs and how pressing the campaign was.

Senator POMERENE. How long was that after you made the payment of \$100,000?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I should say a couple of weeks—perhaps three weeks. I should say early in October, to the best of my memory.

Senator POMERENE. Now, at that time was there anything said between you as to President Roosevelt's knowledge of your having given the \$100,000?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Perhaps not definitely, although we assumed, of course, by his coming again and from what he had said to me before that the matter was thoroughly acceptable.

Senator POMERENE. You say you assumed; but was there, in fact, anything said?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, he gave me every assurance during the talk——

Senator POMERENE. That is, during the third talk?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. During the third talk.

Senator POMERENE. That your donation had been entirely acceptable?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. And that further donations would be very acceptable.

Senator POMERENE. And that further donations would be entirely acceptable?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Certainly; that is what he came for.

Senator POMERENE. And he held that out as one of the inducements for you to make additional contributions?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, yes; he held out the need of the campaign and assured me that while he appreciated what had already been done that this further amount would be still further and greatly appreciated.

Senator POMERENE. Did he say what amount he wanted?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He would like to have \$150,000; that is, to the best of my recollection. I am very sure that was the amount.

Senator POMERENE. That was after you had given \$125,000?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Tell us what further you said on that subject.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, I parried a little as best I could, and then I said: "This is a matter that I can not decide, Mr. Bliss; I will have to submit it to my board—my friends."

Senator POMERENE. And you arranged to let him know later?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You did see the members of your board?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I did.

Senator POMERENE. And when, with reference to this third visit?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Just as soon as I could after Mr. Bliss's visit; within a day or two probably.

Senator POMERENE. And whom did you see on that subject?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I saw substantially the same people.

Senator POMERENE. At your office?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. At our office; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Tell us what was said at that conference.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, after full discussion and after general conference on the matter with any we could get there at the moment, we decided that we would stand on what we had already done.

Senator POMERENE. Did you report to them how gratefully your former contribution had been received?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I did, and reported to them that I had to obey instructions in saying to Mr. Bliss that we did not want this money—the first \$100,000—we did not want him to receive it unless he was sure that it would be thoroughly acceptable and all that.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Bliss was a man of very high character, was he?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. None higher than I have known.

Senator POMERENE. You knew him personally and had known him for years?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I had.

Senator POMERENE. And you regarded him as a man of truth and veracity?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I would trust him with any amount.

Senator POMERENE. And when he admitted to you that he had taken this matter up with President Roosevelt and that it was entirely satisfactory to him, you had no reason whatever to doubt his every statement in that behalf?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. None whatever.

Senator POMERENE. Now, after this talk did you report the result of your conference with your business associates with respect to the second contribution to Mr. Bliss?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, within a day or two; just as soon as I could.

Senator POMERENE. What was said at that time?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I told him after full consideration we had decided not to make the further contribution requested.

Senator POMERENE. What did he say?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He said he thought it was a serious mistake.

Senator POMERENE. For what reason?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, he said he thought, in the first place, the general interests of the country and the campaign demanded it as a patriotic matter on our part. He said, too, "I am now speaking to you somewhat personally, Mr. Archbold; I advise that you make this contribution. I think it will be a mistake for you not to make it"; and I said, "Well, I do not know, Mr. Bliss, what you mean by that." "Well," he said, "others will make contributions. Don't you think you had better?" I said, "Mr. Bliss, personally you would quite persuade me, but I am sure that the matter has been finally decided."

Senator POMERENE. What reasons did he give for saying that you would make a mistake if you did not make this contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. There was nothing beyond the intimation that if we did not do it somebody else would, and he said it was a mistake for us not to do it, and he put it on somewhat personal grounds with me at the last.

Senator POMERENE. He, of course, was very much interested in the election of the Republican ticket?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He was; and I think he was personally, and in a business way, friendly to me.

Senator POMERENE. Well, after you had declined to make this second contribution, did he at any time say to you, in words or in substance, that President Roosevelt was grateful to you for not making the second contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He never did; no, sir.

Senator POMERENE. As to the refusal to make the second contribution, did he at any time suggest to you that President Roosevelt was not grateful for the aid that you had given him?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; I do not remember any such expression.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any knowledge from Mr. Bliss or from Mr. Cortelyou, or from any source, to the effect that the Pres-

ident desired that any contributions that you had theretofore made should be returned?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I never heard of any such thing.

Senator POMERENE. When did you first learn of that fact?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, I do not remember to ever have heard of any suggestion of the kind until just now.

Senator POMERENE. Do you mean in my question?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; I mean in the papers in the past few days.

Senator POMERENE. Recently?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, during these talks with Mr. Bliss did he tell you what the special needs of the Republican campaign committee were?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir; he did. He ran over the matter.

Senator POMERENE. What did he suggest were the needs?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, the needs of the different localities, and especially the close localities.

Senator POMERENE. Which ones did he name?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I can not recall.

Senator POMERENE. Do you recall any of them?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; I do not know that I can undertake to specify, and of course the conversation was more or less hurried, but he said, "Now, there are localities where we must have help; where we must send help," and that sort of talk.

Senator POMERENE. In other words——

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Campaign talk.

Senator POMERENE. In other words, it was in those States where there was some doubt about the result?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. The close sections; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, later on, did you have another talk with Mr. Bliss on the subject?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No; I think that is substantially the last talk. I may have met him.

Senator POMERENE. Did you ever go to his office or his hotel or his home?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Not during that campaign.

Senator POMERENE. That is what I mean.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Not during that campaign. I did——

Senator POMERENE. Or with reference to the campaign?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I went to his place of business once, Mr. Rogers and I, after Mr. Roosevelt and some of his bureau heads began to make the very unjust line of attack on us. We went to Mr. Bliss and talked with him about the matter, and he threw up his hands and said, "Gentlemen, I certainly sympathize with you in what you say as to this line of unjust attack. I believe it is unjust myself, but I can not help you."

Senator POMERENE. When was this?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. This was some little time after.

Senator POMERENE. Where was it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. At his place of business—Mr. Bliss's, in New York.

Senator POMERENE. You mean some time after the election?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir; some time after the election—perhaps a year after.

Senator POMERENE. Who were the bureau heads to whom you refer?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Mr. Garfield and Mr. Smith, notably. They were publishing in season and on occasion all sorts of unjust attacks purporting to be as a result of investigation, and on which line of attack Mr. Roosevelt unfailingly put the seal of his approval without any investigation as to the merits of the question and without any knowledge of the facts. Those reports are matters of record. They were put out at times, and it was more than a coincidence. It came to be more than a coincidence that whenever any question of ours which was before the courts was approaching a decision, or when there was some question of legislation pending here, there was sure to be a report.

Senator POMERENE. Why do you say that it was more than a coincidence?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Because I say it happened time after time, as the records will clearly show. We have got them all in shape.

Senator POMERENE. I do not understand you.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I say it is all in shape and will be written up some day probably as a record of this most unjust course of attack against us.

Senator POMERENE. Well, was that a record with reference to these contributions?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It was a record, as I say, with reference to the reports of these heads of bureaus, put out with Mr. Roosevelt's approval at critical times.

Senator POMERENE. You have that report, have you?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. We have all the reports in our records. The public records are the reports of Garfield and Smith, who are, of course, puppets to jump when Mr. Roosevelt pulls the string.

Senator POMERENE. What is the purpose of withholding that report now?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. There is no purpose in their publishing it or withholding it. The time perhaps is not ripe. It is a matter of history. There is nothing to be done about it. We have no recourse. We have suffered all the distress and humiliation and loss that could possibly be imposed upon us as a result of such line of attack, not only at home but abroad. There never was a more outrageous course of action taken on the part of any administration in any nation of the world. Darkest Abyssinia never saw anything like the course of treatment which we experienced at the hands of the administration following Mr. Roosevelt's election in 1904.

Senator POMERENE. Now, to what do you attribute the cause of these so-called unjust attacks?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, I do not know—I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. You say you went to Mr. Bliss with respect to these attacks, you think, within the year perhaps?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. After they had begun.

Senator POMERENE. After the election?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes; after the attacks had begun. We were amazed at them at the outset.

Senator POMERENE. Was anything said then about this contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Nothing whatever.

Senator POMERENE. Or the promise that had been made through Mr. Bliss to the effect that you would be given a square deal?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Mr. Bliss said, "I have no influence at all with Mr. Roosevelt. It is to me a humiliation to say that I have no influence at all, and I can not help you in the matter at all."

Senator POMERENE. Was anything said at the time between you with respect to your having made a mistake in not making this second contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, well, there may have been something said; I do not recall distinctly about it. Mr. Bliss was not the man to say "I told you so." The inference in the whole matter to anybody who will analyze it was very plain.

Senator POMERENE. Well, can you give us the substance of what was said between you in that respect?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I think I have already given it.

Senator POMERENE. Well, you have spoken of inferences that you draw. We may draw a different inference from what you do. What was the substance? Give the substance of it.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. The substance of it was that Mr. Bliss probably undoubtedly expressed himself that it would have been different if we had done as he wished us to do, and I myself have no doubt whatever on that question.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether Mr. Bliss had made a report to the national committee or to Mr. Roosevelt during the campaign to the effect that you and your business associates of the Standard Oil Co. had declined to give any further contributions?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not know. I assume, of course, that he so reported. I do not know in what shape he put the report, but that he told them so is undoubtedly, of course, true.

Senator POMERENE. You have spoken of the \$25,000 that you arranged to give Senator Penrose. Where did you make that arrangement with him?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. At my office.

Senator POMERENE. And when was it with respect to the arrangement for the \$100,000?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I can say it was substantially the same time.

Senator POMERENE. Before or after?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It may have been a little later; at least the payment, I judge, was made a little later. If any importance at all is to be attached to it, I will say that I have not found the records, which I hope to find.

Senator POMERENE. Your recollection is, if I understand you correctly, that your first talk on the subject of campaign contributions during this election was with Mr. Bliss?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Whether I had talked prior to the talk with Mr. Bliss with Senator Penrose I can not say. I had two or three talks with him during the campaign.

Senator POMERENE. What talk did you have with Senator Penrose?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. With reference to the Pennsylvania situation more particularly, and with reference to the general campaign also, Senator Penrose being a member of the national committee.

Senator POMERENE. What was said on the subject of contributions by your company?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Senator Penrose in an early talk said, "Now, when you come, if you favorably consider the question of contributions, I

want some part of it to go through me; I can use it well, and I am sure Mr. Bliss will consent to it, and I would like to have you make that arrangement, or arrange it in that way."

Senator POMERENE. You mean made through him for the purposes of the campaign?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, certainly, but through him.

Senator POMERENE. Do you recall at that time as to the amount of your contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not know that it was in the first part, but a little later and during the progress of the interviews, and then when we decided upon it, that money was paid, I think, to Penrose a little later than the first money to Bliss. That is my recollection.

Senator POMERENE. If I remember correctly, as it appeared in the public prints, it seems that there was a certificate of deposit given for this \$25,000. Does that accord with your recollection?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I would not have said so, and as I say, I do not find in my letter book any copy of such a letter as purports or as is published among the stolen letters.

The CHAIRMAN (to Senator Pomerene). You have reached the point now as to book entries, if any were made?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. That I have not had time to thoroughly examine. I will do that.

The CHAIRMAN. And such entries as appear, if they were substantiated?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Your book entries would show, would they not, whether this money was paid in currency or by certificate of deposit?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. If it was so entered. I did not personally have much to do with money matters. It probably came through Mr. Rogers, but I will make the best investigation I can.

Senator POMERENE. I assume if a certificate of deposit was made you perhaps drew a check on your bank——

Mr. ARCHBOLD. And got a certificate.

Senator POMERENE. And got a certificate; and that was forwarded probably?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. If that was so.

Senator POMERENE. What is your best recollection at the present time, after you have considered this matter, as to whether or not this contribution was in the form of a certificate of deposit or currency?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. As I have already said to you, Senator, as a matter of recollection I would have said it was paid in currency, but I am not prepared to say that it was not paid by certificate.

Senator POMERENE. If it was paid by certificate, was there any particular reason why this should be paid by certificate and the total \$100,000 in currency?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. None whatever. I would just as lief have paid it on the corner of the street.

Senator POMERENE. Did you send or give to Senator Penrose any other sums than this \$25,000?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. None whatever.

Senator POMERENE. At any time?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. None that I recall.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any talk with Senator Penrose on the subject of contributions to the national campaign committee?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Undoubtedly; I do not remember especially specifically about it, but I undoubtedly did.

Senator POMERENE. Did you talk with him on the subject of President Roosevelt's attitude toward the contributions from your company and others?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not recall that I did. I do not recall that the question was raised.

Senator POMERENE. Was there any talk between you and him on the subject of President Roosevelt's attitude toward your company?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not recall that there was any such talk. Of course I probably did, in my talks with Senator Penrose, raise the question of Mr. Roosevelt's general attitude toward the business interests. I probably did, but I do not remember any specific conversation regarding it, or that it was at all made a question between him and me.

Senator POMERENE. Now, Mr. Archbold, will you look up, or have looked up, these records and furnish the chairman of the committee with them?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Certainly; you mean as to payments?

Senator POMERENE. As to these payments and records that you may have, and any letters which you may have, with respect to campaign contributions during this time.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. There are none. I have looked carefully through my letter book and I do not find any.

Senator POMERENE. You are prepared to say that there were none?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir; I have with me copies of letters during 1904—both years, 1904 and 1908—that my records show having been written to Senator Penrose, and this alleged letter is not among them. I have copies of them here [exhibiting].

Senator POMERENE. You might furnish them to the chairman of the committee.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. There are three; I have three letters to Senator Penrose during the year 1904.

Senator POMERENE. Will you produce them as part of your testimony?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. If you wish it. That [indicating] perhaps paved the way for my first talk with Mr. Penrose on the campaign matters in 1904.

Senator POMERENE. This letter is dated September 23, 1904, and is as follows:

SEPTEMBER 23, 1904.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I learn of your desire to see me. It will give me pleasure to see you any day next week, excepting Saturday, and at any time you may call.

Very sincerely, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

To Hon. BOIES PENROSE,
1331 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Now, your recollection is that your consultation with the Senator followed that?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir; it followed that. I do not know what that [indicating another letter] refers to.

I can not find anything in my correspondence regarding it. Perhaps Senator Penrose, who is in the room, will know.

Senator POMERENE. This letter is dated New York, June 6, 1904, and is as follows:

Senator JONES. It is a telegram.

Senator POMERENE. Yes. It is as follows:

NEW YORK, June 6, 1904.

HON. BOIES PENROSE,

1331 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa.:

Please call me, telephone call four five seven six Broad, any time to-morrow between 10.30 and 3 o'clock.

JOHN D. ARCHBOLD.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no recollection of what it was about. Probably some current matter of mutual interest.

Senator JONES. That was June the 6th?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. Before the convention, was it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any other letters?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. The other is a personal letter. You can have it if you wish. It pertains to a matter in which I asked the Senator's good offices. I wrote two or three other letters to senatorial friends and to the Senator himself in behalf of my brother-in-law, an Army man [exhibiting another letter]. I would not put it in the record if I were you. It amounts to nothing.

Senator OLIVER. It has nothing whatever to do with this matter. It just asked the Senator to use his influence in behalf of a personal appointment.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Which President Roosevelt afterwards made.

Senator JONES. And it was written before the campaign of 1904?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. In April; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, in answer to the chairman's question you spoke of some conferences that you had with Senator Dick and Senator Scott?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir. A chance meeting in New York and talking over campaign matters. I have been interested in politics for many years and knew these gentlemen, of course, and have known them pleasantly.

Senator POMERENE. Did you talk to them on the subject of this contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Not that I recall. Senator Dick may have spoken of it, possibly; that we have done something handsome for the campaign in that way; nothing more than that.

Senator POMERENE. Was anything said on the subject of the President's attitude?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Not that I recall.

Senator POMERENE. Either toward the contribution or toward your company?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; I do not recall that there was.

Senator POMERENE. And this is Senator Scott, of West Virginia, I take it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Of West Virginia; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any talk with him on these subjects?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Just the same sort of talk. We have very large interests in West Virginia. Scott was disposed, as was his colleague,

Mr. Elkins, to give us a good deal of credit for going into West Virginia with enough Republicans to turn the tide there when the State turned over from the Democratic to the Republican column, and they always spoke highly of us on that line.

Senator POMERENE. And the tide was turned?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. The tide was, for a time, turned. The tide turned again.

Senator OLIVER. We want to give you credit for turning it back again.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It was a great deal more credit than we deserved.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Archbold, what other offices did you extend, if any, toward financing the campaign of 1904?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. You mean what aid?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. We let it be known to those of our people who would have influence where they worked, or where they resided.

Senator POMERENE. When you say "our people" you mean——

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I mean Standard Oil people—people known to be on the Republican side. I never attempted to influence any man's vote except to have him know what I or somebody else did and that such policy would be to the business interests of the country.

Senator POMERENE. And you would appreciate anything they might do in that behalf?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Certainly. I have done that all my life.

Senator POMERENE. That has been the course of the company, has it, in political matters?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Not so much the company. The individuals have acted as individuals. It has been my course as an individual. I have not hesitated to use my individual influence in behalf of the Republican Party all my life, because I believe in it.

Senator POMERENE. Now, during this campaign did you make any contributions toward the Democratic campaign?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not recall any.

Senator POMERENE. Did your company?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not recall any. I do not think so.

Senator POMERENE. Nor any of the directors, so far as you know?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Those I could not speak for.

Senator POMERENE. I say as far as you know.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. So far as I know. There are two or three directors who are Democrats, and possibly they may have made contributions, but I do not know about it personally.

Senator POMERENE. You remember—simply to fix the matter of the date, or the incident, rather—you remember of Judge Parker making the charge during that campaign that Roosevelt was being aided by the large interests?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do remember the campaign incident; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And do you remember the denials?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I remember generally about the matter; yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. You do not remember any denial coming from Mr. Belmont, do you?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Well, after these denials from the President, did you have any talk with Mr. Bliss or any of his managers on the subject of these denials?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I did not.

Senator OLIVER. I want to ask you about that \$25,000 that you sent or gave to Senator Penrose. I want it distinctly to appear on the record that that was wholly and entirely a political contribution, as I understand it.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, absolutely.

Senator OLIVER. Had it any reference, directly or indirectly, to anything that Senator Penrose had done personally?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, not for a moment.

Senator OLIVER. Either in public or in private life?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Not for a moment.

Senator OLIVER. It was a campaign contribution for the national campaign committee—through the national campaign Republican committee to the Pennsylvania State Republican committee, of which Senator Penrose was chairman?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Now, Mr. Archbold, I believe you said that at that time you had never met Mr. Cortelyou in connection with this transaction. Mr. Cortelyou was chairman of the national committee?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Did you, in a conversation with Mr. Bliss, or in any other way, have any information leading you to suppose that Mr. Cortelyou was cognizant of this contribution at the time it was made, or about the time it was made?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, as I did not meet Mr. Cortelyou, is it important that I answer?

Senator OLIVER. I think it is important.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee desires to know what you know as to Mr. Cortelyou's knowledge.

Senator POMERENE. To aid in further investigation of the subject.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. If you insist upon it, Mr. Bliss, when the question of the second contribution, as I recall it, was under consideration, desired to have Mr. Cortelyou meet me for further presentation of the matter on his part, and I said, "Surely, I will be glad to meet Mr. Cortelyou," and the engagement was made to meet him.

The CHAIRMAN. And kept?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; Mr. Bliss and he were to come together, and Mr. Bliss came alone at the time and said, "I am here, as you see, alone, Mr. Archbold. Mr. Cortelyou did not think it advisable for him to come, and he said to me to say to you—which I hardly need tell you—that anything I say is said for him and that I can say as well all that there is to be said." I regret to bring Mr. Cortelyou's name in as I did not see him.

Senator JONES. Mr. Archbold, what excuse was given for the need of the \$25,000 to Pennsylvania?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. The general need of the campaign, and not only in Pennsylvania, but as well, if I recall—and I think I do correctly—Senator Penrose said it would somewhat strengthen him with the committee and the campaign as a whole if part of the contribution—the aggregate contribution that we were willing to make—should be made through him.

Senator JONES. The State of Pennsylvania was not classed as doubtful territory, was it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, but I suppose there are some campaign expenses involved in territory that is not doubtful.

Senator JONES. Yes; but I understand Mr. Bliss wanted this \$100,000 to use in doubtful States.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, for the general——

Senator JONES. And I wondered whether there was any special reason given as to why they wanted \$25,000 for Pennsylvania.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not remember that there was any stipulation that it should be used in Pennsylvania, but the Senator desired that the contribution be made through him in that way. I do not know what part of it he used. I did not stipulate that it should be used in Pennsylvania.

Senator JONES. Did Mr. Bliss state that they needed \$25,000 for Pennsylvania?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; he did not.

Senator JONES. Was he interested in the \$25,000 contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He was cognizant of it.

Senator JONES. Was he interested in securing it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, yes, sir; he was interested in securing all that could be secured.

Senator JONES. Did he tell you that they wanted to use \$25,000 in Pennsylvania?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He did not.

Senator JONES. Now you say that when you took the matter up with your board that you then went to Mr. Bliss with certain instructions?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. What were those instructions?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. As I have already stated, that was in the early part of the consideration of the matter; that if this was to be known to the powers and was thoroughly acceptable to them, we were willing to make the contribution. That was the only stipulation.

Senator JONES. Now, did Mr. Bliss ever tell you in any way that he had informed Col. Roosevelt of this contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He told me that he could assure me that it was thoroughly appreciated and acceptable and he said, "You need have no question whatever but that I shall properly represent you as you request."

Senator JONES. I want to get a direct answer to that question, Whether or not he ever told you that he had conveyed these instructions to Col. Roosevelt?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, yes——

Senator JONES. I do not want any inferences or assumptions on your part.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I named Mr. Roosevelt especially. He told me that he had properly represented me in the matter.

Senator JONES. To Col. Roosevelt?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. Mentioning Col. Roosevelt's name?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, yes; I should say there was no other possible inference in the matter.

Senator JONES. I am not asking for inferences. I want to know whether or not Mr. Bliss ever told you directly?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, yes.

Senator JONES. That he had told this to Col. Roosevelt?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He so represented the matter to Col. Roosevelt and to Mr. Cortelyou.

Senator JONES. That is, those are the two names that he specially mentioned.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. Were any of the members of your board of trustees Democrats?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. Did they approve this contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. They either approved it or kept silent.

Senator JONES. Were any of them present at this meeting?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. One, surely; perhaps two—no, one.

Senator JONES. Who was that?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Mr. Tilford.

Senator JONES. Did you hear Mr. Tilford discussing the matter at all?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Mr. Tilford always discussed, but he yielded to the majority, of course, but——

Senator JONES. Did he make any objections?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; he made no objections.

Senator JONES. Did he think it was a wise thing to do?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He thought it was a wise thing to do from a business point of view.

Senator JONES. Was the matter ever brought up before your board of directors with reference to the Democratic campaign of that year?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not recall that it was.

Senator JONES. Well, you would know if it was, would you not?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Possibly, yes; some requests were made but they certainly were not favorably acted upon.

Senator JONES. Do you remember any such request coming up at a directors' meeting?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; I do not. Mr. Tillford may have jocularly said, "What are you going to do for me?" Something like that; just jocularly.

Senator JONES. Now, there should be an entry in some of your books with reference to this \$100,000 payment, should there not?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. The question as to how it was entered I can not answer.

Senator JONES. It would be a matter of entry in your books, would it not?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. There probably was, but in what shape I do not know. I did not have anything to do with it.

Senator JONES. You do not know now whether there would be an entry made that could be identified with this transaction?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not know; I do not know how it was entered.

Senator JONES. What was the denomination of this money when it was paid over?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. My recollection is principally in thousand-dollar bills.

Senator JONES. There were no one-hundred-dollar bills, were there?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not recollect any one-hundred-dollar bills.

Senator JONES. You say in the second request that Mr. Bliss asked for \$150,000?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. That is my recollection; yes, sir.

Senator JONES. You stated that he came to you from Mr. Cortelyou.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He came from the national committee.

Senator JONES. Well, it was with reference to that contribution that you just testified in regard to that you desired to talk with Mr. Cortelyou?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes; that is, he desired to talk with me.

Senator JONES. That is, Mr. Cortelyou desired to talk with you?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator JONES. Did he express a desire to talk with you?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Mr. Bliss said he did; that is all I know.

Senator JONES. But he afterwards brought word that Mr. Cortelyou did not care to talk with you?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He said that, having made the engagement with Mr. Cortelyou to come, and I suppose Mr. Bliss wanted to impress the matter on him as earnestly as possible as to the need and advisability of giving—Mr. Bliss said, himself, that Mr. Cortelyou had concluded it was unwise for him to come.

Senator JONES. Did you ever talk with anyone who claimed to know much about the Harriman contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, I have talked—not in the national committee, no.

Senator JONES. I am not asking that. I ask whether or not you talked with anyone who claimed to have personal knowledge with regard to the Harriman contribution.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I talked with Mr. Rogers about it.

Senator JONES. What did Mr. Rogers say about the Harriman contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He thought the Harriman contribution had been paid just as Mr. Harriman said it had.

Senator JONES. Did he know anything about it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not know how much he knew. He always talked about it.

Senator JONES. Did he claim to know anything about it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I think he did; yes, sir.

Senator JONES. What did he claim to know about it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He claimed the contribution was paid as Mr. Harriman stated——

Senator JONES. Did he talk with anyone else who claimed to know? I am not asking for rumors; I am asking whether he talked with anyone else who claimed to know the facts.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I talked with Mr. Harriman myself.

Senator JONES. What did he tell you about it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He told me just what I said.

Senator JONES. What did he tell you?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. That he had made up this contribution, and it was made just in the line of the request which is published.

Senator JONES. Did he tell you who contributed to it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; he did not. I did not know that my name was put down in it until recently. I am not sure as to how much or how little I talked with Harriman. It was just mixed up in general talks with Mr. Rogers and others.

Senator JONES. You said Mr. Harriman said this amount had been raised as requested. Did he tell you by whom it had been requested?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not know that he specified. It was all a matter of record then—the correspondence with Mr. Roosevelt.

Senator JONES. You do not remember his telling you who requested it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; I do not sufficiently to make a specific statement.

Senator JONES. Did you or the company ever receive any letter or message from Col. Roosevelt thanking you for your contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. We did not.

Senator JONES. Or expressing gratification at its having been made?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. We did not.

Senator JONES. At any time?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir. He had made another record before coming to that, apparently, from the published correspondence.

Senator JONES. After the campaign was closed, immediately after the election, did he express any appreciation?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He had evidently concluded, even before the election, that another course would be more popular on his part, and he threw an anchor to the windward, evidently, if it is true that he wrote Mr. Cortelyou as he is now saying he did.

Senator JONES. Of course I did not ask for that. I simply asked whether or not you or your company ever received any letter from him.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, no, sir; we never received any letter from him.

Senator JONES. Had Mr. Roosevelt or any officials under him ever made any request of you or your company that you had refused?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Any what?

Senator JONES. Any request of any kind of you or your company that you had refused prior to his change of attitude toward your company?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Except in the campaign matter, of which——

Senator JONES. Aside from the campaign.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Not that I know of.

Senator JONES. So there was nothing of this kind that you know that would explain the change of attitude toward the company?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Nothing of this kind—what?

Senator JONES. I ask you whether or not President Roosevelt or any officials under him had made any request of you or your company that you had refused, aside from this contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Not that I know of.

Senator JONES. So there was nothing of this character that would explain the change of attitude toward your company?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir.

Senator JONES. When was this change of attitude toward the company first manifested?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I can say it was first manifested in his alleged letter to Mr. Cortelyou, which was written, if I remember rightly, or was claimed to have been written, under date of October 24—if that is the date.

Senator JONES. You did not know anything about that letter at that time?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir.

Senator JONES. What I am trying to get at is when did you first see any manifestation of his change of attitude toward you and the company?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. In the attacks to which I have referred, and which began shortly after his coming into office in 1905.

Senator JONES. You do not know of any refusals on the part of your company to furnish any information to the Commissioner of Corporations, or any of those officials who were looking into the matter?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. On the other hand, we have opened our books to them to the very utmost. The first attack was on the alleged line of rebates, and Mr. Garfield came to our office at New York, to know whether we would open our books to him and his aids, and we said certainly, and we did, to the very utmost. It may be proper for me to say that our record was such that we were glad to have it inspected. We believe that we have been the only large corporation in the country that had faithfully observed the interstate commerce law after its passage. We did not believe that any other concern had any such record. We spent more money than the Government itself in trying to see that the law was carefully observed. We kept a bureau for that purpose alone, and after investigations, to any fair-minded man, and laying our books all open, they set about the most outrageous line of attack that was ever instituted against a corporation on the face of the earth; absolutely without merit, as has been proved by investigation of the matter under the strongest influence against them that the Federal Government could possibly bring to bear in every case that has been tried. There never was a scintilla of real basis for the attacks made in connection with these rebate cases. It was an outrage, as any fair-minded man will say who will come and investigate the matter on its merits, just as a business question.

The CHAIRMAN. Has any other Senator any questions to ask Mr Archbold?

Senator POMERENE. I have one or two, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Archbold, you have just spoken about your record—the investigation of your record in connection with rebates.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And what has been the attitude of the company?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Were there not some prosecutions on that subject in Buffalo, and pleas of guilty entered?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. There was a prosecution at Buffalo, the details of which would astonish, I am sure, any man on earth who would listen to them. If you care to hear them, I will tell you.

Senator POMERENE. I know nothing about it except what I have seen in the papers.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I will be delighted to tell you, and I can do it in a few words. A subsidiary company of ours, the Vacuum Oil Co., made some shipments of refined oil from Olean, N. Y., to a point in Vermont. This was at a time before the real agitation of the great question had reached anything like the acute stage that it did later. There were two routes open to them for these small shipments—one, the best established route had a rate in force. They found that by

combining two other rates, making a rebilling at an intermediate point, that they could save a few cents a barrel by using that second route.

In the Interstate Commerce Commission at that time the only decision that had been made on the point at all had been that it was legal to use a combined rate of that kind, and our shipping department used that combined rate instead of shipping by the established line at the through rate. They saved altogether five hundred and sixty odd dollars, if I remember correctly, on the total shipments. The Government officials here instructed the district attorneys there—they raked the country with a fine-tooth comb to find even as much as to hang a presumption against us—they raked the country with a fine-tooth comb, and brought actions, urging that this shipment was illegal and that they should have employed the regular route at the higher rate, and brought action against the different railroad companies, namely, the New York Central and Pennsylvania, against shippers of oil, Vacuum Oil Co., and against the Standard Oil Co. and a receiver of the oil—bringing four actions for the alleged offense; and the district attorney of that district reporting back here—and this I give on information, of course—stating to the Attorney General's office here, "There is nothing in this after investigation. There is not merit enough in this action on which to ask an indictment"; and I am informed that the answer came back, "Damn the merits; get the indictment."

Now, that is the sort of thing we were subjected to all the way through. When these cases came to trial the whole force of the Government was brought to bear, and of course a jury will always convict a corporation under these circumstances. The cases were brought to trial, and of course a conviction was had in the first and there was nothing else in the world for the others to do. And altogether for that \$500 of saving in a little freight shipment between Olean, N. Y., and some little point in Vermont at a probable aggregate value of not over six or eight thousand dollars, there had been over \$70,000 in penalties, to say nothing about the costs paid by the Government in its suit. That is the case.

Senator POMERENE. That matter does not have any bearing on the subjects before us.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. You asked me the question.

Senator POMERENE. My question was directed by reference to your statement as to the record on the subject of rebates.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Mr. Roosevelt time and time again came out and wrote with reference to that ridiculous \$29,000,000 case; that the case was absolutely meritorious on the part of the Government. There was no more basis for it than if I had charged you with robbing me now of \$50.

Senator POMERENE. In answer to Senator Jones you made some reference to an arrangement for Mr. Cortelyou to call at your office.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. At whose instance was that arrangement made?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. At Mr. Bliss's.

Senator POMERENE. And, if I understand you correctly, an arrangement was made whereby Messrs. Bliss and Cortelyou were to call upon you at your office?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. They were.

Senator POMERENE. And later Mr. Bliss kept the engagement?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. He reported to you that Mr. Cortelyou thought it would be the part of wisdom not to call?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. That is right.

Senator POMERENE. Was anything said touching the reasons for Mr. Cortelyou's conclusion?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, he thought it might be known, and he thought it would be better that he should not come.

Senator POMERENE. That is, it might become known that Mr. Cortelyou or some one connected with the Republican national committee was calling upon you at your office?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, Mr. Cortelyou—it was put on personal grounds. I do not know. Mr. Bliss did not hesitate to come. Mr. Bliss reported that Mr. Cortelyou thought it would be unwise for him to come.

Senator POMERENE. When was that with reference to the time when you made these contributions?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It was after the first contribution, my recollection is, and while the consideration of the request for the second contribution was pending.

Senator POMERENE. That is, it was before then you had finally declined to make the second contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It was; yes, sir. My understanding was that Mr. Cortelyou was to give emphasis to Mr. Bliss's request.

Senator POMERENE. And Mr. Bliss presumed, or assumed, rather, to speak for Mr. Cortelyou in the matter?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Mr. Cortelyou said that Mr. Bliss could say all there was to be said in the matter.

Senator POMERENE. Did you or Mr. Rogers or anyone else for your company at any time have any talk with Mr. Cortelyou, so far as you know?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I did not. I do not know as to Mr. Rogers. Mr. Rogers may have; I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Did anyone else of the company?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Did either of you at any time see the President?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Not during that campaign.

Senator POMERENE. Or shortly after the campaign?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No; not for some time after the campaign.

Senator POMERENE. Not for some time? When did you see him after that?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I might say it was a full year; I can not fix the exact date.

Senator POMERENE. Where did you see him?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. At the White House, here.

Senator POMERENE. That is, you and Mr. Rogers?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir; we spent an evening with him—an hour or so.

Senator POMERENE. Was the matter of the campaign discussed at that time?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Reference was made to the campaign, but no specific reference was made to our contribution.

Senator POMERENE. You say reference was made to the campaign?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Reference was made to the campaign. Mr. Roosevelt himself talked very freely about it.

Senator POMERENE. What was said on the subject?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He thought it had been an interesting campaign; was gratified over the result. There had been some criticism made with reference to the contributions, but he said that could not be avoided, etc. That was just a general line of talk.

Senator POMERENE. He said there had been some criticism with reference to the subject of contributions?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. With reference to the subject of contributions; but he made no specific reference to our contribution, and, of course, we did not. We would not, under those circumstances.

Senator POMERENE. In what respect was there criticism at that time?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, I rather think the insurance thing had been exploited; that is my recollection. The insurance contributions; that is my recollection of the matter, and I rather think there had been some newspaper talk about other things—the possibility of other contributions having been made. I think there had been some newspaper talk about it.

Senator POMERENE. What was said on the subject of contributions during the campaign?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. On his part?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. That. He said, "Of course, there has been some criticism made—there always will be—on the subject of contributions; there always will be."

Senator POMERENE. Was any reference made to the contributions by the insurance companies?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not think specific reference was made to any contributions.

Senator POMERENE. Do you remember whether those disclosures were made at the time of your visit?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I am inclined to think they were; I am not sure about it, but I would think they were. At any rate, there had been some newspaper talk about it.

Senator POMERENE. Was any reference made to contributions by Harriman?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No.

Senator POMERENE. Or by the railroad companies?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not think any specific thing was named in the talk.

Senator POMERENE. And you say nothing was said whatsoever about the part that you and your business associates had in this matter?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, he spoke in the most friendly way; he was exceedingly courteous and kindly, and all that.

Senator POMERENE. Now, nothing has been said with reference to the campaign of 1908. Did you make any contributions during the campaign of 1908?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. We did not.

Senator POMERENE. To either party?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. To either party. The action here in Washington in 1907, of course, stopped that.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say, Senator Pomerene, that the evidence is full here on the campaign of 1908 as to both parties. The most complete records were kept of that campaign.

Senator POMERENE. I have not been in touch with the work at all and I did not know.

The CHAIRMAN. I know that.

Senator POMERENE. I notice here that the resolution referred to that campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1908 both parties kept very full and complete records, which are still preserved, and we have a synopsis of that printed.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Penrose, have you anything you desire to say?

Senator PENROSE. Mr. Chairman, as this hearing to-day is, as I understand it, more particularly in reference to a statement made by me in the Senate which has not been formally referred to this committee, but comes under its cognizance, under your general resolution, and which I hope will be specifically referred to-day to this committee in the Senate, I would ask leave to ask Mr. Archbold one question, and only one, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Senator PENROSE. I would like to ask Mr. Archbold whether this \$100,000 was ever returned to him, or whether any suggestion of its return was ever made to him.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. There was not. It was never returned and never any request made that we should accept it.

Senator PENROSE. I only desire to state further, Mr. Chairman, that it is well known that Mr. Archbold did not know anything about this hearing to-day until yesterday; that he has engaged his passage for Europe for to-morrow, and will return in two or three weeks. He is going over there, I believe, to visit his daughter.

I want it distinctly understood—I suppose Mr. Archbold considers himself practically under subpoena—that he will make a search for these papers and, on his return, appear before this committee at such special meeting as you may call, in Washington or elsewhere, to present the corroborating evidence upon the statements that he has made, and that he will on his return to New York, if possible to-morrow, arrange with Mr. William Rockefeller and his other associates in the Standard Oil Co. to appear before this committee and make their statements as to the representations made at the board meeting concerning the representations of Mr. Bliss, Mr. Cortelyou, and Mr. Roosevelt.

I understand, Mr. Archbold, you will do that without any further formal notice from the committee? I want it distinctly understood on the record.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I can not speak as to Mr. William Rockefeller, who is in very precarious health.

Senator PENROSE. I understood, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. William Rockefeller has been in precarious health for some time, and that he is not able to appear before the committee.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. You might send and take his testimony.

Senator PENROSE. I will ask the chairman of the committee that he, or some other members of the subcommittee who may desire, shall visit Mr. William Rockefeller and take his testimony.

Senator JONES. Mr. Archbold, the other members of the board whom you have named are still living?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Some of them are—well, no; three died in the year 1909.

Senator JONES. Are any of the members of the board that were present at that meeting still living?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I am not sure of that. Those would have been, with Mr. William Rockefeller, the three active members, aside from myself. It is possible that Mr. Jennings was also there, but I am not entirely sure about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the three members?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Mr. Rogers, Mr. Tilford, and Mr. Barstow.

Senator JONES. So that Mr. William Rockefeller is the only one you are certain who was there?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He is practically the only survivor that I am sure was there. Three died within the year 1909, worried to death.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Archbold, Senator Penrose's reference to the proceedings in the Senate yesterday suggests another matter.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. That was with reference to his connection with some commission. What commission was that?

Senator JONES. The Industrial Commission.

Senator POMERENE. The Industrial Commission. What connection, if any, had you with the appointment or the work of that commission?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I had nothing to do with the appointment. I was simply a witness before the commission and gave them the first sensible suggestion with reference to the corporation question that I believe was a matter of public record.

The CHAIRMAN. While Mr. Archbold is here, with the sanction of the committee, I will call Mr. Archbold's attention to these various letters that have been published.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. The first is dated October 13, 1904. I think you have already stated that you doubted its genuineness.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not find any record of that letter in either my personal or my business letterbooks, and you will observe that it is the only letter in which the precaution is taken, with reference to my signature, of putting the word "Sgnd" in front of my name—which, of course, I never did.

The CHAIRMAN. Had anyone in your office authority to sign your name in that matter?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir. It looks as though it is photographed in, if it is my signature at all, and that whoever was dastardly enough to steal letters would improve the signature and put that in as a matter of protection.

Senator JONES. What do you say as to the signature, which purports to be yours?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Of course, it has the general appearance, but it does not look like my signature.

Senator JONES. Why not?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. There is a marked difference of appearance, as you will observe, if you glance at a number of them. There is a whole sheet, that will give you a general idea, in this morning's Journal.

Senator PENROSE. When you signed your name, was it customary to put in brackets the word "Signed"?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No.

Senator PENROSE. So that a copy of your signature would hardly have had that in it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir. My secretary, who is very familiar with my signature, says that it is not my signature.

Senator JONES. I wonder if you could point out the differences that appear in it from your signature?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. She says it is not my signature.

Senator POMERENE. You spoke of your secretary. Could some confidential clerk have signed it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. She has been looking at it within a day or two, and she says it is undoubtedly a fraudulent signature.

Senator POMERENE. That does not answer the question. Pardon my interrupting you.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a lady?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Being a man of large affairs, you have a secretary, and does not your secretary sometimes sign your name? Or have you any other confidential employee whose signature that might have been?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; I haven't anyone.

Senator JONES. No one is authorized to sign your name?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No; no one is authorized to sign my name.

Senator OLIVER. Is there any other letter of yours there?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes; several of them there. She called attention to a number of them. I am not a handwriting expert, but it looks to me like a forgery.

The CHAIRMAN. I now call your attention to a letter dated May 17, 1899, which is as follows:

MAY 17, 1899.

HON. BOIES PENROSE,
1331 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I don't suppose it is at all necessary to bother you again regarding the Washington matter, but Mr. Wardwell is this morning in receipt of the inclosed letter from the secretary of the commission, urging him to appear before them in June. I have said to him that he need give himself no uneasiness about it, and that the understanding is clear that none of our parties are to appear in June. As I think I have told you, Mr. Wardwell is in poor health and is planning to leave for Europe. I have thought best, however, to send this to you out of the fullness of precaution.

Apologizing for again troubling you in the matter, I am,
Very truly, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

accompanied by what purports to be a photographic copy of the letter.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no doubt that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what that referred to?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Simply the appearance of the witnesses before the commission, Senator Penrose being a member of the commission.

The CHAIRMAN. The Industrial Commission?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. The Industrial Commission. I wrote to him in a friendly way with reference to the appearance of the witnesses. I never would have remembered it without that letter.

Senator PENROSE. I want to ask a question there.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Senator PENROSE. This letter was written to me, as hundreds of other letters were written at the time, and I would like to ask Mr. Archbold whether Mr. Wardwell objected to appearing before the commission, or whether it was not to facilitate his appearance after his health had been recovered and he had been to Europe?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, surely, nothing else in the world.

Senator PENROSE. There was no objection to his appearing?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. None whatever.

Senator PENROSE. It was just like your committee has requested witnesses to appear. You are doing this here this morning to facilitate Mr. Archbold's trip to Europe.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say in this connection it would be very difficult—

Senator PENROSE. I think it would facilitate your work. I am not under oath, but I am ready to testify at any time it suits the convenience of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The next letter bears date of January 5, 1900, and is as follows:

JANUARY 5, 1900.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have to-day telegraphed you as follows:

"Corporations should not be required to make public the names or holdings of all stockholders. It is an unjust and unnecessary inquisition into the private affairs of individual stockholders and serves no public good. If demanded by creditors, State laws now provide the means of obtaining the information. Private corporations should not be required to make public items of receipts and expenditures, profits and losses. A statement of assets and liabilities is all that can benefit the public. Items of receipts and expenditures, profits and losses can only benefit the competitors."

I beg to acknowledge also with many thanks your favor of January 1, the inclosures accompanying which I beg to return you herewith. Was very sorry not to see you here last week, but as you know I was away on a little vacation.

Sorry to learn to-day of the report of the committee in the Quay case, but still hope for favorable action by the Senate.

With thanks for all your courtesy, I am, very truly, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon. BOIES PENROSE, *Washington, D. C.*

There is no photograph accompanying that.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, yes; I think that letter was undoubtedly written. I speak only from memory.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you recall?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. The letter was stolen, and of course I can only speak from memory.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you recall from memory the inclosures referred to?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not; I have not the remotest idea what they were.

The CHAIRMAN. The next letter is dated February 21, 1900, and is as follows:

26 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, *February 21, 1900.*

Hon. BOIES PENROSE,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have your kind note of yesterday with inclosures which latter I beg to return herewith. We think the report is so fair that we will not undertake to suggest any changes.

With many thanks, I am, very truly, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

That is accompanied by what purports to be a photographic copy.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes; I have no doubt that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That referred, did it, to the report of the Industrial Commission?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I so understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your recollection of it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. That is my recollection of it; yes, sir.

Senator JONES. Did you have any understanding with Senator Penrose before that letter was written that you were to show him the report?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not recall any whatever. I think he sent it to me as a matter of courtesy, as I had been a witness and felt largely interested in the questions under consideration by the commission—he as a member of the committee sent me a copy of the report.

Senator JONES. You did not discuss with him or ask him to send you a copy of the report?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I haven't any recollection that I exchanged words with him on the subject. I do not recollect.

Senator JONES. Was there any talk between you and Senator Penrose as to what the findings of the commission would be, or what should be the findings?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no recollection of ever conferring with him at all.

Senator JONES. Have you the letter from Senator Penrose?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir. I imagine that was stolen.

Senator JONES. You do not think that it is among your papers?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No; I am very sure it is not.

The CHAIRMAN. The next letter is dated July 3, 1901, and is as follows:

JULY 3, 1901.

Hon. BOIES PENROSE, *Philadelphia, Pa.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: Following the lamentable death of Senator Kyle, we are very strongly of the opinion that you should take the chairmanship of the Industrial Commission. This seems eminently fitting from every point of view. Your name as chairman would undoubtedly give to the report exceptional assurance of integrity and intelligence. You are the ranking senatorial member of the commission. The interests of your State are preeminent in the matter, and, lastly, and may we hope not unfairly, we make it as a strong personal request.

May I venture to ask for an affirmative answer by wire, so that we may do what seems possible to aid in the matter.

With kind regards, I am, very truly, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

That appears to be accompanied by a photographic copy.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no doubt it is correct.

Senator JONES. Do you remember what answer Senator Penrose made to that?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not recall that he made any answer; if so it has disappeared. It is said to belong to the numerous files of a newspaper editor in New York.

Senator JONES. Have you any recollection that he wired as requested in that letter?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No; I have not.

Senator PENROSE. I should like to say that I received, I suppose, several hundred letters from business men and labor organizations in Pennsylvania asking me to stand for the chairmanship of the commission. I have no doubt of the correctness of that letter. It made

no impression upon me at the time, because I received a great many; but realizing that I had never attended a single meeting practically of the commission, as the records will show, I felt that I was not in a position to do so. I do not think I even voted or attended a meeting that elected the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The next letter is dated July 3, 1901, and reads as follows:

JULY 3, 1901.

MY DEAR SENATOR: The death of Senator Kyle, chairman of the Industrial Commission, at this critical juncture makes it very important that the place be filled by a man abreast of the times as to our industrial and commercial evolution. We think that Senator Penrose should take the place. He is the ranking senatorial member of the commission and surely the interests of his State are very great in the matter.

Won't you strongly urge him to do so, and oblige,

Yours, very truly,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon. M. S. QUAY, *Beaver, Pa.*

There does not appear to be any photographic copy accompanying that in the record.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I could not say, Senator. It sounds as though I may have written it.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your impression as to having written to Senator Quay?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I probably did. My relations with Senator Quay would have led me to write such a letter, feeling as I did with reference to Senator Penrose—with reference to the work of that commission.

The CHAIRMAN. The next letter is dated August 21, 1901, and reads as follows:

AUGUST 21, 1901.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have your kind favor of the 19th, and note the suggestion regarding Senator Penrose. I am this morning in receipt of a letter from Senator Penrose's secretary, the former being absent in the Far West, from which I quote an expression from the Senator: "Will be entirely satisfied with the election of Col. Clarke to the place referred to." I am writing now again urging that he be present at the meeting called early in September.

Sincerely, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon. M. A. HANNA, *Cleveland, Ohio.*

That does not seem to be accompanied by a photographic copy.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Probably; I have no recollection of it, but I have no doubt I wrote that, too.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no photographic copy of that letter.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. There is not?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I can not say.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you say as to having written Senator Hanna?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It is not unlikely that I did.

The CHAIRMAN. The next letter is dated August 19, 1901, and is as follows:

AUGUST 19, 1901.

MY DEAR SENATOR: My attention is called to the fact of the appointment of Senator Thomas R. Bard, of Hueneme, Cal., as a member of the Industrial Commission to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Senator Mantle, of Montana. I have further information that a determined effort will be made at the meeting early in September by the Democratic and disgruntled Republican members of the commission

to make political capital against the so-called trusts. If Senator Bard can be counted on for sensible action in regard to this question, an effort should be made to have him present at the meetings. It is very desirable also to have him favor Col. Clarke for the chairmanship. Can you reach him, and will you do so?

Very truly, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon. M. A. HANNA, *Cleveland, Ohio.*

Accompanying that it does appear that there is a photographic copy.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I probably wrote the letter. I was very much interested in the question, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall Senator Hanna answering that letter?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not. I would not have recalled writing the letter except that it is unearthed in this matter.

The CHAIRMAN. The next letter is dated November 24, 1902, and reads as follows:

26 BROADWAY, NEW YORK,
November 24, 1902.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I most earnestly hope that it is in the line of your intention and desire to favor the reappointment of Hon. E. W. Smiley as chief clerk of the senate of Pennsylvania. His qualifications for the position need no word, I am sure, at my hands. I will esteem it a personal favor if you will aid in his reelection.

Yours, very truly,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon. BOIES PENROSE,
1331 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no recollection of it; but I do not doubt I wrote the letter. I do not doubt I wrote it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the fact of having a desire for the election?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I was friendly toward Mr. Smiley and probably did it at the request of him.

Senator OLIVER. He was from Venango County, was he not?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator PENROSE. I was going to state that Mr. Smiley came to the oil section of Pennsylvania and doubtless knew Mr. Archbold, or some personal friend asked him to write a letter. There was no opposition, as a matter of fact to Mr. Smiley's election as chief clerk. He was one of those permanent officials at the desk whom you find in all legislative bodies. Nobody thought of disturbing him, and he died there.

The CHAIRMAN. The next letter is dated September 22, 1902, and is as follows:

SEPTEMBER 22, 1902.

MY DEAR SENATOR: It proved that the Butler County gentleman named in your recent note to me is not in our emply, but I have fortunately succeeded in reaching him through a mutual friend, and I am very sure you will find him in line all right.

Very truly, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon. BOIES PENROSE, *Philadelphia.*

There is no photographic copy.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no recollection whatever of that letter, nor of the gentleman nor of the mutual friend. Perhaps Senator Penrose will recall. Ask him.

Senator PENROSE. I did not hear the letter. Will the Senator read it over again?

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

It proved that the Butler County gentleman named in your recent note to me is not in our employ, but I have fortunately succeeded in reaching him through a mutual friend, and I am very sure you will find him in line all right.

That is dated September 22, 1902.

Senator PENROSE. That was written probably during some campaign in Pennsylvania—a not unusual letter to write. I do not know just who that refers to; it referred to Mr. Warren McCreary, probably, of Butler County.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. McCreary?

Senator PENROSE. I do not know whether he is directly in the employ of Mr. Archbold or an allied concern.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I remember such a man, but I do not know——

Senator PENROSE. That is the only reference I can think of that Mr. Archbold would be likely to effect in this particular county. It is such a trifling incident that it found no resting place in my mind, but it probably had reference to a campaign in Pennsylvania at that time, when I wanted to enlist Mr. Archbold's interest in a person who was supposed to be in his employ, but it turned out I was mistaken. He was never employed by him.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any man of that name?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I remember Mr. McCreary, but I have no recollection of him in any such connection as this.

Senator PENROSE. I may be wrong on that.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I haven't the remotest idea who this refers to. It makes no difference anyway.

Senator PENROSE. No important difference.

The CHAIRMAN. The next letter is dated September 5, 1900, and reads as follows:

SEPTEMBER 5, 1900.

HON. W. R. ANDREWS, *Meadville, Pa.*

DEAR SIR: I have your favor of August 31, and it will give me pleasure to write a letter at once as suggested by you.

With the earnest hope that it will have some favorable effect, I am,

Very truly, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

There is no photographic copy accompanying that.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no recollection of the matter whatever. I do not know what it refers to.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have an associate or close personal friend by the name of W. R. Andrews, at Meadville?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. There was a W. R. Andrews in Meadville.

Senator OLIVER. He was Senator Penrose's secretary.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He was not then associated——

Senator PENROSE. W. H. or W. R. Andrews?

The CHAIRMAN. W. R. Andrews. He was a Member of Congress, was he not?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No; that is W. H. Andrews.

Senator PENROSE. This Mr. Andrews—he is dead now—was the brother of Mr. W. H. Andrews, who was a Delegate from the Territory of New Mexico for a number of years. This W. R. Andrews was my private secretary for a long time; and for about eight years was chairman of the Republican State Committee. He was also the

editor of a newspaper, I think, at the time that letter was written, in Titusville.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, Meadville.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not recall what this letter related to, from Mr. Andrews?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; it was a trifling matter.

The CHAIRMAN. The next letter is dated October 11, 1888, is marked "Personal," and reads as follows:

OCTOBER 11, 1888.

Hon. C. W. STONE, *Warren, Pa.*

MY DEAR SIR: Referring to our conversation of yesterday, it now gives me pleasure to inclose you certificate of deposit to your favor for \$2,000. I have also written the letter suggested.

Truly, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

There is no photographic copy accompanying that letter.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. What is the date of that letter?

The CHAIRMAN. That is dated October 11, 1888.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. 1888?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. It is addressed to Hon. C. W. Stone, Warren, Pa., purporting to inclose a check for \$2,000.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It is possible that it was among the early campaigns that I made a contribution to Stone as a personal friend. I have no recollection of it.

The CHAIRMAN. He was a candidate for Congress, was he not?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He was a Member of Congress. He was lieutenant governor of the State at one time.

Senator PENROSE. He was lieutenant governor at one time and frequently a Member of Congress.

Senator OLIVER. And secretary of the Commonwealth, and one of the best men who ever lived in the State. He died last week.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It was a disgrace for a magazine to publish that note.

Senator PENROSE. And a man worth many millions of dollars, to whom a few thousand dollars was nothing, so far as fortune was concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have business transactions with Mr. Stone, that you recall?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It is barely possible, and yet I do not know. It has been a long time ago, and a long time since I had any contact with him.

The CHAIRMAN. The next letter appears to be a repetition of the first letter of October 13, with the letters "Sgnd" omitted.

Senator OLIVER. They thought better of it.

The CHAIRMAN. And reads as follows:

[Personal.]

26 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, *October 13, 1904.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: In fulfillment of our understanding, it gives me great pleasure to hand you herewith certificate of deposit to your favor for \$25,000, and with good wishes, I am,

Yours, truly,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon. BOIES PENROSE,
1331 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

You have already stated your views as to that.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir. I can not add anything to it, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. What would be the reason, if this was done by certificate of deposit, that you would send a certificate of deposit instead of a check?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No reason, except as a matter of easy convenience for him in having it cashed. I do not know of anything else.

The CHAIRMAN. He would have no trouble in cashing a check?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I imagine not and I have no recollection of it. If it were so sent, I probably inadvertently said to whomever was to get it: "Get me a certificate of deposit for \$25,000." There was no purpose in it; no reason on earth.

Senator JONES. This certificate of deposit would be probably made out in your own name, and then indorsed by you, would it not?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not know how it might have been made—probably so.

Senator JONES. The records in your books would be different from what they would be if you had sent out a check payable to Senator Penrose?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. They might or might not be; I have no knowledge as to that.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say to the committee that it has occurred to me that while Mr. Archbold is here the committee, if so disposed, could take up the letters in the other issues of the magazine, although they were not referred to in Senator Boies Penrose's statement to the Senate.

Senator OLIVER. Why should we examine Mr. Archbold upon any letters except those which refer to contributions or to the subject of the investigation by this committee? I simply make this suggestion with a view of preventing the cumbering up of the record with a whole lot of irrelevant matters. We will find it hard enough to read and digest the testimony as it is, and if you make it so broad——

The CHAIRMAN. If you will pardon me a moment, the letters in the issue of August, 1912, must necessarily be inquired into if the resolution which undoubtedly—I supposed it had passed yesterday, but will pass to-day if it did not yesterday—will pass, and it occurred to me that while Mr. Archbold was here we could——

Senator OLIVER. But, Mr. Chairman, a lot of these letters that have already been read have nothing to do with the subject of our investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true.

Senator OLIVER. I want to get out all the information that we can about the matter about which we are inquiring, but what is the use of going over a whole lot of Mr. Archbold's private correspondence about matters with which we have nothing to do?

The CHAIRMAN. Nothing; unless sooner or later we will have to do it. We will certainly have to do it as to the correspondence in the August issue of the magazine, as this is covered by the resolution.

Senator OLIVER. If the August issue of the magazine relates to letters sent to Mr. Hanna recommending somebody for office 10 or 15 years ago, I do not see what we would have to do with it, why we should put those in.

The CHAIRMAN. This article was the subject of the remarks, and the subject of the remarks was referred to the committee.

Senator PENROSE. Then put the article in.

The CHAIRMAN. Before going into the others, I submitted them to the committee and desire to take the judgment of the committee on them.

Senator PENROSE. May I be permitted to ask Mr. Archbold a question before you begin with this discussion? Before I forget it?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Senator PENROSE. I made a statement, Mr. Chairman, in the Senate that Mr. William Flinn, of Pittsburgh, had sent a telegram to Mr. Archbold asking him to use whatever influence might rest with him to favor his candidacy to the United States Senate. I had the telegram and a copy of the cipher telegram from Mr. Archbold to Mr. Flinn and a translation of the cipher printed. I would like to ask Mr. Archbold whether those telegrams were correctly stated in my speech and whether he has the original still in his possession or thinks he could find them if he looked them up.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have the originals, and I believe they were correctly stated. It is a matter of great regret for me to have them so published, but in justice to the Senator I thought there was nothing else he could do.

Senator PENROSE. I would like to ask one more question on that point of Mr. Archbold.

Did you, Mr. Archbold, in any way attempt to interfere in Pennsylvania regarding the election of a successor to Mr. M. S. Quay?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I did not, and have never taken any part in any senatorial election other than a simple personal, friendly nature, in my life.

The CHAIRMAN. You say the telegrams read by Senator Penrose are correct?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I believe them to be correct. Of course I have not compared them with the originals. I have the originals.

The CHAIRMAN. You are expecting to corroborate them?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How long do you expect to be gone?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I expect to sail on the 25th of September for home. That will bring me here about the 1st of October.

The CHAIRMAN. You have kindly waived any service, and the committee will assume that you will return here upon request.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I will come at any time the committee desires me. I want to express my appreciation for your courtesy in the matter.

The CHAIRMAN. We realize that it is somewhat difficult for a man to adjust his matters. Has any member of this committee any further questions at this time?

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Chairman, I was not advised that I would be on this committee until after 6 o'clock yesterday and had no opportunity to go into it. I know nothing further that I want to inquire into now. If there is afterwards, Mr. Archbold said that he will be back.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will set at work whoever has charge of getting the records covered by this inquiry we will be obliged.

Senator POMERENE. I understand that Mr. Archbold will furnish those book entries.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Mr. Archbold; if you will also, so far as you can, get the communications to which those I have called your atten-

tion were answers on your part—the answers to those communications sent out by you—we shall be obliged.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have tried to find them, but I can not find them. I will look, but I am afraid they are gone. My whole private correspondence, covering a number of years, was completely rifled and everything that was thought of possible value or that could be used some time in political controversies was retained; some others were returned, but not many.

There being no further questions, Mr. Archbold was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will take a recess subject to call.

The committee thereupon took a recess until 2.30 p. m.

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled at the conclusion of the recess, at 2.30 o'clock p. m.

TESTIMONY OF HON. BOIES PENROSE, A SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Hon. Boies Penrose, having first been duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, I have in mind no line of inquiry with reference to your matter, and you can proceed and make such statement as you desire for the record.

Senator PENROSE. Mr. Chairman, I will very cheerfully answer any inquiries that my statement already made in the Senate did not make clear, and will be at the call of the committee at any time during the progress of this investigation, which has only begun, the understanding being this morning that Mr. Archbold was to return with his associates and with his books and papers. I will be very glad to answer any questions. Nothing occurs to me to add now.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought possibly you would like to put your statement that you put in the Record the other day, or so much of it as you might care to have, in the formal proceedings of the committee. I have no questions to ask.

Senator PENROSE. No; I have nothing to add to that statement at this time. During the campaign of 1904, as I stated in the Senate, I was frequently in touch with certain phases of the campaign, the national campaign; was in full charge, as chairman, of the State committee and full and exclusive charge of the State campaign.

I certainly felt when this contribution was received—I knew it was received with the indorsement of Mr. Bliss—the contribution to the State committee I refer to, of Pennsylvania, and that Mr. Roosevelt was in harmony with the suggestion of financial aid from that quarter. I was also familiar with a representation made by Mr. Bliss on his second requisition to Mr. Archbold for \$150,000, that he would strongly urge him as a personal friend to make the contribution, and I know that the feeling existed at that time that the declination on the part of Mr. Archbold and some of his associates was a serious mistake, and perhaps it exposed them to retaliatory measures, the theory being that it threw “the powers that be,” as Mr. Archbold

explained in his testimony, into other financial hands, and they were rendered immune, and the Standard Oil Co. was made the "goat," as the common saying is, in order to get the popular acclaim.

Senator POMERENE. Senator, I understand it is your desire that your remarks in the Senate be incorporated as part of your testimony in this record?

Senator PENROSE. I will be very glad to have them incorporated.

Senator POMERENE. And your statements of facts therein contained are true? [Statement inserted at conclusion of testimony.]

Senator PENROSE. Absolutely.

Senator POMERENE. And whatever you said which partook of the nature of hearsay evidence you believe to be true, if there was any such? I do not remember anything of special importance.

Senator PENROSE. I not only believe it to be true, but acted on the theory that it was true at the time.

Senator POMERENE. Did you, during the campaign of 1904, receive any other moneys from Mr. Archbold or from the Standard Oil Co. people other than the \$25,000?

Senator PENROSE. No; not to my recollection at the present time. I do not think there was any further contribution made at that time.

Senator POMERENE. Is it your recollection that the \$25,000 was paid to you in cash—in currency, I mean—or in the form of a certificate of deposit?

Senator PENROSE. I am strongly of the opinion that the letter is a forgery, for the reasons referred to by Mr. Archbold this morning that it is not in his letter book of that year which contains all the other letters addressed to him and would naturally be found there, and there are other reasons which lead to thoughts of forgery. But that is not material in my mind at all, because it is true and was known to the people around the State committee in Pennsylvania, and a large number of persons that the contribution had been made to the State committee. I only made the reference to the letter being a forgery and the delay of five years in its publication to show that it was published now under malignant misrepresentations for what I term in my statement journalistic political blackmail to coerce me, intimidate or punish me because of my political course at this time. The letter was in the possession of these gentlemen in 1904 and public duty and outraged virtue did not impel them to publish it to the people.

Senator POMERENE. You say this letter was in their possession?

Senator PENROSE. It must have been, because it is alleged to have been in a batch of letters stolen in 1903 or 1904. They have had the letter five years and never published it.

Senator POMERENE. Do I understand that this contribution was in cash?

Senator PENROSE. It is possible. I do not deny it may be true that the check was sent, but it is not likely. The probabilities are that I, being in New York nearly every week for a couple of days at a time, received, just as Mr. Bliss did, the contribution in currency. That would be the probable way the transaction occurred. Or I might have been handed a check in New York. In other words, it was hardly necessary to send me a check because I was in such close touch——

Senator POMERENE. You are speaking of probabilities now?

Senator PENROSE. Probabilities.

Senator POMERENE. Am I to infer from that that you have no distinct recollection as to whether it was cash or certificate of deposit or check?

Senator PENROSE. No; I have no recollection of that.

Senator POMERENE. You are certain of the amount, and you are certain it was not over the \$25,000?

Senator PENROSE. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Was anyone present with you at the time of your conversation with Mr. Archbold with reference to this contribution?

Senator PENROSE. I had conversations with Mr. Bliss during the campaign. I met Mr. Bliss at the office of the Standard Oil Co. at 26 Broadway and had my conversations about the national campaign with Mr. Archbold and H. H. Rogers, who was generally present when Mr. Archbold took up these matters.

Senator POMERENE. And was Mr. Bliss with you and them at that time?

Senator PENROSE. That would not be an event to make an impression upon my memory accurately. My recollection is that Mr. Bliss was on more than one occasion with me and Mr. Archbold and Mr. H. H. Rogers.

Senator POMERENE. When was the first conversation that you had with any of these gentlemen with respect to this contribution?

Senator PENROSE. My recollection is that Mr. Bliss saw Mr. Archbold within a week or so after the national convention and made his plea for financial assistance.

Senator POMERENE. Your convention was in July, was it?

Senator PENROSE. The convention was in June, I think—maybe July.

Senator POMERENE. The first conversation, then——

Senator PENROSE. Was quite early on Mr. Bliss's part.

Senator POMERENE. As I remember Mr. Archbold's testimony, it was to the effect that the first conversation with reference to this contribution was in September?

Senator PENROSE. Well, I noticed Mr. Archbold stated to-day that he thought Mr. Bliss called to see him about the 1st of September for the contribution, but it is immaterial. My recollection is that Mr. Bliss paid a visit on the general proposition very soon after the national convention.

Senator POMERENE. Were you with him at the time?

Senator PENROSE. I knew about it at the time, because Mr. Bliss told me he was going and Mr. Archbold told me he had been.

Senator POMERENE. Now, when did you have your first talk with Mr. Archbold?

Senator PENROSE. I could not tell with absolute accuracy, but the campaign that year in Pennsylvania opened the 15th of August, and I assume it most likely that I had my talk about the situation with Mr. Archbold about the first part of September.

Senator POMERENE. Give that conversation, or the substance of it, as nearly as you can.

Senator PENROSE. I stated to Mr. Archbold that it was important; that Senator Quay had just died, and the Republican organization had devolved upon me; that I had been compelled to take the chairman-

ship of the State committee; that it was highly desirable to poll as large a vote as possible in Pennsylvania for the electoral ticket and to capture all the congressional districts that we could, so as to make the results certain in view of the possibilities which campaign managers are always apprehensive of early in a campaign, of failure in closer sections; that a considerable sum of money was needed simply to keep the wheels moving—expenses of headquarters and postage, circulation of documents and other expenses; that Pennsylvania was pretty thoroughly drained during the presidential year of its resources financially for political purposes by reason of the appointment of treasurers in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, who collected large sums, sending them direct to the national chairman, and who spent the money in other States outside of Pennsylvania, and that we seldom were able to get a contribution from the national committee or get back any portion of the money so sent them from our State, and that I hoped that during the present campaign an effort would be made to see that proper regard was had for this great State of seven or eight million people. The outcome of that was, with Mr. Archbold and Mr. Bliss, that they both recognized the propriety of the suggestion and the contribution was divided, as has been stated.

Senator POMERENE. Did you at that time have any talk with him on the subject of Roosevelt's attitude toward the Standard Oil Co. or toward what is commonly designated as "big business"?

Senator PENROSE. Mr. Archbold told me that his board of directors would decline to act in the national campaign unless they felt that there would be no secrecy about their contribution; that it would be known to Mr. Cortelyou and to Mr. Roosevelt, and would be accepted in the proper spirit.

Senator POMERENE. What was the occasion for speaking of the matter of secrecy in connection with this contribution?

Senator PENROSE. By secrecy I mean that my understanding is that Mr. Archbold wanted the contribution generally known to have been made by them, to those entitled to know, from the President to the officials of the National Committee. I do not mean to say that he required it should be published in the papers.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; I understood you. You meant simply with reference to those who were managing the campaign and were officially interested?

Senator PENROSE. He did not want any misunderstanding about it in the future.

Senator POMERENE. Well, in this conversation was any mention made of President Roosevelt and the desire to have him know of this; that is, was his name specifically used?

Senator PENROSE. Mr. Roosevelt's name was specifically stated to me and it was represented to me by Mr. Archbold in the presence of H. H. Rogers that the board declined to consider the proposition of a contribution unless they were assured that Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Cortelyou were advised of it and in entire and cordial accord with receiving it.

Senator POMERENE. Was anything said during that conversation with respect to what would be the policy of the Roosevelt administration on the tariff proposition?

Senator PENROSE. The general proposition was that Mr. Roosevelt was for a protective tariff such as was advocated in the platform of

the Republican Party at the three preceding national conventions from 1896 down. The record now is protective policy of the party.

Senator POMERENE. Is there anything else that occurred in this conversation bearing upon this subject of contributions?

Senator PENROSE. There was a general assurance that the machinery of the presidential office would not be used in a harsh way for demagogic effect.

Senator POMERENE. You say a general assurance?

Senator PENROSE. From Mr. Bliss.

Senator POMERENE. During this first conversation?

Senator PENROSE. And from a number of others, I think, at the time.

Senator POMERENE. Let us understand each other. As I understood you, Mr. Bliss was not present at this first conversation. Am I right?

Senator PENROSE. No; I do not think he was present.

Senator POMERENE. Now, then, you are speaking of general assurance from Mr. Bliss?

Senator PENROSE. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, let us refer more specifically to that particular conversation, as to the date when it was had, the place where, and the persons present.

Senator PENROSE. My recollection is that it arose in a general conversation about the first part of October, when Mr. Bliss, Mr. Archbold, and I happened to be present, at the office of the Standard Oil Co., No. 26 Broadway.

Senator POMERENE. Was Mr. Rogers there at that time?

Senator PENROSE. Mr. Rogers was there so often that it is extremely likely he was there. Of course this is a transaction eight years old, and I would not be positive about it.

Senator POMERENE. I understand. Assuming that you can not fix the date specifically, I wish you would give to the committee as near as you can the conversation which occurred between Mr. Bliss, Mr. Archbold, and you with respect to Roosevelt's attitude toward that company and business in general, and what was said with respect to the contribution.

Senator PENROSE. The conversation referred to, according to my recollection, occurred after the contribution of \$100,000 and in connection with the visit of Mr. Bliss of a second contribution of \$150,000. It was distinctly stated by Mr. Bliss that both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Cortelyou had been fully advised of the first contribution and were extremely solicitous to have his request complied with for the second contribution, and later on I even went——

Senator POMERENE. That was the \$150,000?

Senator PENROSE. Yes. Later on I even went so far in another interview as to advise Mr. Archbold to induce his associates to make another contribution.

Senator POMERENE. Now, let us confine ourselves to this one particular conversation. Did Mr. Bliss make the statement that he had taken this up with Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Cortelyou personally, or did Mr. Archbold first ask him whether he had talked with them on the subject?

Senator PENROSE. Mr. Bliss, in supporting his request for the additional contribution, distinctly stated that the matter had been taken up with Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Cortelyou.

Senator POMERENE. What was their reply as reported by him?

Senator PENROSE. I do not know that he said, but he distinctly represented that they were in entire accord with the request and that they would appreciate it, and my recollection is that at that time he suggested he would be glad to have Mr. Archbold come down there and see Mr. Cortelyou about it.

Senator POMERENE. Was anything else said at that time?

Senator PENROSE. No; these interviews were all short. They were all busy men at the time.

Senator POMERENE. Did Mr. Archbold give a final answer then, or did he say that he would take it up with his associates?

Senator PENROSE. He said he would take it up with his associates, which would be the answer he would necessarily make, I would imagine.

Senator POMERENE. Were you present when Mr. Archbold reported to Mr. Bliss?

Senator PENROSE. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. That his business associates had decided not to make any further contribution?

Senator PENROSE. No, sir; the only way I knew about it was from a conversation with Mr. Archbold himself, in which he gave me the information that they had felt that they had gone as far as they were justified.

Senator POMERENE. At that time did you know whether the result of the conference between him and his associates had been reported to Mr. Bliss?

Senator PENROSE. Yes; I think he had reported to Mr. Bliss.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any talk with Mr. Bliss on this subject?

Senator PENROSE. No, sir. I did not follow it up with Mr. Bliss. I considered the incident closed.

Senator POMERENE. At this particular time when Mr. Archbold told you they had concluded not to do it, was it the same time you urged him to make a further contribution?

Senator PENROSE. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. What did you say on the subject, and he to you?

Senator PENROSE. I said it is difficult for business men to realize the great expense that was put on campaign committees, and I thought if they could do it without inconvenience, that the money was probably needed in the campaign, and I went further to say that as a rule business men did not realize the endless expenses of a campaign, and if Mr. Bliss stated this and took the pains, and so stated it with authority of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Cortelyou, it probably really was needed.

Senator POMERENE. Was anything said in this conversation about the probable attitude of Mr. Roosevelt and the incoming administration?

Senator PENROSE. Mr. Archbold said to me, "I think our people are making a mistake. I think this will be the cause of trouble for us, our declination to make this further contribution."

Senator POMERENE. That is, Mr. Archbold made that statement?

Senator PENROSE. Made the statement to me; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you know at this time of this talk between Mr. Archbold and Mr. Bliss wherein Mr. Bliss is alleged to have said to them after he learned that they declined to make any further contribution; that it would be a mistake for them not to make a further contribution?

Senator PENROSE. Only what Mr. Archbold told me about that interview. I told Mr. Archbold it would be a mistake for them not to do it, also, and he told me that it was a mistake.

Senator POMERENE. Why did you think it would be a mistake not to make it?

Senator PENROSE. Well, I thought the money was really needed at headquarters and they would be expected to make liberal contributions and that they might incur hostility in certain quarters if they did not do it.

Senator POMERENE. Now, did you have, during this campaign, any talk with Mr. Cortelyou on the subject of the campaign contributions?

Senator PENROSE. None. I did not see Mr. Cortelyou about campaign contributions at all during the campaign.

Senator POMERENE. But after the campaign?

Senator PENROSE. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Referring specifically to the special contribution by the Standard Oil Co., did you at any time have any talk with Mr. Cortelyou on the subject?

Senator PENROSE. No, sir; not at any time.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any talk with Col. Roosevelt at any time on the subject of campaign contributions?

Senator PENROSE. I had discussed campaign contributions with Mr. Roosevelt in a very general way, and had never had any reasons to suppose from any of his expressions that he was not thoroughly familiar with the financial assistance the Standard Oil Co. had been in the habit of extending, at least since 1896.

Senator POMERENE. Did you refer in any of these talks with him especially to the Standard Oil Co. or its contributions?

Senator PENROSE. No; not to this particular contribution.

Senator POMERENE. Or to any past contribution they may have made?

Senator PENROSE. The general proposition that the Standard Oil Co. had made contributions has possibly been most casually talked of between Mr. Roosevelt and myself.

Senator POMERENE. Do you state that now as a fact or simply an impression that you have?

Senator PENROSE. No; I am reasonably sure that in a casual way it had been referred to. I only refer to it as indicating a knowledge on his part that they had been contributors and were contributors.

Senator POMERENE. That is what I am trying to get at. Now, when did you have such a conversation as that with Col. Roosevelt?

Senator PENROSE. It would be almost impossible for me to state the exact date of such conversation.

Senator POMERENE. I say prior to election day, 1904?

Senator PENROSE. Both before election day and after election day on visits, perhaps about other matters, because I would have no occasion to visit him on any other matters.

Senator POMERENE. You say now that you had such conversations both before and after election day, 1904?

Senator PENROSE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. With Col. Roosevelt. During any of those conversations did he intimate to you that he had any objection to their contributing toward his campaign?

Senator PENROSE. Not at all; never.

Senator POMERENE. When, if at all, did you first learn that he had any conscientious scruples on that subject?

Senator PENROSE. Well, I certainly never dreamed, in my wildest imaginings, that he had any conscientious scruples in 1904. On the contrary, I had the impression that whatever contributions were made were entirely in accord with his views and that of the chairman of the national committee.

Senator POMERENE. He was conversant with the fact that you were both chairman of the State committee and a member of the national committee?

Senator PENROSE. Mr. Roosevelt the other day, in an interview, stated that he had nothing to do with his campaign and that Senator Quay was in charge of his affairs at that time. He makes that statement notwithstanding that Quay had been dead for some time, that I had discussed with him in a most exhaustive way the question of Quay's successorship, which resulted in the selection of Mr. Knox, entirely with Mr. Roosevelt's approval; notwithstanding the fact that I was every week in New York and always visited the headquarters of the Republican national committee, and that I received a most fulsome letter from him two or three days after his election, thanking me for my efforts in his behalf.

Senator POMERENE. You say you received such letter?

Senator PENROSE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Have you that letter?

Senator PENROSE. I have.

Senator POMERENE. Can you produce it?

Senator PENROSE. I can.

Senator POMERENE. Will you produce it and make it part of the record in this case?

Senator PENROSE. I will. The letter is in Philadelphia somewhere, and it is quite a task looking up these old matters, in this weather particularly.

Senator POMERENE. Did President Roosevelt at any time suggest to you, or to any one else to your knowledge, that no contributions should be received from the Standard Oil Co., or if any had been received, to see that they should be returned?

Senator PENROSE. Absolutely not.

Senator POMERENE. When did you first have any knowledge on that subject?

Senator PENROSE. I do not believe I ever heard of any question of the return of the Standard Oil money until maybe two or three years after the campaign. It was comparatively recently. My information on that story is that the hundred thousand dollars was received late in September, the money was spent, the requisition for the second installment of \$150,000 was refused, and then Mr. Roosevelt wrote the letter dated late in October, a few days before the election, expressing his abhorrence of the Standard Oil money, and that he was informed by Mr. Cortelyou that the money had been spent and could not be returned. It was a safe letter to write in

view of the fact that the money had been spent and could not be returned.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether Col. Roosevelt at the time of writing that letter had any information to the effect that the money had been received and expended?

Senator PENROSE. I do not see how he could help knowing that the money had been received and expended.

Senator POMERENE. Well, that hardly answers the question.

Senator PENROSE. That hardly answers the question. The mere fact that the letter was written is an indication that he knew the money had been received or that an effort was made to collect it. People do not usually write letters cautioning others about the perpetration of an act which they do not know is being contemplated.

Senator POMERENE. When was that letter written, with reference to the time that Judge Parker made the charges in his New York speech to the effect that certain large business interests were contributing to the Republican campaign fund?

Senator PENROSE. I do not know the date of Judge Parker's speech. This letter, I think, was dated the 26th of October, quite a while after that transaction between Mr. Bliss and Mr. Archbold, and when it was entirely safe to tell Mr. Cortelyou to return the money, because it had been spent and Mr. Cortelyou could not return it.

Senator POMERENE. You make the general statement here that you do not see how Roosevelt could have helped but know this. What circumstance was there, to your knowledge, which led you to that conclusion?

Senator PENROSE. The fact that Mr. Cortelyou was designated as chairman of the national committee, absolutely as the personal selection of Mr. Roosevelt; that it was well recognized around the headquarters of the national committee that he did not take a step without consulting Mr. Roosevelt—he was in frequently. When you would go in there—almost every other time that anyone would go in, Mr. Cortelyou would be in the telephone booth talking to Mr. Roosevelt.

The statements of Mr. Bliss were made in the presence of witnesses, and it must not be forgotten that while Mr. Bliss is, unfortunately, dead, I know if he were alive he would be here to-day to testify to the truth, as I have done in my statement. Yet these representations were repeated before the full board of the Standard Oil Co., and gentlemen are still living and available to this committee who will come here and state that these discussions took place, and that Mr. Bliss's representations regarding Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Cortelyou were submitted to the board on the terms and in the manner that have been explained. There are witnesses to the transaction; it is not the statement of one man.

Senator POMERENE. Well, that testimony, as I understand it, has reference rather to the fact that Mr. Bliss made these statements and representations to Mr. Archbold.

Senator PENROSE. And they were transmitted by Mr. Archbold to the full board, and those gentlemen can be brought here to testify as to what representations Mr. Archbold made to them at the time.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any knowledge of the fact, if such is a fact, that Mr. Roosevelt was informed by anyone, other than Mr. Cortelyou, to the effect that this money had been received and expended?

Senator PENROSE. No. In those days there was not the publicity attached to campaign contributions which is advocated now, and which prevails to some extent. I imagine that these large contributions were not generally known to many people at the time outside of the chairman of the national committee and the treasurer and the candidate and the parties making the contributions. It might be when the accounts of the treasurer were audited or gone over that then a larger number were advised of them. I suppose there are a number of persons who knew at the time that the Standard Oil Co. made a contribution to the national committee. It would take some little investigation to find out their names and whether they are available now as witnesses.

Senator POMERENE. Is there any reason, within your knowledge why these contributions, or any of them, should be kept secret from Col. Roosevelt?

Senator PENROSE. Absolutely none. And on the contrary it was a contribution that would be, from every reasonable assumption, told to him at once. He was solicitous about the campaign and very anxious to raise money, and willing to help raise money and \$100,000 is rather a large contribution, and there are not very many of them that would come to any campaign committee.

Senator POMERENE. As you were a member of this committee, let us get a little information as to the methods in which the business was transacted. Mr. Bliss, I take it, as treasurer of the committee was chargeable with the receipts and disbursements of this money?

Senator PENROSE. In the old days the national committee was a national committee and conducted the campaign. Under Mr. Roosevelt the national committee was a committee presided over by a clerk or secretary who never moved or did anything without Mr. Roosevelt's direction. In the old days the committee would elect its own chairman, maybe after a conference with the presidential candidate.

Senator POMERENE. The chairman at this time was Mr. Cortelyou?

Senator PENROSE. Absolutely the personal selection of Mr. Cortelyou.

Senator POMERENE. Would any moneys be received by Mr. Bliss without making some report to Mr. Cortelyou on the subject?

Senator PENROSE. It would be impossible, I should think, for Mr. Cortelyou not to know immediately about a contribution as large as a \$100,000 contribution.

Senator POMERENE. Do you remember what the campaign fund amounted to that year?

Senator PENROSE. I have forgotten. I do not think there was any corrupt-practice bill in force at that time and no official accounting, and therefore any statement as to the amount of the campaign fund would have to bear a pretty critical inspection before I would want to believe in it.

Senator POMERENE. However large it was, it was not so large that \$100,000 would be regarded as so insignificant that the officials would have no knowledge of it?

Senator PENROSE. There is no campaign fund so large that \$100,000 would not be a notable event in a week's history. I think in 1904 the money poured into the national committee from every direction in large quantities. The party was united and there was a good deal of

enthusiasm, and while it may have been that the need of money was felt just at the time Mr. Bliss made this second requisition, I think before the campaign was over they had pretty nearly all the money they wanted from every source, corporations and individuals.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether any written reports were made by the treasurer to the chairman of the committee or to the committee as a whole, or to anyone else, touching the amount of receipts and the purposes for which the money was expended?

Senator PENROSE. I should think that the books were kept and were open and accessible to the chairman of the national committee at all times, and that he was thoroughly familiar with the financial character of the daily doings of the committee, and that one of the first things that would have been reported to him would have been the welcome news of a contribution of \$100,000.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you say you think such to be the case.

Senator PENROSE. I say "think," from my knowledge of the practices of campaign committees.

Senator POMERENE. Were you present at any time when any report was made by Mr. Bliss to Mr. Cortelyou or to the committee with reference to contributions which had been made?

Senator PENROSE. No; I was not present at any such meeting. Particularly during the last two weeks of the campaign I was kept pretty closely at home attending to matters in Pennsylvania.

Senator POMERENE. Your relations with President Roosevelt were pleasant during the time he was President?

Senator PENROSE. I was an original supporter of Mr. Roosevelt. I was chairman of the State committee in Pennsylvania during the early part of 1904, and I think it was the first State convention, 1903—I think it was 1903—I think I was chairman of the State committee; if not chairman, I was there—was it 1903 that indorsed Roosevelt for renomination?

Senator OLIVER. I think it was.

Senator PENROSE. I think it was the first State to indorse him for renomination, and it forced Mr. Hanna, who was then chairman of the national committee and opposed to Mr. Roosevelt in Ohio, to surrender to Senator Foraker, who secured a resolution indorsing Roosevelt at the Ohio State convention a few weeks afterwards.

I consider that I had as large a part in promoting and helping him at that time as anyone in the political field, with the possible exception of Senator Quay, Senator Foraker, and Senator Platt; and during the whole seven years of his administration I was his earnest supporter in every policy and every recommendation.

Senator POMERENE. Now, Senator, going to another matter, how long have you known Mr. Archbold?

Senator PENROSE. I have known Mr. Archbold probably for 30 years. He, as I understand it, was born in Ohio. Anyhow, he came to Titusville as a boy or a very young man and was employed in a store there; I think maybe a grocery store; I have forgotten. Anyhow, he grew up and developed with the oil development in Pennsylvania, and was one of the pioneers who became wealthy. I think maybe for 20 years or for a number of years he was a citizen of Pennsylvania, and voted in the State. I have known him that way, off and on, as long as I have known anyone, and that happens to be the way that I was in particular touch with this particular situation.

Senator POMERENE. Do I understand, then, that you were both personal and political friends?

Senator PENROSE. I can not say that we were close personal friends, because our ways have never run together. He has been engaged in the world of finance, and I have been over in Pennsylvania in politics. But there has been that general touch between men who are not far apart in age, and who have known each other since early manhood.

Senator POMERENE. What was the reason for his interesting himself in your appointment as the president of the Industrial Commission?

Senator PENROSE. I suppose somebody wrote him to get me to take it, just as probably somebody wrote and asked him about that Chief Clerk in the Senate.

Senator OLIVER. Smiley?

Senator PENROSE. Yes. I don't know what interest Mr. Archbold had in the matter. It was not a matter I considered for a moment, because I had not attended, I do not believe, two meetings of the commission. The session of the Senate was running concurrently with the meetings of the commission, and it was impossible for me to sit there 8 or 10 hours a day listening to business men and college professors testify their theories of corporate relations and industrial conditions. Several times I thought of resigning from the commission; but like all those commissions composed of congressional members and noncongressional members, it is well known that the experts and noncongressional members do the work. I am certain I did not attend the meeting on the final report. I do not believe I voted on it; never read it to this day. The commission was distinctly benignant, and innocuous and slumberous in the Government vaults, with little hope of resurrection.

Senator POMERENE. Was that because you did not give more attention to the work of the committee than you did?

Senator PENROSE. No; I think that was the general course of it. It was not a drastic investigation to give future information. It was simply a general discussion of glittering propositions. I speak of it in a humorous vein. I ought not, perhaps, to indulge in it before the committee. It undoubtedly did collect a great deal of valuable material. The volumes are voluminous, and there must be some good in them.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I believe I saw something or heard some statement to the effect that you had furnished advance copies of the report to Mr. Archbold.

Senator PENROSE. I haven't the slightest recollection of that. I do not remember even having a copy myself. If I had, I certainly never read it. Anything that I sent to Mr. Archbold was nothing more than I would have sent to anybody—to Mr. John Mitchell, or to any head of a labor organization, or anyone else in Pennsylvania who had written me for information. It might have been there were some synopses or something that I inclosed. If I did, I probably inclosed them to several hundred other persons who had testified before the commission: just as during the tariff discussion I am in the habit of making a list of all the witnesses who appear before the Finance Committee, and they are the basis for sending all the testimony and literature which may develop during the proceeding. I

do that as a courtesy to the people interested. I can not imagine there was anything of a confidential or secret nature in the final product of the Tariff Commission that anybody was interested in. I am certain of this, that Mr. Archbold never in his life spoke to me about any matter relating to the Industrial Commission.

Senator POMERENE. In any event, then, I understand your position to be that if this report was sent out, you had no ulterior purpose in view.

Senator PENROSE. I do not know that any report was sent. If there was any data sent to Mr. Archbold, it was only such as would go out from my committee room to anybody who applied for it or to whom it was sent as a courtesy.

Senator POMERENE. And not sent with the purpose of giving the advance information or anything else?

Senator PENROSE. There could not have been any advance information about it. The commission was a large one, I think maybe 15 members. It is pretty hard to keep any confidential information with 3 members, much less 15. Everybody could talk to them and hear their views freely; and secrecy was one of the last things that I would ever imagine anyone would attach to the proceedings of the Industrial Commission. It is the most far-fetched effort to establish a scandalous connection that I have ever known of, but the records of the commission are available, and it will be found that I was not in any way participating in anything they did. I do not even know that I signed the report. It is possible that I did.

Senator POMERENE. Did you receive any further contributions during the campaign of 1904 from the Standard Oil Co. or any of its officials?

Senator PENROSE. No.

Senator POMERENE. Or did you receive any contributions from the Standard Oil Co. or its officials during the campaign of 1908?

Senator PENROSE. No. I don't think the Standard Oil Co. made any contributions at all to any committee in the Taft campaign.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all I care to ask.

Senator OLIVER. Senator, I want to ask you about that \$25,000 that Mr. Archbold sent you or gave you. That was solely for political purposes?

Senator FENROSE. Why, absolutely for political purposes.

Senator OLIVER. And used only for political purposes?

Senator PENROSE. And used only for the purpose of polling as large a vote as was possible in a presidential campaign in the State of Pennsylvania, and more particularly with electing as many members of Congress as possible. In other words, the Pennsylvania proposition was segregated entirely from not only the national committee, but from the congressional committee. It may have been that some small contributions were made without my knowledge from the congressional committee in Pennsylvania, but I do not recall any now. It was my duty to look after all the congressional districts in the State, and we went into it with enthusiasm and ardor and elected all the Congressmen that year, a thing that had never been done in the history of the State, with the exception of one congressional district, and polled an enormous majority of some 505,000; and, as I say, shortly after that, within one or two days, we received this letter from Mr. Roosevelt. Not only was the money spent for that purpose, but the

campaign wound up, as is not unusual with all campaign committees, with a deficit.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not a member of the executive committee of the campaign of 1904, were you?

Senator PENROSE. No; I was chairman of the State committee of Pennsylvania.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I am speaking of the national committee.

Senator PENROSE. Not in 1904; no. I was in 1908.

There being no further questions, Senator Penrose was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. We will now take a recess, subject to call.

The committee thereupon took a recess, subject to the call of the chairman.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

[Speech of Hon. Boies Penrose, of Pennsylvania, in the Senate of the United States, Wednesday, August 21, 1912.]

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, I rise to a question of personal privilege. Certain letters from John D. Archbold, addressed to me, have recently been published, and an effort has been made to establish a connection between the work of the Industrial Commission, of which I was a member, and an alleged letter purporting to inclose \$25,000 from John D. Archbold. These stories have been circulated in Hearst's Magazine, a sensational periodical; in the Munsey daily papers, which are Roosevelt organs; and more particularly in the North American, in Philadelphia, and the Leader, in Pittsburgh, yellow journals, the chief organs of the Flinn-Van Valkenburg-Roosevelt combine in Pennsylvania.

These letters have been in the possession of the periodical referred to about five years, since the theft of the Archbold correspondence occurred, but apparently there has been no occasion for their publication until prompted by present political exigencies. Their publication now, with the malignant insinuations accompanying them, is in the nature of political blackmail, the purpose of which is to punish, coerce, or intimidate me because of my political course.

The statement that there is any connection between the Industrial Commission and a certain check from John D. Archbold is false, malicious, and without justification.

I was one of the senatorial members of the Industrial Commission, but the work of the commission, as is well known, was performed largely by the noncongressional members of the commission. As the sessions of the commission were continuous over a considerable period, it turned out to be impossible for me at least to attend very many of the prolonged sessions. I do not believe that I was able to attend more than one or two meetings during the whole life of the commission. I certainly never participated in their deliberations or conclusions, neither did I in any way try to influence the same. The commission was engaged in a general line of investigation into industrial conditions, and in no case did anyone refuse to appear before the commission or object to appearing. The only question raised as to the appearance of witnesses where all witnesses were entirely willing to appear might have been the question of arranging the dates of appearance in individual cases to suit individual convenience or engagement, a question not unusual in protracted hearings of this character. Upon the death of Senator Kyle, the president of the commission, my name was mentioned by a large number of persons to succeed him as president, I being the ranking senatorial member and representing a great industrial State. Realizing, however, that I had not been able to attend the sessions of the commission regularly or keep up with the work, I declined to be considered for the place and the commission, as is well known, elected Mr. Clarke. The hearings of the commission were open, and there was no secrecy about their proceedings. There was no occasion to furnish anyone with any particular information, as it was open and accessible to the general public.

I now come more particularly to the letter alleged to have been written to me by John D. Archbold, inclosing a certificate of deposit in my favor for \$25,000, written under date of October 13, 1904. I have reason to believe that this letter is a forgery, and I challenge its production; but it is true, and at the time it was well known, that during the presidential campaign of 1904 I did receive such a contribution from

Mr. Archbold for the campaign in Pennsylvania. The contribution was part of a much larger one, which I will now explain.

I was at the time the chairman of the Republican State committee of Pennsylvania and a member of the Republican national committee, representing that State. I was at the Republican headquarters in Philadelphia in full and sole charge of the State campaign, and, as a member of the national committee, I was every week in New York in close touch with many of the phases of the national campaign.

Mr. John D. Archbold had several interviews with Cornelius N. Bliss, treasurer of the Republican national committee, and with me, relative to financial assistance in the presidential campaign of 1904. Finally, after some discussion, we came to an understanding by which Mr. Archbold made a contribution of \$125,000, of which \$100,000 was to go to Mr. Bliss as treasurer of the Republican national committee for the national presidential campaign outside of Pennsylvania and \$25,000 was to be contributed to me as State chairman for the campaign in Pennsylvania. Mr. Archbold received the receipt of Mr. Cornelius Bliss as treasurer of the Republican national committee and for the Republican national committee for the amount of \$100,000. The contribution of \$25,000 so received by me as chairman of the Republican State committee of Pennsylvania was expended in the presidential campaign in that State.

While the result of the election of 1904 was a splendid victory for the Republican candidate it must not be forgotten that there were times during the campaign when apprehension existed among the Republican managers and when it was felt that it was necessary to wage the contest with all possible vigor. The vigorous and effective efforts then made largely contributed to the final result. Not long after the contribution of \$100,000 to Mr. Bliss for the Republican national committee, Mr. Bliss, on behalf of the committee, called again to see Mr. Archbold and asked for a further contribution of \$150,000. He represented to Mr. Archbold and a large number of his associates, known as the group which was chiefly interested in the Standard Oil Co., that Mr. Roosevelt had been advised of the original contribution, and also that the chairman of the Republican national committee, Mr. Cortelyou, had been similarly advised, and that the original contribution, \$100,000, was greatly appreciated by them both, but that the need of further financial assistance was badly felt at headquarters and that such further assistance would be still more keenly appreciated by both of the gentlemen referred to. The demand was urgent, insistent, I may say imperative, and purported to come directly from Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Cortelyou. I knew personally at the time, as I was more or less in touch with the situation, that Mr. Archbold wanted to make this further contribution and felt that it was presented to him in such an imperative manner, a way that made him desire to make it, but he was overruled by his associates, who felt that sufficient had been done, and a further contribution was not made.

It should be explained that the Pennsylvania Republican State committee seldom receives any financial assistance from the Republican national committee, such as is extended to other States.

On the contrary, treasurers are appointed by the chairman of the Republican national committee in Philadelphia and in Pittsburgh, and large sums are collected in a presidential year, and this money so collected in Pennsylvania is sent direct to the Republican national committee in New York for use in other States outside of Pennsylvania. Thus the resources of the Pennsylvania State committee are frequently impoverished in presidential years. In the campaign of 1904 no contribution was made to the Pennsylvania Republican State committee by the Republican national committee, and hence the special arrangement for the Pennsylvania Republican State committee in this instance, and the transaction was part of the general plan of financial aid extended for the presidential campaign. The fact that the contribution of \$25,000 for Pennsylvania made a contribution of \$125,000 from Mr. Archbold and his associates to the presidential campaign was one reason given for the refusal of Mr. Archbold and his associates to comply with the additional requisition of Mr. Bliss for another \$150,000.

The State ticket of Pennsylvania was not in danger in the fall of 1904, and the campaign was waged entirely to poll as large a vote as possible for electors for the presidential and vice presidential candidates and to elect to Congress as large a number of Republicans from the State as possible. The result was a majority of over 500,000 in Pennsylvania for Mr. Roosevelt for President, and a delegation which was all Republican with the exception of one congressional district. Immediately after the election I received a letter from Mr. Roosevelt, expressing his warm and heartfelt thanks for the result in Pennsylvania.

Senator Quay had recently died; the burdens of the Republican organization in Pennsylvania had apparently devolved upon me. I was a good deal younger then than I am now and quite enthusiastic. The State chairmanship had been forced upon me the year previous as the result of political conditions in Pennsylvania. I

did not think it likely that I should ever be compelled to take the office again and I knew I certainly would not seek it, and I was anxious on my own account in the new field opened before me to make as good a record as possible. I was therefore highly gratified by the result in the State, which broke all previous records for majorities not only in Pennsylvania but in any other State in the Union.

The malicious efforts made to misrepresent a transaction which at the time was entirely legal and proper is only part of the systematic efforts of the Flinn-Van Valkenburg combination in Pennsylvania to break me down and deceive the people through the unscrupulous methods of yellow journalism.

Mr. William Flinn, of this unsavory combination, which until recently Mr. Roosevelt would have been quick to denounce and repudiate, has made a fortune out of crooked municipal contracts and the corrupt control of municipal councils and State legislatures. Mr. E. A. Van Valkenburg, editor of the North American in Philadelphia, was arrested and indicted for bribery in my first senatorial contest in 1896 and only escaped conviction through the leniency of Senator Quay and upon the payment of about \$10,000 for costs for lawyers, detectives, and for other expenses of prosecution, which amount was paid by his attorney the day before the trial was set to take place in Pottsville, the county seat of Schuylkill County.

Upon the death of Senator Quay in 1904 Mr. Flinn became a candidate to succeed him in the United States Senate. In Philadelphia during a discussion of the successorship to Senator Quay Mr. Flinn offered to Israel W. Durham, a Republican leader in Philadelphia, and to me, \$1,000,000, or even \$2,000,000, to favor his ambition, and the offer was known to others at the time. The offer was declined, and we refused to support his candidacy.

The governor of Pennsylvania, Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, desiring to uphold the honor and dignity of the State, appointed the Hon. Philander C. Knox to succeed Mr. Quay. Mr. Knox was subsequently elected by the legislature for the full term. His appointment and election and resignation from the Cabinet occurred with the full knowledge and acquiescence of Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Flinn still desires to go to the United States Senate. His friends openly avow his ambition, and his activity for Mr. Roosevelt and the reforms to which he has recently become a convert from his unrepentant days are prompted by this desire.

The effrontery, hypocrisy, and mendacity of the Van Valkenburg-Flinn combination are disclosed by the following correspondence between John D. Archbold and William Flinn. I call attention to the following telegram sent to J. D. Archbold by William Flinn, the Roosevelt leader in Pennsylvania:

PITTSBURGH, PA., *June 7, 1904.*

I tried to talk to you over the phone last night, but could not hear you. I am making an effort to go the United States Senate as M. S. Quay's successor. As it now stands the appointment will go to Allegheny County, and I expect to get it. The Republican organization of Allegheny County are desirous of my appointment and are working in. Also the Republican organization of the surrounding counties. The decision of the question is up to Senator Boies Penrose, State chairman, and Israel W. Durham. The efforts of a few of my influential friends put forth at once with Penrose and Durham will settle the question. If you will use your influence with them in my behalf I will greatly appreciate it. The decision will probably be reached Wednesday. Can you help me?

WILLIAM FLINN.

Under the same date the following reply was sent in cipher to William Flinn from John D. Archbold:

"NEW YORK, *June 7, 1904.*

"Telegram received. Sorry that the posy did not shout friskiness. I expect to jail pop sharply parsed fanning, and until flagon prefix it is lamented for me to have flood hatred reship."

[Laughter.]

Which being translated reads as follows:

"Telegram received. Sorry that the phone did not work better. I expect to have talk with Senator Penrose, and until after that it is impossible for me to have any definite view.

"JOHN D. ARCHBOLD."

[Laughter.]

This is addressed to William Flinn, a noted reformer in Pennsylvania.

Thus it is discovered that while the Flinn yellow journals in Pennsylvania are expressing their abhorrence of what they denounce as a malodorous transaction on my part, within a few months of the date of the alleged letter from John D. Archbold

to me, Mr. William Flinn was asking the aid of the same John D. Archbold to secure his appointment and election to the United States Senate and conducting an active correspondence with him under a cipher code.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, while the Senator from Pennsylvania is at the confessional and in a confessing mood, it occurred to me that he might be able and willing to add something more to the gayety of the occasion. He has laid before the Senate and the country some very interesting facts as to one transaction.

The Senator was a member of the Republican national committee in the year 1904 and is familiar with its work and seemingly familiar with the financial affairs of the committee. There was a man in this country at that time very celebrated for his achievements in the industrial world, a great constructor of railroads, one of the master men in the financial centers of the country. I refer to Mr. E. H. Harriman. He came down to Washington about the time of which the Senator has been speaking to call on President Roosevelt, then the Republican candidate for President. There will be no need for me to take time in detailing the circumstances and the correspondence which followed. Mr. Harriman finally declared that he had raised \$250,000, or about that, at the special instance and request of the President. The President denounced him as a liar and conferred upon him the thirty-second degree in his Ananias Club. Can the Senator from Pennsylvania tell the Senate and the country what he knows about that transaction, if he knows anything?

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, many years have passed since these transactions occurred. There are papers on file and a number of letters accessible, interesting documents, which I have no doubt as this discussion develops during the campaign, should any gentleman desire to press these matters, will see the light of day, and I think it would be very beneficial to the American public to have many of these transactions exposed.

Mr. STONE. Where are those letters?

Mr. PENROSE. They are hidden in the archives of campaign committees and in cellars and vaults of business houses and offices of lawyers in different places throughout the country. I was only brought to a recollection of these interesting letters about Mr. Flinn in an unexpected way. I had knowledge at the time of their being written, and it was only by accident that I remembered them. I think the time has come, as the Senator brings that point up, when these charges should be met and that the American people should be no longer gulled by an answer which implies the other man is a liar and that a reference to a speech formerly made is a sufficient answer to the charge.

I would just like to add, and I am glad the Senator has called that to my attention, there was a garbled interview. I have carefully refrained from saying anything about this particular matter in addressing the Senate to-day, but I should like to have the Secretary read this answer of Mr. Roosevelt to an alleged interview which appeared as coming from me, containing in a general way the substance of what I have said to the Senate.

The PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE. Without objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

"Col. Roosevelt's statement follows:

"As regards Senator Penrose's statement I have only to say that I have not, and never have had, the slightest knowledge whether he or anyone else during the campaign of 1904 raised any money to be used in carrying the State of New York.

"In 1904 in Pennsylvania, if my memory is correct, Senator Quay was in charge. My relations with him were always cordial and pleasant. He vigorously supported all the policies I advocated, and, as far as I know, he never asked and I never did anything of any kind, sort, or description for him that could not be blazoned in every newspaper throughout the country."

Mr. PENROSE. Now, Mr. President, there is a deliberate statement that I only had the interest in Mr. Roosevelt's election that might have been shared by a member of this body on the Republican side, when Senator Quay had been dead for several months, when I was in correspondence with Mr. Roosevelt on more than one occasion, when I was a member of the national committee, and in constant touch with Mr. Cortelyou. Yet he deliberately states to the American people that I had nothing whatever to do with his campaign.

Mr. President, is this ingratitude, is it mendacity, is it duplicity, or is it political aphasia?

Mr. BACON. I beg the Senator's pardon if I make an inquiry of him, which of course he will use his own judgment in replying to or not. I only venture to do so because the Senator himself made a statement, if I understood it correctly, that in the State of Pennsylvania a citizen of that State offered \$2,000,000 to be elected to the Senate. Did I understand the Senator correctly?

Mr. PENROSE. That statement is correct. For various reasons peculiar to the situation at that time it was generally conceded that Mr. Durham and I would have a large voice in the selection of my own colleague. Mr. Flinn, however, in his insatiable desire to go to the Senate, may have slightly exaggerated that power. That had not been used by me in any offensive way. It was stated to me by people active in the party at that time.

Mr. BACON. I ask another question with hesitation, prefacing it——

Mr. PENROSE. I am glad to have any questions addressed to me.

Mr. BACON. I give the Senator the assurance that I do not ask it with any desire to seek an answer unless it is entirely convenient to the Senator to do so. To whom was that \$2,000,000 to be paid?

Mr. PENROSE. I suppose it was to be paid to Mr. Durham or to me. I did not get far enough to decide those details.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER, 10, 1912.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
United States Senate.

The CHAIRMAN. The following letter from Col. Theodore Roosevelt will be made a part of the record:

THE OUTLOOK,
OFFICE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
New York, August 28, 1912.

MY DEAR SIR: I regret greatly that the committee was unable to have me appear before it last Monday to answer the statements of Mr. Penrose and Mr. Archbold. In one sense, of course, these statements need no answer. As far as they concern me, they are merely repetitions of injurious gossip, repetitions of what a dead man is alleged to have said about me—as in the case of the Harriman matter, where repetitions of what a dead man, Mr. Harriman, is reputed to have told others as to conversations with me, is now recited anew as injurious gossip at third hand instead of merely at second hand.

The charge against Mr. Penrose was a direct charge. This charge was not merely that he took \$25,000 from the Standard Oil Co., but that at or about the time of thus taking it, while a member of a committee of the Senate which was formed to investigate industrial affairs in the United States, he was in constant communication with Mr. Archbold on the subject and that he submitted to Mr. Archbold for his approval in advance a copy of the report of the commission. If these statements are true, of course Mr. Penrose is unfit to represent the people in the United States Senate, and the testimony against him is direct. Apparently, however, the committee is investigating not this charge against Mr. Penrose, which was sustained by direct evidence, but Mr. Penrose's countercharge, which was sustained by no evidence at all and only by the repetition of second-hand gossip.

As regards the statement of Mr. Penrose and Mr. Archbold, that with my consent or knowledge Mr. Bliss asked the Standard Oil people for \$100,000, or any other sum, or received such sum from them, it is an unqualified falsehood. I can not, of course, say whether or not it is true that Mr. Bliss asked or received such a contribution, although I call attention to Mr. Archbold's statement that the money was given not in checks but in currency and that he has lost the receipt for it; and I call attention to the further fact that during Mr. Bliss's life Mr. Archbold made no such accusation, and that Mr.

Bliss can not now answer the accusation, or, if what purports to be a receipt from him is produced, testify as to whether it is or is not genuine. Nor can I of course testify as to whether Mr. Bliss stated to Mr. Archbold that he made the request with my knowledge, or that he received any of the money with my knowledge, although I do not believe for one moment that he ever made any such statements. What I can testify to is that if any request for funds was made from the Standard Oil Co., or if any funds were received from the Standard Oil Co., by Mr. Bliss or anyone else connected with the national committee in 1904, it was not merely done without my knowledge, but was done against my express direction and prohibition and in spite of the fact that I was assured that no such request has been made and that no such contribution had been or would be received. The following letters, the originals of which are in my letter books and which I will put before the committee when it requests them, explain themselves:

OCTOBER 26, 1904.

DEAR MR. CORTELYOU: I have just been informed that the Standard Oil people have contributed \$100,000 to our campaign fund. This may be really untrue. But if true, I must ask you to direct that the money be returned to them forthwith. * * * In returning the money I wish it made clear to them that there is not the slightest feeling against them and that they can count upon being treated exactly as well by the administration, exactly as fair as if we had accepted the contribution. They shall not suffer in any way because we have refused it, just as they would not have gained in any way if we had accepted it. But I am not willing that it should be accepted, and must ask Mr. Bliss to return it.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

OCTOBER 27, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. CORTELYOU: Supplemental to my letter of yesterday, containing my request that any contribution which the Standard Oil people may have made to the campaign be immediately returned, I wish to say that my judgment as to the propriety of this action is confirmed because of the fact brought into special prominence by the Standard Oil Co.'s publication in the newspapers, which I saw after my letter was written and saw that much importance seemed to be attached to the political attitude of this company. Furthermore, in view of the open and pronounced opposition of the Standard Oil Co. to the establishment of the Bureau of Corporations, one of the most important establishments of my administration, I do not feel willing to accept its aid.

I request, therefore, that the contribution be returned without further delay. Of course I do not wish any public statement made about this matter or to take any step that would seem as if I would cast any reflections upon the Standard Oil people or their motive in making the contribution.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

[Telegram to Mr. Cortelyou.]

OCTOBER 29, 1904.

Has my request been complied with? I desire that there be no delay.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Subsequent to this telegram Mr. Loeb, my private secretary, called Mr. Cortelyou up on the telephone, and later I did so myself. He notified me first through Mr. Loeb and then directly that no such contribution had been received or would be received. He has informed me within the last two or three days that his memory of the incident is precisely the same as my own, that on receipt of the communication from me he saw Mr. Bliss, showed him the letters and telegram, and that Mr. Bliss then told him that no Standard Oil money had been received and that none would be accepted.

Senator Quay died in the summer of 1904. At the time of the gathering of the Republican national convention that year there was much opposition among the members of the Republican national committee to the choice of Mr. Cortelyou as chairman. Mr. Penrose was a candidate for the position, and it was reported to me that the members of the committee wished to choose him. This I emphatically refused to allow, insisting that Mr. Cortelyou should be chosen. I knew but little of Mr. Penrose at the time and had no idea that his character was such as has since been shown to be the case, but I was not willing to have any man whom I did not personally know and in whose probity I did not have entire confidence as head of the committee. Mr. Cortelyou was put on at my personal request. I put him on not only because I could count on his absolute and entire integrity, but because of his great executive ability. He ran the campaign almost without suggestions from me. I communicated with him occasionally by telephone, generally in writing. Looking over the press copies of my letters to him, I find that I only occasionally dealt with subjects connected with the campaign. In two or three letters I called his attention to the Wisconsin situation, urging that we recognize the La Follette people, and stating that they seemed undoubtedly to represent the majority of the Republicans, and that the Spooner people should recognize this fact and not endeavor to get us to take part in a faction fight. I also on a number of occasions called his attention to Mr. Parker's assertion that he and I were engaged in a scheme for blackmailing corporations into contributing. I communicated on several occasions with Mr. Penrose, precisely as I did with other national committeemen and Senators from the different States. On November 9, immediately after the election, I received a number of telegrams and notes of congratulations. Among these was one from Senator Penrose. I answered:

MY DEAR SENATOR PENROSE: Upon my word, of all the phenomenal returns, the Pennsylvania figures are most phenomenal. I congratulate you and cordially thank you.

Faithfully, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

In all my communications with him before or after the election I spoke of contributions but once. This was in a letter to him of October 28, 1904, in response to a request of his that I should retain in the service one of his henchmen named Bunn, of the Philadelphia post office, who had been recommended for removal by the Civil Service Commission because of the collection of political assessments from among his subordinates in the post office. My letter ended as follows:

I can not accept the plea of ignorance of the law which Bunn makes, and I do not believe the plea of ignorance about the circular that he makes, and I have no alternative but to direct his removal. I suppose you won't like this, and I am awfully sorry, but I beg you to believe that if it were feasible for me to act in any other way I would do so, and it is only because I have no other alternative that I must remove Bunn.

Except on this occasion I never discussed with Mr. Penrose any question concerning political contributions; and on this occasion I merely notified him that I was about to remove one of his henchmen for soliciting and collecting political contributions in violation of the law.

As allusion has been made before your committee to Mr. Parker's charges, I herewith give you the statement that I made just before the election in 1904 on those charges. I call your attention to the fact that Mr. Parker's charges were not that contributions had been made by corporations; they were that corporations had been blackmailed into making these contributions and immunity promised if the contributions were made. Any assertion that I ever denied that corporations and individuals had contributed to the Republican campaign fund (and also to the Democratic campaign fund) is a falsehood. The following is a copy of the statement:

WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, November 4, 1904.

Certain slanderous accusations as to Mr. Cortelyou and myself have been repeated time and again by Judge Parker, the candidate of his party for the office of President. He neither has produced nor can produce any proof of their truth; yet he has not withdrawn them; and as his position gives them wide currency, I speak now lest the silence of self-respect be misunderstood. Mr. Parker's charges are, in effect, that the President of the United States and Mr. Cortelyou, formerly Mr. Cleveland's executive clerk, then Mr. McKinley's and my secretary, then Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and now chairman of the Republican national committee, have been in a conspiracy to blackmail corporations, Mr. Cortelyou using his knowledge gained while he was Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor to extort money from the corporations, and I, the President, having appointed him for this especial purpose. The gravamen of these charges lies in the assertion that the corporations have been blackmailed into contributing, and in the implication, which in one or two of Mr. Parker's speeches has taken the form practically of an assertion, that they have been promised certain immunities or favors, or have been assured that they would receive some kind of improper consideration in view of their contributions. That contributions have been made to the Republican committee, as contributions have been made to the Democratic committee, is not the question at issue. Mr. Parker's assertion is in effect that such contributions have been made for improper motives, either in consequence of threats or in consequence of improper promises, direct or indirect, on the part of the recipients. Mr. Parker knows best whether this is true of the contributions to his campaign fund which have come through his trusted friends and advisers who represent the great corporate interests that stand behind him. But there is not one particle of truth in the statement as regards anything that has gone on in the management of the Republican campaign. Mr. Parker's accusations against Mr. Cortelyou and me are monstrous. If true, they would brand both of us forever with infamy, and inasmuch as they are false, heavy must be the condemnation of the man making them. I chose Mr. Cortelyou as chairman of the national committee after having failed successively to persuade Mr. Elihu Root, Mr. W. Murray Crane, and Mr. Cornelius N. Bliss to accept the position. I chose him with extreme reluctance, because I could ill spare him from the Cabinet. But I felt that he possessed the high integrity which I demanded in the man who was to manage my campaign. I am content that Mr. Parker and I should be judged by the public on the characters of the two men whom we chose to manage our campaigns, he by the character of his nominee, Mr. Thomas Taggart, and I by the character of Mr. Cortelyou. The assertion that Mr. Cortelyou had any knowledge, gained while in an official position, whereby he was enabled to secure and did secure any contributions from any corporation is a falsehood. The assertion that there has been any blackmail, direct or indirect, by Mr. Cortelyou or by me is a falsehood. The assertion that there has been made in my behalf and by my authority, by Mr. Cortelyou or by any one else, any pledge or promise, or that there has been any understanding as to future immunities or benefits in recognition of any contributions from any source is a wicked falsehood.

That Mr. Parker should desire to avoid the discussion of principles I can well understand, for it is but the bare truth to say that he has not attacked us on any matter of principle or upon any action of the Government save after first misstating that principle or that action. But I can not understand how any honorable man, a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the people, can take refuge not merely in personalities, but in such base and unworthy

personalities. If I deemed it necessary to support my flat denial by any evidence, I would ask all men of common sense to ponder well what has been done in this campaign by Mr. Cortelyou and to compare it with what Mr. Parker himself did when he was managing Mr. Hill's campaign for governor, and to compare what has been done as regards the great corporations and moneyed interests under this administration with what was done under the last Democratic administration while Mr. Olney was Attorney General. I would ask all honest men whether they seriously deem it possible that the course this administration has taken in every matter, from the Northern Securities suit to the settlement of the anthracite coal strike, is compatible with any theory of public behavior save the theory of doing exact justice to all men without fear and without favoritism. I would ask all honest and fair-minded men to remember that the agents through whom I have worked are Mr. Knox and Mr. Moody in the Department of Justice, Mr. Cortelyou in the Department of Commerce and Labor, and Mr. Garfield in the Bureau of Corporations, and that no such act of infamy as Mr. Parker charges could have been done without all these men being parties to it.

The statements made by Mr. Parker are unqualifiedly and atrociously false. As Mr. Cortelyou has said to me more than once during the campaign, if elected, I shall go into the Presidency unhampered by any pledge, promise, or understanding of any kind, sort, or description, save my promise, made openly to the American people, that so far as in my power lies I shall see to it that every man has a square deal, no less and no more.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

As an allusion has also been made to Mr. Harriman's testimony. I append a copy of a letter I wrote to the present Vice President (Sherman) on the subject:

THE WHITE HOUSE.

Washington, October 8, 1906.

MY DEAR MR. SHERMAN: Since you left this morning I succeeded in getting hold of the letters to which I referred, and I send you a copy of Gov. Odell's letter to me of December 10, 1904.

As I am entirely willing that you should show this letter to Mr. E. H. Harriman I shall begin by repeating what you told me he said to you on the occasion last week when you went to ask him for a contribution to the campaign. You informed me that he then expressed great dissatisfaction with me, and said, in effect, that as long as I was at the head of the Republican Party or as it was dominated by the policies which I advocate and represent, he would not support it, and was quite indifferent whether Hearst beat Hughes or not; whether the Democrats carried Congress or not. He gave as a reason for his personal dislike of me partly my determination to have the railroads supervised and partly the alleged fact that after promising him to appoint Depew ambassador to France I failed to do it; and I understand you to say that he alleged that I made this promise at a time when he had come to see me in Washington when I requested him to raise \$250,000 for the Republican presidential campaign which was then on. Any such statement is a deliberate and willful untruth—by rights it should be characterized by an even shorter and more ugly word. I never requested Mr. Harriman to raise a dollar for the presidential campaign of 1904. On the contrary, our communications as regards the campaign related exclusively to the fight being made against Mr. Higgins for governor of New York, Mr. Harriman being immensely interested in the success of Mr. Higgins because he regarded the attack on Higgins as being really an attack on him (Mr. Harriman) and on his friend, Gov. Odell; and he was concerned only in getting me to tell Mr. Cortelyou to aid Mr. Higgins so far as he could, which I gladly did. He also—I think more than once—urged me to promise to make Senator Depew ambassador to France, giving me in detail the reason why this would help Gov. Odell, by pleasing certain big financial interests. I informed him that I did not believe it would be possible for me to appoint Mr. Depew, and furthermore expressed my surprise at his saying that the men representing the big financial interests of New York wished that appointment made, inasmuch as a number of them had written to me asking that the same place be given to Mr. Hyde, and that as a matter of fact, while I was not prepared to announce any decision, I doubted whether I could appoint either Mr. Depew or Mr. Hyde to the place. As soon as Mr. Harriman heard that Mr. Hyde was a candidate and had asked the name of his backers he hastily said that he did not wish to be understood as antagonizing Mr. Hyde

and would be quite willing to support him; and though I understood that he still preferred Mr. Depew he left me strongly under the impression that he would be almost as well satisfied with Mr. Hyde, and was much discontented at my informing him so positively—not once, but repeatedly—that I did not think that I should be able to appoint either.

His and my letters now before me of the fall of 1904 run as follows: On his return from spending the summer in Europe, on September 20, he wrote me stating that if I thought it desirable he would come to see me at any time either then or later (he had been, as you remember, a delegate to the Republican national convention, having voted for my nomination). On September 23 I answered this letter saying:

"At present there is nothing for me to see you about, though there were one or two points in my letter of acceptance which I should have liked to discuss with you before putting it out."

On October 10, I wrote him:

"In view of the trouble over the State ticket in New York, I should much like to have a few words with you. Do you think you can get down here within a few days and take either lunch or dinner with me?"

The trouble I spoke of had reference to the bolt against Higgins—that is, in reality against Mr. Harriman and Mr. Harriman's friend, Gov. Odell. A reference to the files of the New York papers at that time will show that there was a very extensive bolt against Mr. Higgins upon the ground that Gov. Odell had nominated him, and that he had in some matter favored Mr. Harriman overmuch—neither ground, in my judgment, being tenable. Mr. Harriman's backing of Gov. Odell and extreme anxiety that he should win out by securing Higgins's election was a matter of common notoriety and mentioned in all the papers, notably in the New York Sun. On October 12 Mr. Harriman wrote me:

"I am giving a very large part of my time to correcting the trouble here and intend to do so if any effort on my part can accomplish it. * * * I will take occasion the first of next week to run down and see you, and think by that time the conditions will be very much improved."

After receiving this letter I wrote Mr. Harriman the following letter, which I give in full:

"[Personal.]

"OCTOBER 14, 1904.

"MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: A suggestion has come to me in a roundabout way that you do not think it wise to come on to see me in these closing weeks of the campaign, but that you are reluctant to refuse inasmuch as I have asked you. Now, my dear sir, you and I are practical men, and you are on the ground and know the conditions better than I do. If you think there is any danger of your visit to me causing trouble, or if you think there is nothing special I should be informed about, or no matter in which I could give aid, why, of course, give up the visit for the time being, and then a few weeks hence before I write my message I shall get you to come down to discuss certain Government matters not connected with the campaign.

"With great regard, sincerely yours."

You will see that this letter is absolutely incompatible with any theory that I was asking Mr. Harriman to come down to see me in my own interest or intended to make any request of any kind for help from him. On the contrary, all I was concerned with in seeing him was to know if I could be of help in securing the election of Mr. Higgins, a man for whom I had the highest respect and who I believed would be, as in fact he has been, a most admirable governor.

Moreover, the following letter will show that Mr. Harriman did not have in his mind any idea of my asking him to collect money, and that, on the contrary, what he was concerned about in connection with my letter to him was the allusion I made to the fact that I would like to see him before I wrote my message to discuss certain Government matters not connected with the campaign. His letter, which is of November 30, runs as follows:

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I just have had a telephone talk with Mr. Loeb and requested him to give you a message from me.

"I drew his attention to the last paragraph of your letter to me of October 14 last and explained that of course I did not want to make a trip to Washington unless it should be necessary; that the only matter I knew of, and about which I had any apprehension and which might be referred to in your coming

message to Congress, is that regarding the Interstate Commerce Commission and what the attitude of the railroads should be toward it.

"I have many communications from many conservative men in the West asking me to take the matter up, they having—which I have not—information as to what you propose to say in your message on that subject, and I am very apprehensive about it.

"Mr. Loeb stated he believed that this part of the message could be sent to me, and I hope that he will do so. I sincerely believe it would be best for all interests that no reference be made to the subject, and in any event if referred to in such a way as not to bring about increased agitation. It is, as you well know, the conservative element, and the one on which we all rely, which is the most seldom heard from.

"Yours, sincerely."

This letter to me was crossed by one from me, which reads as follows:

" [Strictly personal.]

" NOVEMBER 30, 1904.

"MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: Mr. Loeb tells me that you called me up to-day on the telephone and recalled my letter to you of October 14, in which I spoke to you of a desire to see you before sending in my message, as I wanted to go over with you certain governmental matters, and you added that you had heard that I referred to the Interstate Commerce Commission; that you regretted this and wished I had left it out. In writing to you I had in view, especially, certain matters connected with currency legislation, and had not thought of discussing railroad matters with you. However, if it had occurred to me I should have been delighted to do so; but if you remember, when you were down here both you and I were so interested in certain of the New York political developments that I hardly, if at all, touched on governmental matters. As regards what I have said in my message about the Interstate Commerce Commission, while, as I say, I should have been delighted to go over it with you, I must also frankly state that my mind was definitely made up. Certain revelations connected with the investigation of the Beef Trust cause me to write the paragraph in question. I went with extreme care over the information in possession of the Interstate Commerce Commission and of the Bureau of Corporations before writing it. I then went over the written paragraph again and again with Paul Morton, who is of all my Cabinet the most familiar with railroad matters, of course, and with Root, Knox, Taft, and Moody. It is a matter I have been carefully considering for two years and had been gradually, though reluctantly, coming to the conclusion that it was unwise and unsafe from every standpoint to leave the question of rebates where it now is and to fail to give the Interstate Commerce Commission additional power of an effective kind in regulating these rates.

"Let me repeat that I did not have this question in mind when I asked you to come down, but that I should most gladly have talked it over with you if it had occurred to me to do so; but, as a matter of fact, as you will remember, when you did come down to see me, you and I were both so engaged in the New York political situation that we talked of little else; and, finally, that the position I have taken has not been taken lightly, but after thinking over the matter and looking at it from different standpoints for at least two years, and after the most careful consultation with Morton, Taft, Moody, Knox, and Root as to the exact phraseology I should use.

"I do not send you a copy, simply because I have given no one a copy, not even the men above mentioned. It is impossible if I give out copies of any portions of my message to prevent the message being known in advance; and the three press associations who now have the message are under a heavy penalty not to disclose a word of it before the appointed time.

"Sincerely, yours."

On December 2 he wrote me the following letter on the same subject:

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Thank you for your favor of the 30th.

"It was natural for me to suppose that railroad matters would be included in any discussion you and I might have before writing your message. I am of the opinion that an effective Interstate Commerce Commission could regulate the matter of rebates and absolutely prevent the same without any additional power of any kind, and, as you say, Paul Morton is more familiar with such matters than any one else in your Cabinet, and I believe he will agree with me in this. I fear there has been a lack of cooperation.

"During the enormous development of the last four years the railroads have found it very hard to keep pace with the requirements imposed upon them, and the so-called surplus earnings, as well as additional capital, have been devoted to providing additional facilities and the bettering and enlarging of their properties, so as to give the increased and better service required of them. This work of betterment and enlargement must go on, and is all important for the proper development of all sections of the country. There is little doubt that during the next decade every single-tracked railroad in the country will have to be double-tracked and provide enlarged terminal and other facilities, and any move that will tend to cripple them financially would be detrimental to all interests over the whole country.

"I beg that you will pardon my not signing this personally, as I have to leave to catch my train for Arden, and have asked my secretary to sign it for me.

"Yours, sincerely."

I was unable to agree with Mr. Harriman's views on the matter, and left my message unchanged as regards the interstate commerce law. (The rough draft of this portion of the message was completed in October, before the election.) I had always discussed with absolute freedom all my proposed moves in the trust and labor matters with representatives of the big combinations or big railroads, as well as with leaders of the labor men, of the farmers' organizations, the shippers' organizations, and the like; that is, I had as freely seen and communicated with Mr. Harriman, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Hill, and other railroad men as I had seen and communicated with Mr. Gompers, Mr. Keefe, Mr. Morrissey, Mr. Morrison, and other labor leaders. Mr. Harriman had, like most of the big railroad men, always written me very strongly protesting against my proposed course as regards the supervision and control over big combinations, and especially over the big railroads. In a letter of his of August 19, 1902, for instance, he expressed the fear that a panic would follow my proposed action.

It will be seen that the above correspondence is entirely incompatible with what Mr. Harriman now, as you inform me, alleges as to my having asked him to secure or to subscribe money for the presidential campaign. As for the Depew matter, he professed throughout to be acting in the interest of Gov. Odell, and though Gov. Odell had been anxious that Mr. Depew should be nominated as ambassador to France at a time when he was supporting Gov. Black for Senator, he had changed his mind shortly after the last letter to me, above quoted, from Mr. Harriman, and on December 10 wrote me the letter I inclose, which reads in part as follows:

"MY DEAR MR. ROOSEVELT: A great many of your friends here in New York would be very much delighted and pleased if you could find it possible to appoint Mr. James H. Hyde as minister to France. * * * Large business interests have given to him splendid executive abilities, and his association with so many prominent business men would be fitting recognition of the effective work done by them in the last campaign.

"In addition to this, he has behind him, I am sure, the approval of Senator Platt and Senator Depew, and, so far as I can speak for the organization, I believe his appointment would be, without question, more satisfactory than any that could be made from New York at the present time.

"Personally I should appreciate your favorable consideration of this suggestion almost beyond anything else you could do for me. If you so desire, I shall be glad to come down to Washington and talk with you about it, but I believe there are others who are close to you and who feel just as I do, and I thought, therefore, that this letter would be sufficient as showing the attitude of the organizations and myself personally upon this important appointment."

As you know, I was obliged to refuse the request of the New York financiers and of the Republican organizations of the State and city, not deeming it proper to appoint Mr. Hyde to the position he sought.

So much for what Mr. Harriman said about me personally. Far more important are the additional remarks he made to you, as you inform me, when you asked him if he thought it was well to see Hearstism and the like triumphant over the Republican Party. You inform me that he told you that he did not care in the least, because those people were crooks and he could buy them; that whenever he wanted legislation from a State legislature he could buy it; that he "could buy Congress"; and that, if necessary, he "could buy the judiciary." This was doubtless said partly in boastful cynicism and partly in a mere burst of bad temper because of his objection to the interstate-commerce law and to my actions as President. But it shows a cynicism and deep-seated corruption which makes the man uttering such sentiments, and boasting, no matter how falsely, of his power to perform such crimes, at least as undesirable a citizen as Debs or Moyer or Haywood. It is because we have capitalists capable of uttering such sentiments and capable of acting on them that there is strength behind sinister agitators of the Hearst type. The wealthy corruptionist and the demagogue who excites in the press or on the stump, in office or out of office, class against class and appeals to the basest passions of the human soul, are fundamentally alike and are equally enemies of the Republic. I was horrified, as was Root, when you told us to-day what Harriman had said to you. As I say, if you meet him you are entirely welcome to show him this letter, although, of course, it must not be made public unless required by some reason of public policy, and then only after my consent has first been obtained.

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. J. S. SHERMAN,

St. James Building, 1133 Broadway, New York.

This letter was written in Mr. Harriman's lifetime, and neither was contradicted then nor can be contradicted now. As hearsay testimony by Mr. Odell and Mr. Archbold about this letter has been admitted, I may mention the fact that Mr. Loeb, my then private secretary, heard my conversation with Mr. Harriman and can testify about it. Mr. Harriman never even discussed with me giving anything to the national committee, and I never spoke to him about it or requested a dollar from him. He asked me to intercede with Mr. Bliss and Mr. Cortelyou to get money for him and Mr. Odell in their State campaign. Mr. Loeb heard him make the request, as he was present during the conversation, and Mr. Loeb, by my direction, transmitted the request to Mr. Bliss and Mr. Cortelyou over the telephone, as I did myself later. In my letters to Mr. Cortelyou during the campaign the only allusion that I can find to campaign contributions is in one in which I tell him that I have heard a rumor that Senator Dick, of Ohio, has been collecting money from office-holders, and that if so he must be warned to stop or he will get into trouble.

I communicated with Mr. Bliss very infrequently and never made any allusion to contributions in any letter that I wrote him or any conversation I had with him. My main communications were with

Mr. Cortelyou. From Mr. Bliss, as from Mr. Cortelyou, I received the explicit statement that no promise had been made and no obligation entered into directly or indirectly in connection with any contribution that had been received or would be entered into in connection with any contribution that might be received in the future.

I have never discussed the question of contributions with Mr. Perkins save in connection with discussing the accusations brought before your committee. I have never, directly or indirectly, asked him for a contribution, and I did not, as far as I can remember, ask any human being for a contribution either while I was running for President or Vice President or during the recent primary or since the recent primary.

Mr. Archbold has alluded to his visit, made a year or so after the election, to me in company with Mr. Rogers, and questions have also been asked as to whom I communicated with about Standard Oil matters, and who brought Mr. Archbold to see me. I would have seen Mr. Archbold or Mr. Rogers or Mr. Rockefeller or anyone else at any time on their own requests, but I do not remember any of them making such a request direct. Mr. Rogers and Mr. Archbold made an appointment to see me through Mr. Root, who was then in my Cabinet. Mr. Root merely transmitted their request, and then informed them of the hour I appointed for the interview. He was not present at the interview. The subject of campaign contributions was not alluded to at the interview. Messrs. Archbold and Rogers, the former doing almost all the talking, stated they had come down in connection with the accusations made against the Standard Oil Co. regarding rebates. I informed them that Mr. Garfield had informed me that he was about to report very strongly against the Standard Oil Co. on this matter, and I referred them to Mr. Garfield, suggesting that they see him or Mr. H. K. Smith and go over the matter with them before coming to me. Mr. Sibley, then a Congressman from Pennsylvania, called upon me once or twice to speak on behalf of the Standard Oil people, and urged upon me that they were very good men, and that their accusers were unworthy and misguided creatures, but he did not make any specific request about them, as far as I remember, nor arrange an interview for them, and the only reason I remember anything about what he said was because, as he had been a Populist and as I had supposed that he was anti-corporation in his feeling, I was a little surprised at his turning up on behalf of the Standard Oil. A couple of years later, when the Department of Justice was taking the preliminary steps for bringing suit to dissolve the Standard Oil Co., Senator Jonathan Bourne on three or four occasions brought Mr. Archbold in to see me. Mr. Archbold protested against the suits being brought and was anxious to see if it would not be possible to have them dropped. The following two letters to Senator Bourne were written by me after the first and the last of these interviews and explain themselves:

SAGAMORE HILL, *February 23, 1908.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am sorry I could not see you to-day, but I do not like to see anyone on Sunday on business if it can be avoided.

As to what you told me the other evening about the Standard Oil people, do remember that while any proposals they make will be considered in an entirely frank and honorable spirit, yet these proposals must be conditioned upon absolute obedience to the law and must be laid in detail before the Attorney General

and Frank B. Kellogg before it would be possible for me to express any opinion upon them. I know you understand this, but I want you to be sure that the Standard Oil people do not misunderstand it and do not get the impression that it is by my desire or on my initiative that the negotiations have been entered into with them by you or by anyone, or that there will be any failure to lay the matter in full detail before Mr. Bonaparte and Mr. Kellogg.

With regard, believe me, sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

OYSTER BAY, N. Y., *July 3, 1908.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: Mr. Loeb has transmitted to me your telephone message as to Mr. Kellogg submitting a written memorandum. My dear Senator, let me repeat in writing what I have said again and again to Mr. Archbold and to you and what I stated at much length in our interview of last Monday. In my judgment it is not only a waste of time but inadvisable to try to carry on the negotiations through you as intermediary. Let the Standard Oil lawyers, any or all of them, as Mr. Archbold or Mr. Rockefeller or anyone else may choose, decide as to the course they wish to follow, and then communicate direct with Mr. Kellogg or the Attorney General. I read you what Mr. Bonaparte wrote me which I had previously read to Mr. Kellogg, and I furnished you with a copy of it. You now inform Mr. Loeb that this is not specific enough. It was not meant to be specific. It was not meant to show you. It was meant by Mr. Bonaparte to advise me as to what he and Mr. Kellogg thought was the proper course to follow. I read it to you so that you might understand what the attitude of the Department of Justice was, and when I read it to you I explained explicitly to Mr. Archbold and yourself what I have now put into writing above, namely, that it is undesirable to attempt to carry on negotiations through you and that the proper person for you to communicate with was not me but Mr. Bonaparte or Mr. Kellogg. Then an appeal can always be made to me; but obviously the first thing to do is to have the counsel of the Standard Oil communicate with the counsel of the Department of Justice, Mr. Kellogg, or with Mr. Bonaparte himself.

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

I do not remember any other Senator or Congressman speaking to me on behalf of the Standard Oil people or arranging any meeting between them and me. But the events occurred from 4 to 10 years ago, and it is utterly impossible for me to remember every conversation I have held upon the subject during that period or every letter I have written in which the Standard Oil Co. was alluded to. Mr. Hearst has published much interesting and important correspondence of the Standard Oil people, especially Mr. Archbold, with various public men. I have in time past criticized Mr. Hearst, but in this matter he has rendered a public service of high importance, and I hope he will publish all the letters dealing with this matter which he has in his possession. If Mr. Hearst or anybody else has any letter from me dealing with Standard Oil affairs, I shall be delighted to have it published, and if anyone can suggest any question as to any letter I have ever written or received on the subject and will give me the approximate date I will at once try to look it up, and if I can find it will publish it. The newspapers at the time of the passage of the Bureau of Corporations bill, in February, 1903, contained full accounts of my publication of the telegrams of the Standard Oil people protesting against the bill. I, of course, at that time had rather heated arguments with a number of the upholders of the Standard Oil people in this matter, but I have forgotten the details of them. All I know is that I got through the bill, and it was largely the publication I gave to these telegrams that enabled me thus to get it through. This action, by the way, was taken 18 months before the alleged conversation between Mr. Bliss and Mr. Archbold, so that the Standard Oil people must at the date of this conversation

have been absolutely familiar with my attitude toward them; there was never any change in this attitude, before or after election. I shall be delighted to answer in detail any question in my power to answer on this or any other matter.

I wish to emphasize the fact that the testimony of Mr. Archbold and Mr. Penrose in this matter is an attack on Mr. Bliss, who is dead, and is also unwittingly the severest possible reflection on themselves; but it is in no sense any attack on me, except in so far as they assert that the dead man said that I knew of his request for money from them. I do not believe that Mr. Bliss said this any more than I believe their accusation that Mr. Bliss deliberately tried to blackmail the Standard Oil into contributing. But please keep in mind that this is an assault on Mr. Bliss, and not on me. The letters of mine which are given above and which were written as soon as I heard of the alleged contribution, and the explicit assurance I received through Mr. Cortelyou from Mr. Bliss that no contributions from the Standard Oil Co. had been or would be received, show beyond possibility of honest contradiction that if any such money was solicited or received it was against my explicit protest, and that I was assured that my protest had been and would be heeded.

Now a word as to Mr. Bliss. Mr. Bliss was a New York business man of stainless probity and integrity. He was treasurer of the national Republican campaign committee when Mr. McKinley ran for President both times, and continued in that position while I was President. He never wanted anything for himself in politics; he never took office except under President McKinley, and then with great reluctance and at great personal sacrifice, and he left it as soon as possible; he never asked me for a favor of any kind, and all his public and private acts so far as I had knowledge of them were on the highest plane of just and honorable dealing. One statement of Mr. Archbold's I have no doubt is true. He testifies to "the expression of strong belief on his (Mr. Bliss's) part from what he knew and what he was told that Mr. Roosevelt would conservatively and fairly carry out the party pledges and would be fair in his treatment of the business interests * * * that his policies would conserve the welfare of the country and the people as a whole." This is what I had then said in public life and in private again and again; it is an exact statement of what I had already done, what I intended to do thereafter, and what I actually did thereafter; it is the same statement that I am now continually making; and I shall live up to it in the future exactly as I have lived up to it in the past. There is a further statement of Mr. Archbold's about Mr. Bliss that may well be in part accurate. He testifies that when he went to Mr. Bliss, after the Bureau of Corporations began to investigate the Standard Oil, and protested about it, Mr. Bliss said, "I have no influence at all with Mr. Roosevelt * * * and I can not help you in the matter at all." Neither Mr. Bliss nor anyone else possessed any influence with me as regards stopping any investigation or any action whatever which after full consideration the proper governmental officers deemed it right to take as regards any trust. But as a matter of fact no one ever asked me to take such action because of any contribution given, or any favor of any kind rendered, by anyone, whether during the campaign, or at any other time; all I was ever asked to do in any given case was to examine into the

matter myself and see that there was full consideration of the facts; and Mr. Bliss never even asked me this about the Standard Oil Co., and never in any way alluded to the Standard Oil Co. to me; nor, indeed, so far as I remember, did he ever ask me anything in connection with any governmental action or express to me regret or disapproval at anything I had done.

I, of course, can not say whether he asked or received from Mr. Archbold the money that Mr. Archbold says he received; as alleged, it was given in currency, which would make it difficult to trace; I do not know why the accusation was not brought while Mr. Bliss was alive; he is now dead, and unable to refute or explain it, or to testify whether his signature is genuine, should the missing receipt ever be produced. I never heard Mr. Archbold's name mentioned in connection with Mr. Bliss. But a year or so after the election I heard a report that Mr. Bliss had accepted a contribution from Mr. Rogers, alleging as his justification (in view of his statement in answer to my request) that this was not money from the Standard Oil Co., but from Mr. Rogers personally, Mr. Rogers being an old friend and party associate of his. Whether this report was correct or not I do not know; but in connection with it my attention has been called to the following statement in the New York Herald, a paper bitterly hostile to me. It is in the issue of December 24, 1911. The statement purports to have been made by Mr. Bliss to a Herald reporter some months before his death. It was as follows:

In the first place, Mr. Harriman was entirely mistaken when he said that he got his information as to the danger in New York State from Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Harriman's recollection was confused. The information regarding the unsatisfactory condition in New York came to me as treasurer of the committee. It was near the end of the campaign. Everything was satisfactory in the country except the New York situation, and the trouble there was the attack which was being made on Mr. Higgins, the Republican candidate for governor, because of the declaration that he was a friend of Gov. Odell, and had been nominated by Mr. Odell at Saratoga.

The Republican national committee had reached the end of its tether. Its finances were in bad condition, and at one time it appeared that the committee would have a deficit, as it had in 1892. The State committee needed help, and it needed it urgently, and Mr. Cortelyou and I felt that we could do little more.

It was at this stage that Mr. Harriman and I met. I called on Mr. Harriman. Mr. Harriman did not call on me. Mr. Cortelyou was in Chicago about that time. When I had explained the situation Mr. Harriman exclaimed:

"You surprise me." Then, asking what he could do, he reached for the telephone, as he stated in the alleged Webster letter, to call up "a friend of Senator Depew." As a result of my call the money was raised. It was sent to the national committee for a specific purpose—the needs of the State committee—and was not accounted for in the national-committee fund. It was transmitted to the State committee. Not a single check for any part of the amount so raised came from a corporation. The money all came from individuals. I personally at the time was able to raise perhaps \$25,000, from four different persons, needed to meet the final needs of the national committee.

In his statement in the alleged Webster letter, that Mr. Roosevelt asked him to raise money, Mr. Harriman was also mistaken. The then President had nothing to do with raising any money. Not once in the conferences of the committee was there any suggestion that he was doing it. The only thing that Mr. Roosevelt had to do with such matters was to issue orders that money was not to be accepted from this or that person. His orders were ignored, as it was recognized that this was something about which he must not interfere, and I brooked no interference.

Now, this is all there is to this business. Mr. Harriman certainly was interested in raising perhaps \$200,000, not for the national committee, but for the State committee; not at the request of President Roosevelt, but at my request; not for the national ticket, but for the State ticket, in which Mr.

Harriman, as Gov. Odell's particular friend, was interested above almost anyone else.

As to the talk about the Senatorship and the Paris Embassy, the President's letter to Mr. Sherman cleared that up. It is possible that James H. Hyde was one of the contributors to the State fund, but no contribution was made by the Equitable Life Assurance Co. At that time Mr. Harriman doubtless thought a great deal of Mr. Hyde. Later he became a member of the Frick committee, which made a report upon the Equitable's affairs, leading to the retirement of both Alexander and Hyde, and followed by the resignation of the directors, Mr. Harriman and myself among them.

Finally, I will say that there never was conducted in this country, no matter what may be said, a cleaner or more honorable campaign than that made by the Republican national committee in 1904. Certain rules, to the highest credit of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Cortelyou and myself, were laid down and they were rigorously followed.

In view of this reported interview with Mr. Bliss and of the rumors that I had already heard, I do not feel able to express an opinion as to whether or not he did, against my explicit directions and in spite of the assurance given me, receive any money from the Standard Oil people. But I do feel warranted in saying, from my own knowledge of Mr. Bliss and of his character, that he never made any proposition in the nature of blackmail, as Mr. Archbold and Mr. Penrose testify he did; and I am absolutely confident that he would never have gone into any scheme looking to the receipt of campaign contributions in return for protection or favors to the parties contributing. Evidently Messrs. Penrose and Archbold possess consciences so seared and dulled that they have no idea of the infamous nature of the charge they are making against Mr. Bliss. If he were alive to speak for himself I should have nothing to say about it unless called upon to testify by him and on his behalf; but inasmuch as he is dead, and as he was a valued friend of mine, and as I am in a position to testify as to his entire disinterestedness in political matters, I do not feel inclined to let these accusations rest. Mr. Bliss was a lifelong and devoted member of his party. He was one of those men who in party organizations render invaluable service because they are willing to do irksome, disagreeable, and laborious tasks which bring no reward, which are entirely thankless, but which it is indispensable to have done. Mr. Bliss was a much older man than I was. He always regarded me as a radical, but he always treated me with a friendly kindness and consideration which I shall never forget. As I have said above, he was treasurer of the national Republican campaign committee in 1896 and in 1900 and continued as such during my campaign in 1904. In that campaign contributions were received not only from individuals but from corporations, precisely as they had been received in President McKinley's two campaigns and in President Cleveland's last campaign, and I doubt not in many preceding campaigns. There was then no law against corporations contributing, and in many cases the corporation that did so would itself advertise the fact to show that it was doing a patriotic duty. I well remember, for instance, the numerous appreciative comments by the New York newspapers on the fact that the old established Chemical National Bank in the campaign of 1896 contributed to President McKinley's campaign fund.

Mr. Bliss not merely gave of his own money freely but he contributed his energy, power of work, and administrative ability in a way that was quite beyond price. It would have been impossible to persuade Mr. Bliss for any reasonable sum of money, and probably

not for a million dollars, to do the work which he did freely and without receiving a penny's recompense in campaign after campaign as treasurer of the Republican national committee. As I have above said and as I wish to repeat, he never asked anything for himself. This I can testify to of my own knowledge for the seven and a half years that I was President, and I am equally sure that such was the case during the four and a half years that Mr. McKinley was President. He was accustomed always to give and never to ask or to get. He had nothing whatever personally to gain from his work. It cost him money, it cost him time and worry, and he had no particle of reward excepting the sense that he had done his duty—doing it in the way for which his qualities best fitted him—and had rendered to the best of his ability what he regarded as the highest service in his power to the American people. I do not believe that any man who was ever associated with Mr. Bliss can so much as imagine to himself Mr. Bliss as engaged in blackmail or as taking part in procuring contributions from any man or any corporation with as a consideration, either expressed or implied, the understanding that such individual or corporation was to be given immunity from wrongdoing or be relieved from paying heed to the law. Yet this is exactly the conduct of which Messrs. Archbold and Penrose accuse him. Mr. Archbold testified that Mr. Bliss asked him for a second and very large contribution from the Standard Oil people, and told him that he was making "a mistake" in not giving it, and that when he went to Mr. Bliss to get him to interfere and put a stop to what Mr. Archbold regarded as the Government "attacks" on the Standard Oil Mr. Bliss spoke to him so as to make the inference very plain that the trouble came because of his not having made that contribution. Mr. Archbold testified that the substance of the conversation was "that Mr. Bliss probably undoubtedly expressed himself that it would have been different if we had done as he wished us to do, and I myself have no doubt on that question." This statement can only mean that Mr. Archbold had made his contribution in the hope of getting some special consideration to which, as a matter of fact, he was not entitled; that he believed that if he had made the extra contribution he would have had this special consideration; and that Mr. Bliss thought so too. Mr. Penrose testified that at the time when Mr. Archbold refused to make the contribution to Mr. Bliss he talked the matter over with Mr. Archbold, and his own statements are more direct and with less circumlocution than Mr. Archbold's. The questions and answers run as follows:

Question. Was anything said in this conversation about the probable attitude of Mr. Roosevelt and the incoming administration?

Senator PENROSE. Mr. Archbold said to me, "I think our people are making a mistake. I think this will be the cause of trouble for us—our declination to make this further contribution."

Question. That is, Mr. Archbold made that statement?

Senator PENROSE. Made the statement to me; yes, sir.

Question. Did you know at this time of this talk between Mr. Archbold and Mr. Bliss, wherein Mr. Bliss is alleged to have said to them, after he learned that they declined to make any further contribution, that it would be a mistake for them not to make a further contribution?

Senator PENROSE. Only what Mr. Archbold told me about that interview. I told Mr. Archbold it would be a mistake for them not to do it, also, and he told me that it was a mistake.

Question. Why did you think it would be a mistake not to make it?

Senator PENROSE. Well, I thought the money was really needed at headquarters, and they would be expected to make liberal contributions, and that they might incur hostility in certain quarters if they did not do it.

Here Mr. Penrose says that he, a member of the national Republican committee and a United States Senator, advised Mr. Archbold that it would be a mistake for the Standard Oil Co. not to contribute, and that if they did not make liberal contributions they might incur hostility in certain quarters. Surely no more extraordinary testimony was ever submitted by a United States Senator under the impression that he was testifying in his own behalf. It embodies a far worse accusation against him that I ever should have dreamed of making. This language is precisely the language which might be used by a blackmailing police officer in a big city in advising the keeper of a law-breaking saloon or gambling house to contribute liberally because otherwise he might "incur hostility in certain quarters." If this language were proved against the policeman he would be removed from the police force; and as it is admitted by the Senator, he should be removed from the Senate. Senator Penrose's language is susceptible of but one interpretation. It was his belief that the Government would sell its protection and would blackmail those who did not buy protection, precisely as in the underworld of our great cities vice is blackmailed or protection is sold for a price. Surely there can be no two opinions among honest men that the man whose actions as Senator are thus described by himself is wholly unfit longer to be Senator. I do not wonder that Mr. Penrose championed Mr. Lorimer.

I call attention to the fact that the attitudes of Messrs. Archbold and Penrose in this matter are substantially identical. Apparently neither of them has any idea that it is wrong for the highest Government officials to blackmail corporations into subscribing to party campaign funds under penalty of being prosecuted if they fail to do so. Senator Penrose testified that he was ardently supporting me for President at the time when he thus advised the Standard Oil people that they ought to contribute to the campaign fund in order to avoid incurring hostility of the administration that he was attempting to put into power. I do not know whether to be more astounded at a United States Senator taking such a position, or at the moral callousness of testifying to it in evident and complete ignorance that any culpability attaches to it. Mr. Archbold's testimony also shows, not that he thought that there was anything wrong in the effort of Mr. Bliss to blackmail him or of anyone else to blackmail him, or anything wrong in his securing protection by contributing, but that it was wrong not to protect him from interference by Government officials with his unlawful acts, in view of the fact that he had contributed. Mr. Archbold has never before complained, as far as I know, about any public man. His complaint now is that he made an investment in a campaign fund under the impression that the Government would sell its protection, and that he failed to get the protection. Most certainly he did fail to get it; and I wish to repeat, inasmuch as Mr. Bliss is dead and can not speak for himself, that I do not for one moment believe that Mr. Bliss gave anyone reason to believe that he was thus selling protection. As for my own conduct, the actions I took speak for themselves. I never changed my attitude toward the Standard Oil Co. in any shape or way. It

antagonized me before my election, when I was getting through the Bureau of Corporations bill, and I then promptly threw down the gauntlet to it, published its different telegrams to Senators and Members of Congress, and forced the bill through in spite of it. I never suggested to any governmental official to investigate it rather than any other trust. The Bureau of Corporations and the Department of Justice both investigated it on their own accounts, and I acted on their reports and recommendations precisely as I acted in all other cases. My letters and telegrams about returning the Standard Oil contribution speak for themselves, and no honest man can misunderstand them. My subsequent actions also speak for themselves, and speak for themselves in the same tone.

In concluding, I want to say a word about my connection with Mr. Perkins. I have known him about 14 years. I have never in my life, directly or indirectly, asked him for a contribution or asked him to assist me in any shape or way. He has always assisted me and backed me up of his own accord. My acquaintance with him began when I was governor. I have seen a good deal of him since, because from the beginning I found that he sympathized with most of the views I held, and he has grown to sympathize more and more with them as time went on. Until after the statement of Mr. Penrose in the Senate I never asked him whether he had ever contributed to my campaign fund at any time, although I was morally certain that he had done so. During the past 14 years, as far as I remember, he has but twice spoken to me of any matter in which he was interested. The first time was at the very beginning of our acquaintance, when I was governor of New York. He then came up to Albany and protested against my signing a certain bill for the limitation of the aggregate amount of insurance that an insurance company could assume, a bill which was being advocated by certain insurance companies and opposed by the one of which he was an officer. After investigation I came to the conclusion that his protest was just, and refused to sanction the bill. Later, a bill having a similar effect was enacted into law under the administration of Gov. Hughes, and worked so badly that before Gov. Hughes ceased to be governor a bill had to be passed to remove the unfortunate conditions that the first law had created. On the other occasion he came to me to ask that I consider the report of the Bureau of Corporations, as well as that of the Attorney General, before taking final action in the Harvester Trust matter. On both occasions he came to me simply as hundreds of other men of every description have come to me. I listened to him precisely as I listened to other men—as I listened to Mr. Archbold, for example; as I listened to Mr. Pierpont Morgan; as I listened to Mr. Harriman; as I listened to the labor men on behalf of Messrs. Haywood and Moyer; in short, as I listened to every man who came to me on a case of any importance. I have myself but once asked Mr. Perkins for any favor, and that was for a favor to the public, when I appointed him chairman of the Palisades Park some 12 or 13 years ago while I was governor of New York. I appointed him to this chairmanship because I found that he was one of the rather limited number of men of large means who are anxious to do public service. He has spent an infinity of time and trouble about the park, and has carried the preservation of the Palisades to a successful conclusion, doing a service for which not merely the

people of New York, but the people of the United States, should be profoundly grateful. In connection with this work of the preservation of the Palisades he has himself subscribed very heavily and has solicited and obtained from individuals contributions for that work for something like \$2,000,000, which is certainly a larger amount than any one man ever solicited or obtained for any campaign fund. In addition to this, he undoubtedly has worked ten or twenty fold harder and given more time than he ever did in any campaign.

In addition to the statement already made by Senator Dixon, the provisional committee will speedily make public the statement of the moneys that were collected and spent in the primary campaign last spring. Since the national Progressive convention the New York committee, as Judge Hotchkiss informs me, has spent about \$9,000, with which the entire State has been organized, and the expenses of the national convention at Chicago were some \$17,000.

This brings me to the question of accepting contributions. It is no longer legal to accept contributions from corporations. Aside from this matter of corporations, my attitude as to contributions now is precisely what my attitude was in 1904 and will not be changed. I do not draw the line against size and never shall. The conditions I impose are that the contribution shall be received without any kind of promise or obligation, expressed or implied, being accepted only on the announced principle that making it has no end to serve except to assist the cause he is championing; and second, that the money shall be spent in honest fashion and only for legitimate expenses. I have no sympathy with the proposals to limit contributions to \$5,000 or \$10,000, or any other sum. If the virtue of a party is so frail that it will weaken if the contribution is over \$10,000, it will also weaken if it is under \$10,000. If money is tendered which should not be received, then, whether the sum be large or small, it is equally bad to receive it. It is morally as bad to solicit or accept \$10 for improper reasons as \$10,000. On the other hand, if a man who can afford it gives a large sum for worthy motives, and if this sum is properly spent, the transaction is entirely proper; just as much so as in the case of a man who can only afford to give a small sum.

To limit contributions to \$10,000 will be no hardship to a reactionary cause, a cause championed by the enormous majority of the men who can each contribute such a sum. But we who fight for the cause of justice and fair dealing, for the cause of the people as a whole, have only a few supporters among the very rich. These few supporters are, from the nature of the case, idealists, men of the kind who when their interests are aroused give generously and without thought of personal return, to parks, or playgrounds, or museums, or seaside nurseries, or hospitals, or social settlement work, or to any one of numerous similar causes. When their sympathies are aroused for a movement like ours these men are eager to contribute toward it with a like generosity and with no thought of personal reward. I welcome their contributions when made in such a spirit; I am honored by their support and receive it as freely and gladly as it is given; and I am proud of the fact that there are at least a few men of wealth who possess the farsightedness and the generous understanding of the needs of the times which make them powerful champions of the cause of the American people.

As long as the expense of running primaries and elections is left to be borne by private individuals instead of by the Government, and as long as there is no limit to the total fund which can be raised, then each contributor should be left free to contribute according to his ability, if his motive is proper and is properly understood. Ten thousand dollars would be a wholly improper contribution for most men, and a reasonable, or even very small contribution from certain other men; and any contribution, if made or received in an improper spirit, is itself improper. During the last four weeks a number of contributions have been sent to me personally. Among them were ten dollars sent me by a woman who is a bookkeeper; five dollars from a workingman, an Italian by birth, who told me that they represented two days' wages; twenty-five dollars from a deep-sea fisherman, who wrote me it represented his profit on one trip, and that later he would send me the profit on another trip; one dollar from an old veteran in a soldiers' home; and two dollars and fifty cents from a Scotch carpenter, who wrote me that he had not been long enough in the country to vote, but that he wished to help all he could in the progressive movement; ten dollars from a brakeman; about forty-five dollars from a commercial traveler, who told me it represented five per cent on his collections for a certain period; five hundred dollars from the mother of a family—which in this case, as I happened to know, meant using last fall's dresses again this fall; one thousand dollars from a business man in Chicago whom I did not personally know; ten dollars from a writer who had sold a poem on our movement for that amount; and, most touching of all, ten dollars from a mother whose ten-year-old boy had just died, because the boy had always admired me and read about me. These are only examples, among hundreds of others of the same kind. Now, I very profoundly appreciate all these gifts; I know that the men who give large sums will not mind my saying that it is some of these smaller gifts which have touched me most, and instead of feeling like refusing the big amounts given me by the few friends who can afford to give these big amounts I have felt much more like returning these little amounts, which I know mean so much of real self-denial to the struggling men and women who send them. I shall make precisely the same return to all who contributed, and that return is to serve the whole people, by striving for social and industrial justice. As strength is given me, whether in or out of office, I shall do my best to help all our people by trying to convert into living realities the principles enunciated in the platform of the Progressive Party and in my own speeches. I shall make exactly the same return to the honest man who out of his abundance contributes much, and to the other honest man who out of his small means contributes the little that he can; and in each case the return will take the form not of a special service to the man himself but of service to the cause of all the people, by living up to the letter and spirit of every promise I have made and every promise that is contained in the platform on which I stand. The men and women who, without hope of individual reward, contribute to our cause, whether money, effort, judgment, labor, or speech, according to their several abilities, are idealists, who feel that they are engaged in a great crusade; I honor the man of wealth whose fealty to an ideal makes him freely spend his

wealth to aid the cause of justice, no more and no less than I honor his brother who has no wealth and gives what he can in its place; my gratitude is as great to the one as to the other, and the only way I can, or shall try to, show this gratitude toward either is by the service I try to render to the cause in which they both believe.

We are anxious to have the help of the honest man of means, and we are no less anxious that this help shall be given in the open, in the full light of day. It is the invisible empire of wealth to which we object, just as we object to the invisible rule of the boss, and not to the open stewardship of the elected servant of the people whom the people can hold accountable for that stewardship. Any man of means who is with us is with us openly, and we recognize him openly; we recognize Mr. Perkins and Mr. Munsey precisely as we recognize Judge Ben Lindsey and Miss Addams; we are deeply appreciative of the attitude of all four of them, and the only return any one of them wishes, or will receive, is our fidelity in carrying out the pledges to the whole people which we have publicly made. Mr. Perkins is not working in secret, for a secret reward. His work is open, and he wishes no reward but the work itself. He is on the executive committee, just as Judge Ben Lindsey is on the executive committee. During the primaries he contributed largely of his means and still more largely of his time and executive and organizing ability; he will continue to give in the same fashion both money and work until election day, and not a dollar of his money and not a minute of his time will be used save in straightforward and honest fashion. Judge Ben Lindsey has no money to give; he has the power to set vividly before audiences the cause for which we are fighting and to carry conviction of his and our sincerity because of the life of service he has lived. Each man is now rendering to the cause with all his soul the service which he is best fitted to render. I am profoundly grateful to both; I am profoundly sensible to the service which each renders; and each expects from me nothing whatever save that I will honorably and in good faith do my part in carrying out our covenant with the people of the United States.

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

The Hon. MOSES E. CLAPP,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1912.

**SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE.**

The subcommittee reassembled at 10 o'clock a. m., pursuant to the call of the chairman, for the purpose of resuming the consideration of the resolutions S. Res. 79 and S. Res. 386. Senate resolution 79 is as follows:

[Senate resolution 79, Sixty-second Congress, second session.]

Resolved, First. That the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate, or any subcommittee thereof, be, and it is hereby, directed to inquire and report to the Senate as early as practicable the amount of money subscribed and paid to the national committees of all political parties and the national congressional campaign committees of all political parties, or to any member of such committees, or to any person acting under the authority of or on behalf of such committees as treasurer or otherwise, by any person, firm, association, corporation, or committee, to influence the result, or attempt to influence the result, of the elections November eighth, nineteen hundred and four, and November third, nineteen hundred and eight, at which Representatives in the Congress of the United States were elected, giving the names of such persons, firms, associations, corporations, or committees and the respective amounts subscribed and paid by each of them as aforesaid.

Second. That said committee or subcommittee is authorized to sit during the sessions of the Senate and during any recess of the Senate or of the Congress; to hold sessions at such place or places as it may deem most convenient for the purposes of this inquiry; to employ stenographers and such other clerical force as may be deemed necessary; to send for persons, books, records, and papers; to administer oaths; and that the expenses of the inquiry be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate under vouchers to be approved by the chairman of the committee or subcommittee.

Third. That said committee shall also report to the Senate what measures, if any, are necessary to further prohibit or curtail such subscriptions and payments so as to lessen and confine them to proper and legitimate objects in relation to such elections, and prevent the undue, and corrupt use of money in such elections.

The CHAIRMAN. The scope of the investigation under Senate resolution 79 has been broadened by Senate resolution 386, copy of which is as follows:

(Senate resolution 386, Sixty-second Congress, second session.)

Resolved, That the statement made by the senior Senator from Pennsylvania, Mr. Penrose, in the Senate on Wednesday, August 21, 1912, be, and is hereby, referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate, or any subcommittee thereof, appointed under S. Res. 79, agreed to on April 29, 1912.

The Committee on Privileges and Elections, or any subcommittee thereof, is hereby authorized and directed to investigate fully into all statements and questions of fact referred to in the statement of personal privilege made by the Senator from Pennsylvania, Mr. Penrose, on the floor of the Senate, August 21, 1912; and all financial transactions and correspondence relating thereto between John D. Archbold and George W. Perkins and Col. Theodore Roosevelt, and Representatives in Congress, and Members of the United States Senate from the year 1900 to the date of the investigation provided for herein; and further, said committee is authorized and directed to investigate into and ascertain the amount of money expended by or on behalf of any candidate seeking the nomination of any political party formed or in the process of formation for President during the year 1912, or by any committee or person acting for or on behalf of such candidate, or in the interest of such candidate or party; and to ascertain the names of all persons, firms, or corporations contributing to any of the purposes aforesaid, and the amounts paid or contributed, and how and when paid, including all sums of money used to secure the election of delegates to any national convention or to influence the actions of delegates at said convention.

Said committee or subcommittee is authorized to sit during the sessions of the Senate, and during any recess of the Senate or of Congress, and to hold sessions at such place or places as may be deemed most convenient for the purposes of the inquiry; to employ attorneys, stenographers, and such other clerical force as may be deemed necessary; to subpoena witnesses; send for persons, books, records, and papers; and to administer oaths; and that parties to the examination may be represented by attorneys, subject to such rules and regulations as the committee may make.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Oliver, Paynter, and Pomerehne.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. We will hear you, Mr. Bliss.

TESTIMONY OF CORNELIUS N. BLISS, JR.

Cornelius N. Bliss, jr., having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bliss, state your name, address, and business.

Mr. BLISS. Cornelius N. Bliss, jr.; New York; commission merchant; member of the firm of Bliss, Fabian & Co.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the son of the late Cornelius N. Bliss, who was treasurer of the Republican national committee in 1904?

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long ago did your father die?

Mr. BLISS. A year ago this month.

The CHAIRMAN. You are one of the executors?

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the other executor?

Mr. BLISS. My mother and sister.

The CHAIRMAN. Three. Have you had possession and custody of his books and papers?

Mr. BLISS. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. You were asked to bring with you all books and papers and documents bearing upon this inquiry?

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Has anyone during that time but yourself had custody of the papers and books by your father?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you found among his papers anything bearing upon the contributions to the presidential campaign of 1904?

Mr. BLISS. Nothing bearing directly on the subject of campaign contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, bearing indirectly?

Mr. BLISS. I have the report of the auditor who examined the books and records kept by my father during the campaign of 1904.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you that with you?

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you present it?

The papers presented by Mr. Bliss are offered in evidence as submitted by Mr. Bliss, are in the words and figures following, and are marked "C. N. B., Jr., No. 1."

EXHIBIT C. N. B., Jr., No. 1.

Supplement to be in place of report attached to trial balance.

Received December 14, 1904.

Charles G. Dawes, trustee.

DECEMBER 10, 1904.

Cash summary.

RECEIPTS.

C. N. Bliss, treasurer	\$571,000.00
Note, George B. Cortelyou, chairman	40,000.00
Contributions	60,559.30
J. A. Tawney, special	2,567.00
Loan to congressional committee paid	400.00
Proceeds from sale of furniture, stamps, etc	1,606.58
	<hr/>
	676,132.88

DISBURSEMENTS.

Edwin F. Brown, assistant treasurer	352,299.56
Elmer Dover, secretary, as per voucher	53,536.80
B. A. Eckhart, treasurer Republican State committee	27,160.00
Roy O. West, chairman Republican State committee	5,000.00
P. A. Busse, treasurer Cook County Republican committee	65,000.00
F. W. Upham, chairman local committee	4,700.00
H. S. New, committeeman, as per vouchers	120,000.00
George B. Cortelyou, chairman	5,000.00
Note, George B. Cortelyou, chairman, paid	40,000.00
Thomas P. Rynder	1,000.00
Interest on notes, George B. Cortelyou, chairman	430.00
Loan to congressional committee	400.00
W. R. Dawes, services as per voucher	300.00
F. L. Bennett, services as per voucher	200.00
J. I. Pelton, services as per voucher	50.00
S. D. Childs & Co., supplies	6.05
R. B. Schneider, committeeman, as per voucher	950.00
Cash on hand Dec. 10, 1904	100.47
	<hr/>
	676,132.88

Charles G. Dawes, trustee.

NOVEMBER 14, 1904.

Cash summary.

RECEIPTS.

C. N. Bliss, treasurer	\$571,000.00
Notes, George B. Cortelyou, chairman	40,000.00
Contributions	59,501.02
J. A. Tawney, special	2,567.00
Loan to congressional committee paid	400.00
Proceeds from sales of furniture	833.29
	<hr/>
	674,301.31

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

DISBURSEMENTS.

Edwin F. Brown, assistant treasurer-----	\$350,500.00
Elmer Dover, secretary, per itemized vouchers-----	53,536.80
B. A. Eckhart, treasurer Republican State committee-----	27,160.00
Roy O. West, chairman Republican State committee-----	5,000.00
F. A. Busse, treasurer Cook County Republican committee-----	65,000.00
F. W. Upham, chairman local committee-----	4,700.00
H. S. New, committeeman, as per itemized vouchers-----	120,000.00
Geo. B. Cortelyou, chairman-----	5,000.00
Notes, Geo. B. Cortelyou, chairman, paid-----	40,000.00
Thos. R. Rynder-----	1,000.00
Interest on notes, Geo. B. Cortelyou, chairman-----	430.00
Loan to congressional committee-----	400.00
W. R. Dawes-----	300.00
F. L. Bennett-----	260.00
J. I. Pelton-----	50.00
S. D. Childs & Co-----	6.05
Cash on hand-----	1,018.46
	<hr/>
	674,301.31

RECEIPTS.

1904.		
Dec. 5.	Balance from old 1904 account-----	\$99,270.16
	Georgia-----	20.00
	Mississippi-----	250.00
	Indiana-----	207.50
	Interest on balances-----	5,064.49
	Sale of furniture and stamps-----	100.29
	Refund of typewriter rent-----	5.50
		<hr/>
		\$104,917.94

DISBURSEMENTS.

Washington office, current and other expenses-----	28,986.03
General expenses, as per vouchers (includes \$5,000 legal expenses and \$3,000 congress- sional committee appropriation)-----	18,996.45
Maryland-----	2,000.00
Virginia-----	2,000.00
Kentucky-----	1,000.00
Headquarters' expense (Hitchcock, Coolidge, and others)-----	2,234.05
Printing and literature (binding souvenirs, tariff article, etc.)-----	896.30
Speakers' bureau (bills held over)-----	546.66
Miscellaneous clubs-----	380.00
	<hr/>
	57,039.49
Balance, Central Trust Co-----	47,878.45
	<hr/>
	104,917.94

January 11, 1907.

MAY 1, 1907.

Andited and found correct.

JAMES G. CARMAN.

DECEMBER 5, 1904.

New York-----	\$300,000.00
Special contributions for county committee prior to opening of campaign-----	10,000.00
Republican Club, for Madison Square Garden mass meeting-----	7,500.00
Special contribution for Albany County-----	5,000.00
Special contribution for Nassau County-----	4,200.00
Pennsylvania-----	26,410.28
Connecticut-----	24,000.00
Maryland-----	10,000.00

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

201

New Jersey	\$18,500.00
Ohio	1,875.00
Montana (subsequently returned)	15,000.00
Indiana (special)	10,000.00
Utah	1,000.00
Tennessee	750.00
West Virginia	72,500.00
Delaware (5,000 returned)	22,000.00
Nevada	5,000.00
Idaho	5,000.00
Oregon	6,500.00
Wyoming	6,000.00
Maine	23,000.00
Chicago headquarters (Chicago reserved \$5,000 additional, which was charged to special services, New York)	446,075.00
Chicago headquarters, for Indiana	110,000.00
Chicago headquarters, for Idaho	5,000.00
Chicago headquarters, for Nevada	5,000.00
Headquarters' expense, New York	64,247.54
Headquarters' expense, Washington	2,737.56
Public speaking	42,321.46
Printing and literature	447,942.72
Philippines	2,000.00
Congressional committee	20,200.00
General expense	500.00
Chairman's special account	141,505.00
Special services	115,635.91
Traveling expenses	11,001.78
Republican League Clubs (Stewart)	8,500.00
Commercial Travelers' League (Sheherd)	6,000.00
National Commercial League (Corey)	4,256.00
Miscellaneous clubs	15,183.05
New York	1,360,324.87
New York, special contributions:	
For county committee	10,000.00
For Albany County	5,000.00
For Nassau County	4,200.00
Pennsylvania, miscellaneous	1,857.00
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia committee	161,759.40
Pennsylvania, Pittsburg committee	106,950.00
Wisconsin	10.00
Connecticut	21,100.00
California	800.00
Rhode Island	6,750.00
Florida	4,867.00
Massachusetts	126,122.85
Kentucky	125.00
Maryland	50.00
Texas	2,561.00
North Carolina	25.00
Iowa	533.00
Washington	600.00
Vermont	100.00
Alabama	2,751.00
New Jersey	64,350.10
Kansas	1.00
Illinois	75,200.00
Ohio	21,512.54
Indiana	5,325.00
Indian Territory	565.00
Mississippi	2,200.00
Arizona	975.00
Tennessee	3,420.00
Michigan	2,710.00
New Hampshire	200.00
New Mexico	1,050.00
Oklahoma	250.00

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

Kentucky	\$5. 00
Georgia	6, 505. 86
South Carolina	1, 935. 00
Missouri	4, 323. 50
Hawaii	10, 000. 00
Virginia	3, 418. 00
Mail and Express loan account	15, 000. 00
Campaign banners	1, 760. 00
Campaign portraits	43, 776. 02
Campaign buttons and badges	12, 810. 28
Flag service	800. 00
Total expenses	2, 096, 287. 60
Contributions returned:	
Georgia (protested check)	51. 50
District of Columbia	100. 00
Special collections for States	200, 000. 00
Grand total	2, 296, 489. 10
Balance in banks, transferred to new account	99, 270. 16
Total	2, 395, 709. 26
	2, 020, 432. 12
District of Columbia	20, 261. 00
South Dakota	100. 00
Arkansas	3, 760. 00
Louisiana	10, 710. 00
Oregon	150. 00
Minnesota	1, 100. 00
Wyoming	500. 00
Maine	155. 00
Foreign	165. 00
Total contributions	2, 057, 333. 12
Special contributions for States and congressional committee, put through treasurer's books for convenience of contributors	215, 000. 00
Refunds:	
Account of Indiana	10, 000. 00
Account of Delaware	5, 000. 00
Account of headquarters expense	70. 19
Account of special services	100. 00
Account of public speaking	136. 33
Account of campaign buttons	440. 38
Account of miscellaneous clubs	458. 55
Total receipts	2, 288, 538. 57
Reserve fund and interest on hand at beginning of campaign	107, 170. 69
Grand total	2, 395, 709. 26

(Marginal note:) Surrendered to H. L. Stoddard, president, in final settlement of accounts, July 13, 1905.

(Pencil memorandum:) Possible asset: loan to Mail & Express Co., \$15,000, secured by 1,500 shares of the stock of the Mail & Express Co. as collateral Stock in private safe of C. N. Bliss, at 117 Duane Street.

NEW YORK, December 9, 1904.

I have this day examined all of the above accounts with vouchers for same and find them correct and in order, and that the above balance called for is duly on deposit in bank and trust company.

(Signed) JAMES G. CANNON.

Mr. Bliss. And with that report, if I may, I should like to submit a copy of a letter written to my father in 1908, at the time he retired

from the treasurership of the national committee, to Mr. Harry S. New, who was then chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you the letter with you?

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Please hand it to the reporter, who will mark it "Exhibit C. N. B., jr., No. 2."

The CHAIRMAN. Have you examined the audit of your father's accounts yourself?

Mr. BLISS. I simply looked it over; I do not know anything about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether it contains a statement of the receipts of any sum from Mr. Archbold, of the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that it does not?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; I mean that I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know. Well, we will have to take the time to determine it.

Mr. BLISS. Mr. Archbold's name is not mentioned, or the Standard Oil Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Neither?

Mr. BLISS. There is no mention of the name of any contributor in that department.

The CHAIRMAN. The audit of the account does not disclose the name of any contributor, does it?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; not as far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. You may read "Exhibit C. N. B., jr., No. 2."

Mr. BLISS (reading):

EXHIBIT C. N. B., Jr., No. 2.

117 DUANE STREET,
New York, June 6, 1908.

HON. HARRY S. NEW,
Chairman Republican National Committee.

DEAR SIR: AS I was about to retire from the office of treasurer of the committee, and as I can not be present at the meeting of the committee now in progress, it seems to be proper for me to make a brief statement of the business of the committee, so far as it may refer to the department of which I have had charge during the last four presidential campaigns.

Copies of the audited accounts of the executive committee for 1896, 1900, and 1904 have been filed with the chairman of the committee of those dates and are open and always have been to any members of the committee who may wish to inspect them. I have, however, persistently refused to make such accounts public at the demand of opposition and sensational journals. During the years that I have served as treasurer of the committee I have considered the relations between the committee and contributors as confidential, not because of any impropriety in such contributions, but because contributors have, in my opinion, the same right to object to publication of their gifts that they have to cast a secret ballot at election time, and, further, because the political committee naturally and justly objects to make public for the benefit of its opponents the plans and party measures it may be pursuing. A great presidential contest is a battle of principles, and there is no more reason for publishing to the world the measures of any party in action than there would be in giving out the plans of contending armies in actual physical warfare. If there was any truth in the apocryphal secrets published by sensational journals and disappointed opposing candidates as to the vast sums of money employed in political contests, possibly there might be some justification in the demands for publicity. Statements of receipts and expenditures of the Republican national committee as given us by our opponents have been the work of diseased and spiteful imagination.

No political campaign has ever been conducted in the United States on a higher plane than was the Republican presidential campaign of 1904 under the able, conservative management of Chairman Cortelyou. Not a dollar was received by the committee that they had not the right to receive both legally and morally. No pledges, direct or implied, were made by anybody, and no improper application of funds was made. Every member of the national committee may take honest pride in his part in the conduct of the campaign. The financial statement of the 1904 campaign is as follows:

Cash brought over July 1, 1904.....	\$107,000
Total receipts of committees.....	2,088,000
Total	2,195,000
Cost of campaign.....	2,096,000
Total	99,000

This balance has been drawn upon for expenses of committee during past four years, but there will be a moderate sum left for the new account July 1.

Mr. BLISS. There are some marginal corrections in my father's own handwriting in pencil on the copy which are insignificant. [Reading:]

Campaign of 1900:

Receipts were a trifle below \$3,000,000.

A balance of \$107,000, as above, remains to credit of committee of 1904.

Mr. BLISS. There is one word here that I can not make out. [Reading:]

Campaign of 1896:

Receipts of eastern committee.....	\$2,990,000
Receipts of western committee, about.....	460,000

Total	3,350,000
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This from memory, as accounts are sealed.

I estimate the grand total as three and one-half millions.

Mr. BLISS. There are some marginal notes in that, but not of importance. [Reading:]

Campaign of 1892:

Receipts.....	\$1,600,000
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The committee closed its work more than \$100,000 in debt. A considerable portion of this indebtedness was carried until 1896 by the late Jesse Seligman, Thomas Dolan, and your treasurer.

Respectfully submitted.

C. N. BLISS, *Treasurer.*

The CHAIRMAN. Have you found any other document among your father's papers in any manner bearing upon or relating to the campaign of 1904?

Mr. BLISS. I have three letters of a personal and more or less intimate nature. Two of them, at least, have no bearing on the subject. I will be glad to submit them if you call for them.

The CHAIRMAN. Please hand to the reporter, to be marked as "Exhibit C. N. B., No. 3," a letter dated May 6, 1904, addressed to Mr. Bliss and signed by William H. Taft.

The letter referred to is marked "C. N. B., No. 3," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT C. N. B., JR., No. 3.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

Washington, May 6, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. BLISS: I write to urge upon you the great good which you can do your party and your country by becoming the head of the National Com-

mittee. The President is most anxious that you should accept the place, and in a discussion in the Cabinet to-day it was agreed that it was the duty of all of us who knew you to bring to bear such influence as we might have to secure your services. It was thought that you could be greatly relieved from routine work by the selection of active assistants. On the other hand, your headship of the committee would secure the confidence of the community in the proper methods to be pursued in carrying the elections, and especially secure the confidence of those from whom contributions may be expected that the money will be in every respect carefully husbanded and expended only for legitimate campaign purposes. I know that the labor and responsibility seem in some respects a thankless task, and yet your sturdy Republicanism and your earnest desire to continue that party in power will doubtless furnish all the motive that need be.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Sincerely, yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

HON. CORNELIUS N. BLISS,

198 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. Now hand to the reporter, to be marked "Exhibit C. N. B., No. 4," the letter dated May 6, 1904, addressed to Mr. Bliss by Theodore Roosevelt.

(The letter referred to is marked "Exhibit C. N. B., Jr., No. 4," and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT C. N. B., JR., No. 4.

Personal.]

WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, May 6, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. BLISS: I have just received your letter and read it to Cortelyou and Payne, both of whom will see you to-morrow or the next day. I also showed it to ex-Postmaster General Smith.

Now, my dear Mr. Bliss, I most earnestly hope, for the sake of the party and the country—not to speak of my own sake—that you will make up your mind to the sacrifice and will accept. If you do not I am not sure that there is anyone who can with advantage take the place, and I am sure there is no one who can begin to fill it as you will. You were in McKinley's Cabinet; you were Hanna's right-hand man; you are known all over the country as a public servant of marked ability and the highest probity; you are known to the business world as a representative business man; you have the confidence of the people, as no one else whom we could choose for the place could have it. You will not only render a great service by your work in the campaign, but from your position you would become of right one of the trusted and intimate advisers in all matters before the administration for the next four years, if we were successful. This would mean that your influence would be exerted as it could be in no other way. If you do not take the position you will nevertheless work almost as hard during the campaign, but your work will then redound very much less to your credit, and very, very much less to my advantage. You will have an executive committee and an advisory committee practically of your own choice, a vice chairman of the East, a treasurer of your own choice, and a vice chairman of the West, who will deal with the West. Your chief care will be New York State, and in New York State Odell, as chairman of the State committee, will take an immense amount of the burden off your hands. Speaking quite truly, I believe the work will not be anything like the work of the ordinary chairman has of necessity been, and that it will not be a very serious drain upon you. I know that there will be a certain amount of wear and worry, and I appreciate fully how much I am asking of you; but I sincerely believe that the burden will not be overpowering, and I know that the service you can render will be literally inestimable. I appeal to you as strongly as I can to say "yes."

Very faithfully, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

HON. CORNELIUS N. BLISS,

117 Duane Street, New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Now hand to the reporter, to be marked "Bliss Exhibit, No. 5," the letter of March 26, 1906, addressed to Mr. Bliss by Theodore Roosevelt.

The letter referred to is marked "Exhibit C. N. B., jr., No. 5," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT C. N. B., JR., NO. 5.

Personal.]

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, March 26, 1906.

MY DEAR MR. BLISS: I hope you have not been bothered by these outrageous assaults upon you in connection with the campaign contributions. I have felt the keenest indignation as I have read them. No upright and honest man who knows anything of the real facts will attack you, and every thinking man knows that you stand as preeminent among the men of the very type upon whom all chance of disinterested and effective work for decent politics depends, for you are the most conspicuous representative of that class—as yet, I am thankful to say, considerable in numbers—whose members are willing at great personal inconvenience and sacrifice to give their time and money to the service of a cause the triumph of which represents not one particle of advantage to themselves personally, save in so far as they share with the rest of our eighty millions of people in the credit that comes from honorable and efficient conduct of the affairs of the people as a whole. A free government can only exist if good citizens at election time are given the chance to express their views and if the cause of good government has the arguments on its behalf presented fairly through the press, on the stump, and in pamphlets no less than through private conversation. This, of course, means that there must be organization; and when the organization covers 3,000,000 square miles of territory inhabited by eighty millions of people, and when it is desired to elect a President, the Members of the House of Representatives, and the legislatures which elect United States Senators, there must be expense.

So far from its being true that there is any lavish and unusual expenditure of money at an American election, such as the national election of 1904, the reverse is the fact. I was interested in comparing the figures which show that the expenditures in the Presidential election in 1904 were less than the expenditures at the last preceding election for members of Parliament in the British Isles, although there is there a very stringent "corrupt practices act," and although the voting constituency in the British Isles is so much smaller. Not one successful attempt has been made or can be made to show that a dollar of this amount was spent improperly by the sanction of any responsible person, nor, indeed, has the attempt been made to show that it has been spent improperly at all; while it is not only true that there has come to me no suggestion that the giving of contributions entitles any giver to any consideration beyond his fellows, but it is furthermore true that on a number of occasions (as, for instance, in connection with the tobacco interests and in connection with a wealthy man who wished to be considered for the position of minister to Belgium) contributions were immediately declined when it was found either that the donor hoped for some favor, or even that the Government was about to take some action which affected the donor or donors; while as soon as it was known that certain big financiers, as well as influential politicians, like Mr. Odell, had urged the appointment of James H. Hyde as ambassador to France Mr. Cortelyou, and I believe you also, protested strongly, and the financiers in question at once accepted my explanation of why it would be impossible to put so young and untried a man in any such position and abandoned all effort to press him.

As I understand, the amount of money raised in the 1904 campaign was about one-half as large as that raised in the 1896 campaign; it is publicly stated that it was but one-half as large as the amount raised for President Cleveland's campaign in 1892. This, however, is aside from the point, which is that the money was spent legitimately in legitimate campaign expenses and that no pretense has been made to the contrary; and that it was contributed freely by men who did not ask and who never have received one particle of consideration in the shape of legislation or administrative act as a reward for having so contributed—exactly as no man has been in any way discriminated against for not having contributed. Mr. Frick was one of my staunchest allies; Messrs. Ryan and Belmont two of our most resolute opponents. Not only has no single act been done by the administration or by Congress which could be construed by its most frantic opponent into favoring the financial interests of the one side or discriminating against the financial interests of the other, but I do not believe that even the most mendacious critic would assert such to be the

case. There is a peculiar baseness in the hypocrisy of the men who now attack you for receiving contributions in 1896, when in that year it was known to everyone who knew anything at all in New York that the big corporations of the highest repute and standing were contributing and were frantically applauded for doing so.

Just before the campaign closed Mr. Cortelyou issued an address, in which he spoke as follows:

"The campaign has been conducted with a much smaller fund than any presidential campaign for the past 12 years. The fund this year, although made up of contributions from more than 4,000 persons, has been about one-half as large as the Republican fund when President McKinley was elected in 1896 and about one-half as large as the Democratic fund when President Cleveland was elected in 1892. Every part of this fund has come from voluntary contributions made without demand, importunity, or pressure, and without any agreement, pledge, promise, assurance, or understanding, express or implied, regarding the policy or the action of the administration, or looking to any benefit or advantage to any contributor except the benefit which will come to all business and to all our people from the continuance of Republican policies and Republican administration."

This described with exactness the course you and he had followed; it was in every respect right, and if the campaign were to be waged over again I should have nothing to say to both of you save to tell you to conduct the campaign in the precise manner in which you actually did conduct it. That all the contributors were worthy no man can say, any more than it is possible to say that all those are worthy who are contributing to the Red Cross fund for the Japanese sufferers, which is being collected under my authority. But in one case as in the other the immense majority of those contributing were and are worthy men, influenced by worthy motives. Indeed, considering the action taken by the administration in the various suits against the Beef Trust, the Tobacco Trust, against the railroad companies in the matter of rebates, etc., and in view of the course we have pursued throughout in all corporation matters, it ought to be wholly unnecessary so much as to allude to any allegation that any contribution from any source has been allowed to influence in the slightest degree any administrative act of mine or any legislation I have recommended since I have been President. I have already stated that no attempt to influence me in such matters has ever been made by anyone connected with the campaign.

So much for the general situation. Now, as to you personally. The two hardest positions and the most important in any political campaign are those of chairman and treasurer of the national campaign committee. You accepted the treasurership in 1896, in 1900, and finally, with great reluctance, again in 1904, at my repeated and urgent request. Not merely is it true that you wanted nothing and would take nothing for yourself, but during my entire time as President you have come to me for no favor, and have merely, when I asked you, been willing to give me counsel and advice, just as Root gave it when he was out of the Cabinet, just as President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, gives it, as Albert Shaw gives it, and as President Wheeler, of the University of California, gives it; as many other citizens in private life give it. In other words, you have rendered the highest public service, not only absolutely without any kind of reward, but at the cost of great personal inconvenience. For this you have had not one particle of acknowledgment, except the sense of being one of those men whose best effort has always been at the command of the Nation, and whose public service has been as efficient as it was faithful and disinterested; and you have won the lasting respect, admiration, and affection of all those who know you intimately, and especially of

Your attached friend,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

HON. CORNELIUS N. BLISS,
117 Duane Street, New York, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bliss, if you will leave those letters with the reporter they will be returned to you later.

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any other documents which in any manner bear upon the campaign of 1904?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The next question I shall ask you will call for hearsay evidence, and I think it is the feeling of the committee that in this case we shall have to take hearsay evidence for what it may be worth.

Between the time the campaign of 1904 began and your father's death do you recall any conversation with him in regard to the campaign of 1904?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir. I can not testify that he did not speak to me in the course of casual conversation about the campaign—he probably did—but I can not recall any conversation which would enable me to throw any light whatever upon the subject of this inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. Was your attention ever called to an interview which was published in the Herald December 24, 1911—an interview with your father? In this record it appears in a letter that Col. Roosevelt addressed to the chairman of the committee.

Senator PAYNTER. What page is it on, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. It is on page 189 of the record.

Mr. BLISS. I do not know anything about that matter, I am sorry to say.

The CHAIRMAN. You never heard your father say anything about that?

Mr. BLISS. If I did, I can not remember that.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean you do not recall any conversation about it?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bliss, is there anything that you recall bearing upon the question of contributions to the campaign of 1904 that you have not already stated?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; there is not.

The CHAIRMAN. You made a search among your papers, and those that you have given to the committee are the only ones you have been able to find?

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir; the only ones bearing on the subject of campaign contributions for the campaign of 1904.

The CHAIRMAN. During the campaign of 1904 were you with your father at any time when the question of campaign funds was discussed?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; I do not know that I was.

The CHAIRMAN. How old are you now?

Mr. BLISS. Thirty-eight.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you ever hear him mention the name of Mr. H. H. Rogers or Mr. John D. Archbold?

Mr. BLISS. I presume I have heard him mention the names a great many times, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you hear him mention either of them in connection with the campaign of 1904?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

Senator PAYNTER. During the campaign or subsequently?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you ever hear him mention the names of contributors to the campaign fund of 1904 or 1908?

Mr. BLISS. Very rarely; and I have no recollection of him ever telling me the amounts of any contributions that would be of interest to this committee.

Senator PAYNTER. So that you do not recall that he ever mentioned anybody's name in connection with the campaign fund of 1904 or 1908?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir. He was not treasurer in 1908.

Senator PAYNTER. Oh, yes; it was 1904 when he was treasurer.

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You did not hear him mention any name during the campaign or subsequently to the campaign in connection with contributions?

Mr. BLISS. I do not remember any.

Senator PAYNTER. Were you associated with him in business?

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. At the same office with him?

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Who assisted him in performing his duties as treasurer?

Mr. BLISS. I think Mr. Robert Dixon was one of his assistants at that time.

Senator PAYNTER. Is he living?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; he is not.

Senator PAYNTER. Who else had some connection, if any, with him?

Mr. BLISS. Mr. Duell was with him in one of the campaigns.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. who?

Mr. BLISS. Mr. Duell—D-u-e-l-l. I do not remember which campaign it was.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you remember his initials?

Mr. BLISS. I think Charles; but I am not sure about that.

Senator PAYNTER. Where did he keep his records of these contributions?

Mr. BLISS. I do not know, sir. I have never seen them; never had access to them.

Senator PAYNTER. Did he personally make the entries in the record that was kept for that purpose or did some one assist him?

Mr. BLISS. I do not know about that. I presume the books were kept at the rooms of the national committee.

Senator PAYNTER. At the national committee?

Mr. BLISS. I presume so.

Senator PAYNTER. You did not find any such books among your father's papers?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; I have never seen the books.

Senator PAYNTER. When did your father die? It may appear in the record, but I have forgotten.

Mr. BLISS. A year ago this October. He was ill for nearly a year before he died.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you any personal knowledge or know from hearsay what became of the books that were kept of the contributions?

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir. My father told me during his last illness that some time after his resignation from the treasurership and his retirement from public life that he allowed the books and the records which had been kept to be destroyed. He kept some of them, I understand, but allowed them to be destroyed or destroyed them. He had kept some of them for 16 years—since the campaign of 1892—kept them as

long as they were of any use to him; but when he knew he had a very short time to live he destroyed them, because he did not wish to have them made the subject of lies and political controversy, when he could not be here to explain them.

Senator PAYNTER. Were the records of 1904 destroyed?

Mr. BLISS. I suppose so.

Senator PAYNTER. He did not refer to the records of that year especially?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. When did you have this conversation with your father in respect to the destruction of these books?

Mr. BLISS. During his last illness. He was ill for about a year. He died in October.

Senator POMERENE. Was anyone else present when you had this conversation?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; not that I know of.

Senator POMERENE. Were not these books in existence at that time?

Mr. BLISS. I could not say, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you destroy any of them?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir. I never saw any of them, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I beg your pardon.

Mr. BLISS. I have never seen the books.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know who did destroy them?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether copies of any of these books or documents or records were retained by anyone?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; I know nothing about that.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether a copy of this report was furnished to any other member of the committee?

Mr. BLISS. I do not quite understand your question. Copy of what report?

Senator POMERENE. Was a copy of this book containing the list of receipts and disbursements given to any other member of the committee?

Mr. BLISS. Not that I know of, sir.

Senator POMERENE. That is to say, you have no knowledge, either one way or the other, on this subject?

Mr. BLISS. I have no knowledge of it.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any information as to whether there is any copy of this report of 1904 in existence at the present time?

Mr. BLISS. Do you mean from books?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; I have no information on the subject.

Senator POMERENE. No information, either one way or the other?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Your statement, as I recall it, in answer to Senator Paynter, was that some of these books were destroyed.

Mr. BLISS. No, sir. My statement was that the books and records which my father kept as treasurer of the national committee were destroyed some time after his resignation from the treasurership, and my statement was that he informed me of that fact during his last illness. That is all I know about it.

Senator POMERENE. Did you understand him to mean that reports of all these campaigns in which he had been actively interested were destroyed?

Mr. BLISS. He did not say, sir. He simply stated that the books and records were destroyed.

Senator POMERENE. What was the occasion for bringing this matter up?

Mr. BLISS. My father was ill at the time, and I was executor of his estate.

Senator POMERENE. Had you suggested the matter to him?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did he bring it up voluntarily?

Mr. BLISS. He simply told me that that was the fact.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you have named Mr. Dixon and Mr. Duell as being his assistants.

Mr. BLISS. I said I thought Mr. Duell was his assistant in the 1904 campaign. It may have been one of the previous ones. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; that was the statement.

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did any one else assist him in the keeping of these books during that year?

Mr. BLISS. I presume so. I do not know who they were.

Senator POMERENE. Who would likely have that knowledge?

Mr. BLISS. I could not say, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Were you about the national headquarters during that campaign?

Mr. BLISS. Very rarely.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of anyone who would have access to or assisted in the keeping of these books?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of anyone who could give us that information?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Have you talked with any members of the national committee touching on the disposition or whereabouts of these books and papers since this investigation began?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; I do not know that I have.

Senator POMERENE. Or with anyone representing any of those members of that committee?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; I do not know that I have.

Senator POMERENE. Now, do you know George R. Sheldon?

Mr. BLISS. I do.

Senator POMERENE. Have you talked with him on this subject?

Mr. BLISS. I have. I have talked with Mr. Sheldon in a general way, as I happened to see him. I would see him from time to time in various places, and I talked with him in a general way about it. He was interested in it, and so was I.

Senator POMERENE. Did he assist your father in keeping these books?

Mr. BLISS. Not that I know of, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did he at any time have access to these books?

Mr. BLISS. He may, sir; I can not say about that. He succeeded my father as treasurer, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did he say anything to you on the subject?

Mr. BLISS. I do not know that he did, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Is it not a fact that he audited these books?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; you will find the auditor's name on the papers.

Senator POMERENE. Well, there may have been another auditor.

Mr. BLISS. I do not know as to that.

Senator POMERENE. Who was this auditor; what was his name?

Mr. BLISS. James G. Cannon.

Senator POMERENE. Who is James G. Cannon?

Mr. BLISS. He is president of the Fourth National Bank, New York.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether James G. Cannon personally made this audit, or did he have some other bookkeeper or accountant make it?

Mr. BLISS. He signed it, sir. In what way he made it, I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Have you had any talk with him on that subject?

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir; I see him every week.

Senator POMERENE. What did he say to you with respect to the auditing of these books?

Mr. BLISS. He said he audited them, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Is there anything further?

Mr. BLISS. I do not know of anything further.

Senator POMERENE. Did he mention any of the contributors whose names appear?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; he did not remember anything about it. It was eight years ago, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Well, a while ago, in answer to a question which was addressed to you, you said that you had heard some of these names mentioned, as I recall it.

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Who were the persons whose names were mentioned to you as being among the contributors?

Mr. BLISS. I did not say I heard them being mentioned as among the contributors. Senator Clapp asked me if I had heard my father mention the name of Mr. Archbold and Mr. H. H. Rogers, and I told him I had undoubtedly heard him mention them a great many times; but I did not say I heard him say anything about their contributing to the national campaign.

Senator POMERENE. Now, I will ask you directly: Did you hear him say anything on that subject?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; not to my remembrance.

Senator POMERENE. Did you hear him say anything with reference to contributions by anyone?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Let me call your attention to a specific incident: During the campaign of 1904 there was some publicity touching the fact of a contribution by the Standard Oil Co. Do you recall that?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; I do not. That is eight years ago and I do not remember it. I remember that there has been a great deal of publicity lately about it.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. BLISS. I do not remember that there was any at that time.

Senator POMERENE. Did you ever say anything to your father, or your father to you, on the subject of that contribution?

Mr. BLISS. If we did talk on the subject, sir, I can not say. It would be extremely unlikely that we had any conversation on the question of campaign contributions.

Senator POMERENE. Did you know of these letters that were written by President Roosevelt to Mr. Cortelyou?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; not until I saw them in the paper.

Senator POMERENE. Have you no recollection at all touching this controversy that appeared in the papers about the contributions by the Standard Oil Co. and other large interests?

Mr. BLISS. I have testified as to that already, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I repeat the question.

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any recollection on that subject?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any information as to where this committee can get the facts——

Mr. BLISS. I have not.

Senator POMERENE (continuing). Relative to these contributions?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you, yourself, destroy any of these records?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or any papers or letters pertaining to this campaign which belonged to your father?

Mr. BLISS. I have destroyed a great many papers and records in the course of the last year, sir, as executor of my father's estate. I found a great many letters and letter books which it was my duty to go over, and I examined them and kept only such papers as I thought were of interest to the family and his heirs. There was no question of campaign contributions that I know of at the time of my father's death, and, as far as I know, I have not destroyed any records or papers that would be of interest to this committee.

Senator POMERENE. Did you destroy any papers or any records which pertained to the campaign of 1904?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; I can not say as to that. I have destroyed a great many papers during the last 12 months. I have testified to you that, so far as I know, I have destroyed no papers or records which would be of interest or throw any light on the subject of this inquiry.

Senator POMERENE. Did you destroy any of these papers at the instance of your father?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I am coming back to Mr. Sheldon again. Did Mr. Sheldon say to you that he had audited these books?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; he did not.

Senator POMERENE. Did he say anything to you on that subject?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did he discuss with you who the contributors were to that campaign, or any of them?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Have you produced all of the letters and records and documents pertaining to this campaign of 1904 of which you have knowledge?

Mr. BLISS. I have so testified, sir—that I have produced everything I have.

Senator POMERENE. I notice that you say, "everything you have."

Mr. BLISS. Everything that I know of, sir; everything that I have jurisdiction over, or have had jurisdiction over, since my father's death.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of anyone else who has any papers or documents or letters pertaining to this campaign of 1904 in their possession or under their control?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; but my answer, sir, may have misled you. I have no intention of giving an answer which would make you think there was anybody else who had any papers, because I know nothing of them whatever.

Senator POMERENE. I have not so accused you; I simply want to get at the facts.

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir; I thought the answer was a little indefinite, and I had not intended to make it so.

Senator POMERENE. I realize that witnesses are sometimes not as explicit as they intend to be.

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

Senator PAYNTER. I would like to ask a question, if you please: You gave the names of two gentlemen that you thought perhaps assisted your father in keeping the records of the 1904 campaign.

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. One was Duell; I did not quite catch the name.

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir; D-u-e-l-l.

Senator PAYNTER. His given name was what?

Mr. BLISS. I think it was Charles; but I am not sure, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Please give me the name of the other gentleman.

Mr. BLISS. Robert Dixon; but he is not alive, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Does Mr. Duell live in New York City?

Mr. BLISS. I do not know where he lives, sir. I have not seen him for a great many years.

Senator PAYNTER. Can you tell the committee the reason why Mr. Cannon audited these accounts?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; I can not.

Senator PAYNTER. Was he connected with the national committee in any way?

Mr. BLISS. At that time; I do not think so, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Does his report show the date that he examined the books?

Mr. BLISS. He is president of the Fourth National Bank, and my father was director there for a great many years.

Senator POMERENE. The Fourth National Bank?

Mr. BLISS. The Fourth National Bank.

Senator PAYNTER. You stated that you did not destroy any papers connected with the campaign of 1904 that would be of any interest to this committee?

Mr. BLISS. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, the committee might think that they were of interest to us. Will you please state what you destroyed——

Mr. BLISS. Well, I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. And let us determine whether they were of interest.

Mr. BLISS. Letter books and other files which I would not recall any more, but every conceivable thing. My father was connected with a great many things—McKinley memorials and everything else. The political letters, I imagine, must have been kept in the files of the national committee, because I found so few papers in reference to that subject.

Senator PAYNTER. What was the character of the papers you found in reference to the campaign of 1904?

Mr. BLISS. Letters.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you find a book containing letters addressed to your father as treasurer of the committee?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; not at all.

Senator PAYNTER. You found letters which he had written to other persons?

Mr. BLISS. I found various letters—books of them.

Senator PAYNTER. You mean copies of the letters?

Mr. BLISS. I mean copies of letters from my father; and I found many letters to my father, as I say, on every conceivable subject. My father was interested in a great many matters. Among those there may have been some letters, and probably were, which had an indirect bearing on the subject of the campaign. I do not remember them. I destroyed them months ago, and I destroyed them simply in the course of going over my father's papers to settle up his estate.

Senator PAYNTER. You destroyed them before this resolution was passed directing the investigation?

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you remember any letters of any kind in any of those books?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. In relation to the campaign?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You can not recall a letter?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir. I think I am perfectly frank in saying to you I do not think I have destroyed anything that would be of interest to this committee.

Senator PAYNTER. I can see how you could make that statement truthfully, and yet the committee might differ with you.

Mr. BLISS. That is very possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall destroying any paper that related to the campaign of 1904; and if so, what was it?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you desire to make any additional statement before you are excused?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Bliss, in what business were you engaged in 1904—you, personally?

Mr. BLISS. In my father's business.

Senator OLIVER. Your father's mercantile business?

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. You were not in touch with your father's political activities?

Mr. BLISS. Not at all; not at any time.

Senator OLIVER. I just wanted to bring that out.

Mr. BLISS. I rarely went to the office of the Republican national committee. If I did, I went to see my father about some business or personal matter.

Senator OLIVER. That is all I have to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. But you say there is nothing now that occurs to you that has not been inquired of bearing upon the campaign of 1904?

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. There are a couple of other questions I want to be sure I understand you about. You stated, if I understood you correctly, that your father ordered or had destroyed certain of these records during his last illness; is that correct?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir; I stated that during my father's last illness he informed me that some time after his retirement from public life and resignation from the treasurership of the committee that the books and records had been destroyed.

Senator POMERENE. You do not mean to say, then, that any of these books and records were destroyed during his last illness?

Mr. BLISS. I do not know when they were destroyed.

Senator POMERENE. At any time after he had talked with you on this subject was he able to be about and attend to matters of that kind himself?

Mr. BLISS. He was quite ill, sir, when he told me.

Senator POMERENE. Confined to his bed?

Mr. BLISS. He had been very ill for a year, and he was not able to do any active work.

Senator POMERENE. After he had told you that had he been to his office?

Mr. BLISS. I can not remember whether he went to his office after that or not.

Senator POMERENE. Were the books and records kept at his office or at his home?

Mr. BLISS. At his office.

Senator POMERENE. I mean those pertaining to these campaigns.

Mr. BLISS. I do not believe those pertaining to the campaign contributions were kept at his office at all. I have no reason to think so.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know who was left in custody of these books and papers at the office?

Mr. BLISS. They were not at the office. I have charge of everything at the office.

Senator POMERENE. I understand, but you said they were not at your office. I mean his private, personal office. I am speaking now of national headquarters. Do you know?

Mr. BLISS. No; I know nothing about that whatever.

Senator POMERENE. You said that your mother and sister were co-executors with you. Have they had possession of any of these records and papers?

Mr. BLISS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I assume you looked after that matter yourself?

Mr. BLISS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. When you obtained the papers, when they came into your possession, those that you have presented to-day, where did you find them?

Mr. BLISS. In my father's business office, where he had his personal office.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

**TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM H. LIBBY, OF THE STANDARD OIL CO.,
NEW YORK, N. Y.**

William H. Libby, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Please give your name in full, your residence, and occupation to the reporter.

Mr. LIBBY. William H. Libby; residence, New York; for 25 years the accredited foreign representative of the Standard Oil Co., and for the last 10 years retained in an advisory position relative to the affairs of the Standard Oil Co.

The CHAIRMAN. When did your service change from general foreign representative? My attention was distracted for a moment.

Mr. LIBBY. About 10 years ago. When my health failed I gave up active affairs abroad, and since then have been retained in an advisory capacity in the offices at New York.

The CHAIRMAN. During that 10 years you have had your office with the Standard Oil people?

Mr. LIBBY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had your attention called to the series of articles that are appearing in the Hearst Magazine?

Mr. LIBBY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. During the last three months, I think.

Mr. LIBBY. Yes, sir; my attention has been called to them.

The CHAIRMAN. During these ten years last preceding have you had anything to do or been consulted with reference to legislation?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir; only perhaps so far as certain tariff legislation was concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LIBBY. When it was threatened to exempt the Standard Oil Co. from all privileges of the protective policy and place all petroleum products on the free list, I made some effort at that time in opposing legislation of that character.

The CHAIRMAN. You refer to the spring of 1909, at the time of the passage of the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill?

Mr. LIBBY. Yes, sir; at the time when petroleum and its products were first threatened, and then actually placed upon the free list. We regarded that as an injustice to the petroleum industry of the United States, and the very little that was in my power to do in opposition to it was done.

The CHAIRMAN. During that time, in the spring of 1909, you made some visits to the Capitol?

Mr. LIBBY. Yes, sir; I made occasional visits to Washington during the last few years; not frequent, but occasional.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall at this time any other legislation during these ten years in which your company was particularly interested?

Mr. LIBBY. Nothing that could be termed legislation. During the last two years one of the great subsidiaries of the Standard Oil Co. found their large investments in Austria-Hungary threatened with confiscation by the unfair and illegal action of the Austrian Government. A bill was introduced in the Senate, about the time of the potash difficulties in Germany. On reading that measure I found that its passage might favorably affect our interests by delegating to the executive power of the Government certain retaliatory options which they could not exercise under the laws as they exist to-day. That is the only legislation of late years that I can recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall who introduced that bill?

Mr. LIBBY. I think it was introduced by Senator Curtis, of Kansas.

The CHAIRMAN. Introduced in the Senate?

Mr. LIBBY. In the Senate; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall about when that bill was pending?

Mr. LIBBY. I think it would have been about 18 months ago. It was introduced, I think, during two sessions of Congress. The first time it was not acted upon, and the second time it has not been acted upon. I personally think it should be acted upon affirmatively, and should do to-day everything in my power to urge such action by the Senate.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else in your company had any particular relation to looking after this legislation—the potash bill and the tariff bill?

Mr. LIBBY. The potash bill—it was only incidental.

The CHAIRMAN. I know.

Mr. LIBBY. I do not know of anyone, sir, that came to Washington on that business, except myself.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a fact, then, is it not, that during the last few years, four or five at least, you have been the one in the Standard Oil Co. to look after legislation here, if there was any that required looking after?

Mr. LIBBY. I have mentioned the only two matters of legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. I say, you were the one——

Mr. LIBBY (interposing). Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). Of the Standard Oil people who had that in hand?

Mr. LIBBY. Yes, sir; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The revision of the tariff of 1909 was foreshadowed in the campaign of 1908, was it not?

Mr. LIBBY. I hardly think so, in that special respect.

The CHAIRMAN. No; not that special respect; but the campaign of 1908 did foreshadow some tariff legislation?

Mr. LIBBY. Yes, sir; that would be my judgment, certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. What interest did you take in that campaign?

Mr. LIBBY. No personal interest beyond that I——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). No; I mean your company.

Mr. LIBBY. I do not know, sir. So far as contributions are concerned, you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir; I have no knowledge of the campaign contributions, if any, of 1908.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the impending tariff revision the subject of discussion among your people in the fall of 1908?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir; only when the measure was introduced, and we found that as a part of that measure was placing all foreign crude petroleum and all its products on the free list, we opposed it.

The CHAIRMAN. You have known, or have you known, for some years, of an organization known as the congressional campaign committee, each two years?

Mr. LIBBY. You mean the national——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). No; I am not speaking now of the national campaign committee; but in addition to that of what is known as the congressional campaign committee, one Republican and the other Democratic. At least I suppose there has been a Democratic campaign congressional committee.

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir; I have no knowledge upon that subject whatever. My attention has never personally been called to it. I know nothing concerning it.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you never have known of the congressional campaign committee?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1904 what do you know of campaign contributions?

Mr. LIBBY. Only by hearsay, Mr. Chairman. I was informed at that time and believed, and still believe, that the Standard Oil organization made a very large contribution to the national campaign fund of that year.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were you informed by?

Mr. LIBBY. I was informed by Mr. H. H. Rogers.

The CHAIRMAN. Did this information purport to be given at the time of the contribution?

Mr. LIBBY. Yes; it was given only in a general way. I knew Mr. Rogers very well; was meeting him constantly, and it was merely mentioned—not the size of the contribution, by whom made, or to whom, but merely the fact that the organization was making a very liberal contribution to the campaign fund.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you not know at that time what the amount of the contribution was?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir. I do not recall that the amount was mentioned. It was stated to be a large contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first learn of the amount of it?

Mr. LIBBY. I think only when the matter had been publicly discussed during the last few years. I had no further knowledge of it at the time than what I am stating. I was so informed and so believed.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Rogers purport to have had any communication with the members of the national committee of 1904?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir; no details were gone into at all. It was merely incidental; the fact was mentioned of a large contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not a director, were you?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir. I have been the accredited foreign representative of the Standard Oil Co. That has been my position for many years.

The CHAIRMAN. During these 10 years, have you had anything to do with State legislation regarding the interests of Standard Oil?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir. My interest has only been where our foreign affairs were involved.

The CHAIRMAN. And the only two instances that you recall are the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill when petroleum was reached and the one relating to potash?

Mr. LIBBY. Yes, sir; the measure introduced by Senator Curtis, of Kansas.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of your own knowledge, or by repute among your associates—and by associates I mean, of course, the Standard Oil people——

Mr. LIBBY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of any contributions other than the one that Mr. Rogers spoke of?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir; I have not been consulted as to political contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. You never have had anything to do with making them yourself?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At any time during these 10 years?

Mr. LIBBY. At no time during these 10 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything connected with the campaign of 1904, or the campaign of 1908, that you know of that has not been called to your attention by this examination?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Libby, did Mr. Rogers mention Mr. Bliss's name in connection with the large contribution of 1904?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir; not to the best of my recollection.

Senator PAYNTER. Did he mention the fact that there was an additional effort made—an effort made to get additional contributions?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir; I never heard of that until long afterwards.

Senator PAYNTER. That conversation you had with Mr. Rogers was during the campaign of 1904?

Mr. LIBBY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Libby, who of your company would have control of political contributions?

Mr. LIBBY. In 1904?

Senator POMERENE. Well, we will address the question to that year.

Mr. LIBBY. Well, I should have said Mr. Rogers and Mr. Archbold and the directors generally.

Senator POMERENE. Who are some of the other directors, or were at that time?

Mr. LIBBY. At that time—several of them have since died. Mr. Rogers is dead; Mr. W. H. Tilford is dead; Mr. Barstow is dead. I think at that time Mr. William Rockefeller was still a director.

Senator POMERENE. Is he still living?

Mr. LIBBY. Mr. William Rockefeller? Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What other directors are there living now who were directors at that time?

Mr. LIBBY. Well, I would have to consult my archives a little to answer that question positively. As I remember, the directors at that time they were Mr. William Rockefeller, Mr. Archbold, and Mr. C. M. Pratt; and whether Mr. Flagler had resigned from the directorate at that time I do not know. I think he was still a director.

Senator POMERENE. He is still living, is he?

Mr. LIBBY. He is still living; yes, sir. I think I mentioned the principal ones, living and dead.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any correspondence with any of the Members of Congress or of the Senate touching this legislation to which you have referred?

Mr. LIBBY. Oh, sir, I think I saw several of them personally. I think, if I remember rightly, I prepared certain data and memoranda in advocacy of the benefits of the protective policy of the United States to be extended to the petroleum industry, as well as to other industries.

Senator POMERENE. Whom did you see on that subject?

Mr. LIBBY. I do not remember that I saw very many people on that subject. I think my work was very largely with my pen.

Senator POMERENE. Have you copies of those letters?

Mr. LIBBY. I do not know, sir. They may be filed away among my archives—memoranda in advocacy of what I regarded as our rights in that matter.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I have no question about the rights of that matter. Can you produce the letters or copies of the letters?

Mr. LIBBY. I will try, with pleasure, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. We will be very glad to have you do so.

Mr. LIBBY. I think I have some memoranda bearing on that question of my own composition.

Senator POMERENE. You say you did not see very many. Whom did you see?

Mr. LIBBY. In relation to——

Senator POMERENE. I spoke of seeing them on the subject of tariff legislation. Whom did you see on that subject?

Mr. LIBBY. I think when I came to Washington that I entered a sort of personal remonstrance to the President——

Senator POMERENE. To whom?

Mr. LIBBY. To the President and to various officials of the Department of State.

Senator POMERENE. Who was President at that time?

Mr. LIBBY. Mr. Taft.

Senator POMERENE. Whom else did you see?

Mr. LIBBY. I do not know that I saw anyone in Washington particularly, except officials of the Department of State. I endeavored to arouse the interest——

Senator POMERENE. But you did not see them with reference to the tariff, did you?

Mr. LIBBY. Only so far as their influence might be exercised in favor of what I regarded as justice to the petroleum industry.

Senator POMERENE. Whom did you talk with on that subject?

Mr. LIBBY. Well, if I remember rightly—well, I can not say now at this late date, who I did talk with. Anyone whom I met I was perfectly willing to argue that question with.

Senator POMERENE. You did not talk with the messengers of the State Department?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir; I had seen during my many visits to Washington—I had seen the Secretary of State on several occasions, and I think most of the officials connected with the department here.

Senator POMERENE. My question is with whom did you talk on the subject of this tariff.

Mr. LIBBY. I do not remember.

Senator POMERENE. Do you remember any of them?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir; not positively. It was a subject I was glad to talk about with whomever I might meet.

Senator POMERENE. I have no doubt about that. Did you have any correspondence with any of them on the subject of the tariff?

Mr. LIBBY. Not that I recollect. As I have said, I will look over my archives, and if I can find anything, memoranda or copies of any letters on the subject, I will very cheerfully produce them.

Senator POMERENE. Now, did you have any talk with any of the Congressmen or Senators at any time touching the matter of campaign contributions?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. With anyone?

Mr. LIBBY. With no one whomever.

Senator POMERENE. Did you write any letters to anyone on that subject?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir; none whatever.

Senator POMERENE. Neither in the campaign of 1904 nor 1906 or 1908?

Mr. LIBBY. In neither of those campaigns.

Senator POMERENE. Nor 1910?

Mr. LIBBY. In neither of those campaigns?

Senator POMERENE. Now, the only two subjects that you ever considered with anyone was the subject of the tariff, so far as it affected petroleum and its products, and the property rights which you had in Hungary?

Mr. LIBBY. Those are the two subjects covered by legislation. I have been repeatedly in Washington in conference with the Department of State on many subjects which were of great importance to the petroleum industry of the United States in its foreign relations. By way of illustration, the Chinese boycott, the threat of the German Government to institute a petroleum monopoly.

Senator POMERENE. Did you talk with anyone other than Mr. Rogers with reference to these contributions?

Mr. LIBBY. Not at that time that I can remember. The matter might have been incidentally mentioned—I rather think it was, but I can remember nothing specific.

Senator POMERENE. Did you talk with any members of the national committee?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or of any other committee pertaining to these matters?

Mr. LIBBY. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all I care to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you will look for the papers. There was a subpoena issued for you to bring any papers that you had.

Mr. LIBBY. I did not think of bringing papers relative to anything except that would have a bearing on campaign contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh.

Mr. LIBBY. I have been questioned with reference to tariff legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you have searched your records for papers on contributions?

Mr. LIBBY. Oh, yes, sir; I have absolutely no papers, books, documents, or data of any kind bearing on political contributions of the Standard Oil Co.

Senator POMERENE. There is another matter: Have you looked for the books which would probably contain the entries, as book entries, with reference to these contributions which are alleged to have been made?

Mr. LIBBY. I have never had any custody of any books of the Standard Oil Co.

Senator POMERENE. Who would have custody of books and records of the company which would show transactions such as the contribution in 1904, if one was made?

Mr. LIBBY. Well, I should suppose that the directors of the company, or its secretary or treasurer; I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Who is the secretary, or was, at that time?

Mr. LIBBY. The present secretary is Mr. Charles T. White.

Senator POMERENE. Charles T?

Mr. LIBBY. Yes, sir; Charles T. White, Senator; he has been subpoenaed to appear here.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Archbold stated to the committee that he would see that all books and papers relating to this subject are produced.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; and the secretary and general counsel are under subpoena to make search for anything in their possession.

Mr. Libby was thereupon excused, and the committee went into executive session, after which a recess was taken until 2 o'clock p. m.

AFTER RECESS.

The committee met at 3.30 o'clock p. m.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Mr. Tegethoff, you may take the stand.

TESTIMONY OF C. C. TEGETHOFF, AGENT FOR THE E. H. HARRIMAN ESTATE.

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name to the reporter.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. C. C. Tegethoff.

The CHAIRMAN. And your residence.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Brooklyn, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. And your occupation.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Agent.

The CHAIRMAN. What relation do you sustain to the Harriman estate?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Agent for the estate.

The CHAIRMAN. What relation did you sustain toward him before his death?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Private secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall when he died?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. September 9, 1909.

The CHAIRMAN. You were in his employ at the time of his death?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did at that time or subsequently any of his papers come into your possession?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How soon after his death?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. About a year, I should say.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whose possession they were in in the interim?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Mrs. Harriman's.

The CHAIRMAN. You were served with a subpoena to produce such papers as were in your custody and under your control relating to the subject matter of this inquiry?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You will be sworn.

Thereupon C. C. Tegethoff was sworn and testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. You made search for papers?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And have some with you?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. You may produce the papers.

Witness produces papers.

The CHAIRMAN. These are copies, I understand.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Oh, you want the originals?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I want the originals for the examination, and then you may submit the copies. Have you those arranged in chronological order?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir; they were.

The CHAIRMAN. Then they are. Mark this "Exhibit H. A."

The exhibit was marked "H. A." and handed to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. What is this exhibit?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This is a receipt given Mr. Harriman for his contribution to the campaign fund of 1904 by Mr. Bliss, signed by him as treasurer of the national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the amount?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. The amount is \$50,000.

The CHAIRMAN. And the date?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. The date is November 2, 1904.

The paper referred to is as follows:

EXHIBIT H. A.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, MADISON SQUARE,
New York, November 2, 1904.

Received from E. H. Harriman fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000).

C. N. BLISS, *Treasurer.*

E. H. Harriman to C. N. Bliss, Dr.

Address _____.

For campaign contribution, \$50,000.

(Memorandum voucher.)

Received at _____, 190—, of E. H. Harriman the sum of \$50,000 in full for the above account.

(Indorsed on back.)

Correct, _____.

Correct, _____.

Correct, _____.

Approved, C. C. Tegethoff.

Approved, _____.

Audit No. 959. Cash No. 8918.

E. H. Harriman to C. N. Bliss..... \$50,000

Entered in November, 1904. Paid by check No. 8918, dated November 1, 1904, on Manhattan County Bank.

Amount.

Chargeable to personal expenses.....

The CHAIRMAN. You may mark this exhibit "H. B."

The exhibit was marked "H. B." and handed to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that exhibit?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This is a letter from Theodore Roosevelt, marked "Personal," dated "The White House, November 12, 1901."

The CHAIRMAN. Read it.

Mr. TEGETHOFF (reading):

EXHIBIT H. B.

[Personal.]

C. C. T.

Alaska.

WHITE HOUSE,

Washington, November 12, 1901.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: You could not have given me anything that would have pleased me more. I am delighted with the volumes. As you know, I have always felt that you did as great a service as could well be done, not merely by the service itself, but by the example set when you planned and put through this expedition.

By the way, is there any chance of your coming to Washington within any reasonable time? I should like to get you to dinner and talk over various matters.

Faithfully, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN,

120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Senator PAYNTER. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. November 12, 1901.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this exhibit "H. C."

The exhibit was marked "H. C." and handed to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This is a letter from Theodore Roosevelt, dated October 2, 1903.

The CHAIRMAN. Read it, please.

Mr. TEGETHOFF (reading):

EXHIBIT H. C.

WHITE HOUSE,

Washington, October 2, 1903.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: Are you to be in Washington this fall? If so, I should like to dine or lunch with you. There are one or two matters I should like to go over with you.

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN,

120 Broadway, New York.

(In pencil at the bottom of this letter the following appears:)

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Yours of 2d received. I know of nothing to take me to Washington at present, but may go later on. I would, however, with pleasure run down at any time if you would like me to do so. The inclosed copy of letter, written by me several days ago, covering statement of expenditures other than for maintenance and operation on our various lines may interest you.

The feeling of apprehension now extant in financial circles will necessitate extreme restriction for next year.

(Copy.)

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Yours of the 2d received. I know of nothing to take me to Washington at present, but may go later on. I would, however, with pleasure run down at any time if you would like me to do so. The inclosed, written by me several days ago, covering statement of expenditures other than for maintenance and operation on our various lines may interest you.

The feeling of apprehension now extant will necessitate extreme restriction for next year.

Sincerely, yours,

(Signed)

E. H. HARRIMAN.

To the PRESIDENT,

Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the next.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. The next is a letter from Theodore Roosevelt dated October 9, 1903 [reading]:

WHITE HOUSE,

Washington, October 9, 1903.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: There is no hurry about my seeing you, for the only thing that could be pressing—that is, the financial situation—is not so at present. I was interested in the statement you inclosed.

Any time you come down this winter will do.

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN,

120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't there another paper attached?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Exhibit H. D."

The exhibit was marked "Exhibit H. D." and handed to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. What is this exhibit?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This is a copy of a letter from Mr. Harriman, addressed to the President under date of December 28, 1903. [Reading:]

EXHIBIT H. D.

[Copy.]

NEW YORK, December 28, 1903.

To the PRESIDENT,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have been requested to indorse Mr. W. C. Ralston as candidate for naval officer at San Francisco, which I cheerfully do.

E. H. HARRIMAN

The CHAIRMAN. There are some papers attached. Read them.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Here is a letter from Theodore Roosevelt, dated December 30, 1903, marked "Personal":

Personal.]

WHITE HOUSE,

Washington, December 30, 1903.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: I have just received your letter about the appointment of Mr. Ralston. There are one or two points in reference to the case which I should like to go over with you if you feel that you care to come to Washington. Is there a chance of your doing so?

Very truly, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN,

120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Then there is a copy of a letter from Mr. Harriman, addressed to the President, under date of January 8, 1904, as follows:

[Copy.]

NEW YORK, *January 8, 1904.*

To the PRESIDENT,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I thank you for your prompt reply to my letter regarding the appointment of Mr. Ralston.

I am informed that he has been indorsed by many of San Francisco's leading business men, who stand in the first rank, some of whom requested me to take an interest in the matter, and I cheerfully complied by writing you, as I happened to have personal and favorable acquaintance with Mr. Ralston.

It is hardly of importance enough for me to specially make a trip to Washington and give you undue trouble. There is a chance of my going to Washington later on, but how soon I can not tell, as I am more than fully occupied here. Mr. Maxwell Evarts, our attorney, will probably be in Washington during this month, and I will ask him to call on you, if you desire, with a view of aiding you in any way I can.

Very truly, yours,

E. H. HARRIMAN.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this exhibit "H. E."

The exhibit was marked "H. E." and handed to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. What is this exhibit?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This is a letter from Theodore Roosevelt, under date of May 17, 1904.

EXHIBIT H. E.

DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: Can you take lunch with me Monday, May 23d, at 1.30? Is this entirely convenient? Would dinner on Wednesday or Thursday be better?

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN,
120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. There are some papers attached. You may read those.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This is a copy of a letter from Mr. E. H. Harriman, dated May 18, 1904.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It would be a little more convenient for me to dine with you on say Wednesday or Thursday, if you prefer, but I can arrange to lunch with you on Monday if that suits you better. Can you not have messages sent me either by telegraph or telephone?

Sincerely, yours,

(Signed) E. H. HARRIMAN.

TO THE PRESIDENT.

A copy of a telegram signed Jos. Hellen, secretary, addressed to Mr. William Loeb, jr., Secretary to the President, under date of May 19, 1904.

Your telegram to Mr. Harriman received. He accepts and will be there Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock.

JOS. HELLEN, *Secretary.*

Senator POMERENE. Let me get the name of the secretary.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Joseph Hellen.

Then a letter signed by Joseph Hellen, secretary, under date of May 19, 1904, addressed to William Loeb, jr., Secretary to the President:

DEAR SIR: Mr. Harriman directs me to acknowledge receipt of your telegram, and to say that it will give him much pleasure to accept the President's invita-

tion to dine with him on Wednesday next at 8 o'clock p. m., to which effect I wired you, as per copy attached.

Yours, very truly,

(Signed) JOSEPH HELLEN, *Secretary.*

The CHAIRMAN. You may mark this exhibit "H. F."

The exhibit was marked "H. F." and handed to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. What is this exhibit?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. It is a letter signed by William Loeb, jr., Secretary to the President, dated May 27, 1904. (Reading:)

EXHIBIT H. F.

WHITE HOUSE,
Washington.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: The President wishes me to remind you that on Wednesday, June 15, he will expect you at dinner at 8 o'clock. He has also asked Attorney General Knox, Secretary Cortelyou, and Mr. Murray Crane.

Very truly, yours,

(Signed) WM. LOEB, Jr.,
Secretary to the President.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN,
120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

[Telegram sent.]

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD CO.,
120 Broadway, New York, June 15, 1904.

To WILLIAM LOEB, Jr.,
Secretary to the President, Washington, D. C.:

Mr. Harriman requests that you will communicate with him on arrival at New Willard at 5 p. m.

(Signed) JOS. HELLEN, *Secretary.*

[Telegram received.]

Received at 16 Broad Street (Stock Exchange Building).

WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D. C., June 15, 1904.

To JOSEPH HELLEN,
Secretary to E. H. Harriman, 120 Broadway, New York:

Letter received. Eight o'clock is hour for dinner. Not necessary for Mr. Harriman to come before that.

(Signed) B. F. BARNES,
Acting Secretary to the President.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this exhibit "H. G."

The exhibit was marked "H. G." and handed to witness.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state what that is.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. A letter signed William Loeb, jr., secretary to the President, dated May 28, 1904 (reading):

EXHIBIT H. G.

(Received June 1, 1904. Referred to ———. Answered June 1, 1904.)

WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, May 28, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: The inclosed address contains an allusion to what the President and you were speaking of the other night. Will you return it after you have read it?

Very truly, yours,

WM. LOEB, Jr.,
Secretary to the President.

E. H. HARRIMAN, Esq.,
1 East Fifty-fifth Street, New York, N. Y.

(Inclosure.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this exhibit "H. H."

The paper was marked "Exhibit H. H." and handed to witness.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state what that exhibit is.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Letter signed Theodore Roosevelt, dated May 28, 1904. [Reading:]

EXHIBIT H. H.

WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, May 28, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: Many thanks for your letter of 27th. All right; I shall wait until I hear from you further.

The copy of your address has come to hand, and I shall read it with interest. Pray accept the inclosed copy of my presidential speeches and messages.

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN,
1 East Fifty-fifth Street, New York, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. And what are the attached papers?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Copy of letter from Mr. Harriman, addressed to the President, under date of June 2, 1904. [Reading:]

120 BROADWAY,
New York, June 2, 1904.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have yours of the 28th ultimo, with the inclosed copy of your speeches and messages, and beg you will accept my thanks for same. I will certainly take much interest in reading them.

You saw something of Gov. Pardee last year. Have you considered him in connection with the position we talked about? I have not yet been able to get at Messrs. Dodge, Hughitt, and Frick, but hope to be able to accomplish it the first part of next week.

Yours, sincerely,

E. H. HARRIMAN.

To the PRESIDENT, Washington, D. C.

Letter from Theodore Roosevelt, dated June 3, 1904, marked "Personal." [Reading:]
(Personal.)

WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, June 3, 1904.

DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: I like the man you mention in your letter, but I do not think that he comes up to the other one. I know the other's capacity from seeing him working in Congress. Of the two, for this position the Congressman is the best.

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN,
120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Copy of letter from Mr. Harriman, addressed to the President, under date of June 7, 1904. [Reading:]

120 BROADWAY,
New York, June 7, 1904.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have your letter of the 3d instant, and mentioned the other man hardly even as a suggestion, and I have no reason for believing that he could accept, if appointed, but he probably would be more acceptable to the people on the Pacific coast, and I believe they would find him the more capable of the two. In any event, the Congressman is also well thought of, and it is believed he would fill the position satisfactorily. Whoever is selected, it will have considerable influence with the public in their estimating the probable caliber of the next Cabinet.

Yours, sincerely,

E. H. HARRIMAN.

To the PRESIDENT, Washington, D. C.

Copy of letter from Mr. Harriman, addressed to the President under date of June 7, 1904. [Reading:]

120 BROADWAY,
New York, June 7, 1904.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I had a talk with Mr. Cleveland Dodge and am glad to be able to say that he believes your prompt action in Arizona last year did

more to save lives and property than anything that has been done for a number of years, and I am glad to be able to write you this as I agreed.

He asked me to meet their manager, Prof. Douglas, and talk that subject over as well as some others, but I do not think there is anything to add to what has already been said.

Yours, sincerely,

E. H. HARRIMAN.

To the PRESIDENT, *Washington, D. C.*

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Exhibit H. I."

The papers referred to were marked "Exhibit H. I.," and handed to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Please state the contents of Exhibit H. I.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Copy of letter from Mr. Harriman, addressed to the President, under date of June 28, 1904. [Reading:]

[Copy.]

EXHIBIT H. I.

JUNE 28, 1904.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I did not intend to direct attention to what I believe to be inevitable, but I may say now that I do believe it to be so, and not only believe it, but hope for the desired result. I want to assure you that I was only too glad to have been able to take part in the convention which recognized what was your due, and I believe everyone very heartily accorded it and will as heartily work for it.

I go aboard the steamer to-night, as we sail early to-morrow morning, and shall be absent about two months, but shall be in close enough communication to exercise my influence should it be necessary before my return.

Yours, sincerely,

(Signed)

E. H. HARRIMAN.

To the PRESIDENT,
Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. And what are the attached papers?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Letter from Theodore Roosevelt, dated June 29, 1904, marked "Personal." [Reading:]

(Personal.)

WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, June 29, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: I thank you for your letter. As soon as you come home I shall want to see you. The fight will doubtless be hot then. It has been a real pleasure to see you this year.

Very truly, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN,
120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Copy of letter from Mr. Harriman to the President, dated New York, September 20, 1904. [Reading:]

[Copy.]

NEW YORK, *September 20, 1904.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I was very glad to receive your note of June 29 last while I was in Europe. I am now getting the matters that accumulated during my absence somewhat cleared up, and if you think it desirable will go to see you at any time, either now or later. It seems to me that the situation could not be in better shape.

Yours, sincerely,

(Signed)

E. H. HARRIMAN.

To the PRESIDENT,
Washington, D. C.

Letter from Theodre Roosevelt, dated September 23, 1904, marked "Personal." [Reading:]

Personal.]

WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, September 23, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: I thank you for your letter. At present there is nothing for me to see you about, though there were one or two points in my letter of acceptance which I should have liked to discuss with you before putting it out.

With regards, and thanks for your kind letter, believe me,
Sincerely, yours,

(Signed) THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN,
120 Broadway, New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Exhibit H. J."

The paper referred to was marked "Exhibit H. J.," and was handed to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state the contents of that letter.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. It is a letter from Mr. Cortelyou, addressed to Mr. E. H. Hammond, care of Union Pacific Railway Co., New York City, dated Washington, D. C., July 20, 1904, marked "Personal." [Reading:]

EXHIBIT H. J.

(Republican National Committee: George B. Cortelyou, New York, chairman; Elmer Dover, Ohio, secretary; C. N. Bliss, New York, treasurer; William F. Stone, Maryland, sergeant at arms.)

Personal.]

(Received July 26, 1904. Referred to ———. Answered ———.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 20, 1904.

MY DEAR SIR: After a conference with Hon. Cornelius N. Bliss, treasurer of the Republican national committee, I write to say that it would give us great pleasure if you could see your way clear to serve on the auxiliary committee of the Republican national committee.

If you can without embarrassment serve on this committee I should be glad to be advised at the earliest possible moment, and Mr. Bliss will communicate with you further regarding details.

Please consider this communication as entirely personal, as the committee is not to be publicly announced.

Very sincerely, yours,

GEO. P. CORTELYOU.

Mr. E. H. HAMMOND,
Care of Union Pacific Railway Co., New York City.

Copy of a letter signed "Joseph Hellen, secretary," dated July 26, 1904, addressed to Hon. George B. Cortelyou, chairman of the Republican national committee, Washington, D. C., marked "Personal." [Reading:]

EXHIBIT H. J. (P. 2.)

Personal.]

JULY 26, 1904.

HON. GEORGE B. CORTELYOU,

Chairman Republican National Committee, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your personal letter of the 20th instant, addressed to Mr. E. H. Hammond, care Union Pacific Railway Co., New York, but no doubt intended for Mr. E. H. Harriman, was received this morning, the 26th instant, Mr. Harriman is now in Europe and will not return here before September. I will communicate the contents of your letter to him at once.

Yours, truly,

(Signed) JOSEPH HELLEN, Secretary.

Senator POMERENE. What is the date of that, please?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Mr. Hellen's or Mr. Cortelyou's?

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Hellen's.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. July 26, Mr. Hellen's, and July 20, Mr. Cortel-you's.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Exhibit H. K."

The paper referred to was marked "Exhibit H. K." and handed to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state the contents of this exhibit.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Letter from Theodore Roosevelt, dated October 10, 1904, addressed to Mr. Harriman, marked "Personal." [Reading:]

EXHIBIT H. K.

(Rubber stamp:)

New York, N. Y.,
October 12, 1904.

WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, October 10, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: When you wrote me before, I did not feel the situation was such that I was warranted in asking you to take the trouble to come down here, but in view of the trouble over the State ticket in New York I should much like to have a few words with you. Do you think you can get down here within a few days and take either lunch or dinner with me?

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN,
120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Copy of letter from Mr. Harriman, addressed to the President, under date of October 12, 1904. [Reading:]

EXHIBIT H. K. (P. 2.)

[Copy.]

NEW YORK, October 12, 1904.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Yours of the 10th received by me to-day.

I am giving a very large part of my time to correcting the trouble here, and intend to do so if any effort on my part can accomplish it. I am giving up other engagements, and delayed a trip which I ought to make to the West for this purpose, and will take occasion the first of next week to run down to see you, and think by that time the conditions will be very much improved.

Yours, sincerely,

E. H. HARRIMAN.

To the PRESIDENT,
Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Exhibit H. L."

The paper referred to was marked "Exhibit H. L." and handed to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state the contents of this exhibit.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Letter from Theodore Roosevelt, dated October 14, 1904, marked "Personal." [Reading:]

EXHIBIT H. L.

Personal.]

WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, October 14, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: A suggestion has come to me in a roundabout way that you do not think it wise to come on to see me in these closing weeks of the campaign, but that you are reluctant to refuse, inasmuch as I have asked you. Now, my dear sir, you and I are practical men, and you are on the ground and know the conditions better than I do. If you think there is any danger of your visit to me causing trouble, or if you think there is nothing special I should be informed about, or no matter in which I could give aid, why, of

course, give up the visit for the time being, and then a few weeks hence, before I write my message, I shall get you to come down to discuss certain Government matters not connected with the campaign.

With great regard, sincerely, yours,

(Signed)

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN, 120 Broadway, New York.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the attached paper?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Copy of letter signed Alex. Millar, Secretary, dated October 15, 1904, addressed to William Loeb, jr., Secretary to the President. [Reading:]

[Copy.]

OCTOBER 15, 1904.

DEAR MR. LOEB: Referring to the President's letter of the 14th instant, to Mr. E. H. Harriman, the contents of which I have communicated to him in the country, kindly say to the President that, owing to the death of Mrs. Harriman's brother, Mr. Wm. H. Averell, at Rochester, Mr. Harriman will not return to the city until after the funeral, which is to be held on Tuesday, and on his return he will go down to Washington to meet the President.

Requesting that you lay this information before the President without delay, I am,

Yours, very truly,

(Signed)

ALEX. MILLAR, Secretary.

WM. LOEB, Jr., Esq.,

Secretary to the President, Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Exhibit H. M."

(The paper referred to was marked "Exhibit H. M." and handed to the witness.)

The CHAIRMAN. You may state the contents of this exhibit.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. A copy of a letter from Mr. Harriman, addressed to the President, under date of November 24, 1905. [Reading:]

EXHIBIT H. M.

[Copy.]

120 BROADWAY.

New York, November 24, 1905.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Before I left for Japan in the summer you asked me to write in case anything of interest came to my notice. Our treatment there was most cordial, and we had a warm welcome, because of our being Americans and representative of American development.

Our experiences were very interesting, and at some time I hope to talk them over with you. There was nothing special came up that I thought necessary to write to you, except the matter of the relations of the American shipping interests, and on this subject I wrote to Secretary Taft, at Yokohama, explaining the situation, and requesting him to present the matter to you and arrange for a conference after my return. I have heard nothing as yet from him.

I was surprised to learn that Minister Griscom is returning to this country, and I sincerely hope it will be only temporary, for from my observation his standing among the people at Tokio, both foreign and native, and official and otherwise, could not be better. His organization was well directed and well supported, and I am sure he and his assistants will carry out any confidence that may be reposed in them. If you desire, I can some time talk to you on this subject.

At Peking the conditions seemed to be very different, and we were deliberately deceived and misrepresented by our minister. Although it related to an unimportant matter, still it showed the disposition of the minister and his first secretary, and their standing must be reflected to all Americans.

The trans-Pacific transportation subject, about which I wrote Secretary Taft, is a live issue, and our course must soon be determined.

Yours, sincerely,

(Signed)

E. H. HARRIMAN.

To the PRESIDENT,

Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the paper attached?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. A letter from Theodore Roosevelt, dated November 25, 1905. [Reading:]

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, November 25, 1905.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: Although your letter was marked "Personal," I have taken the liberty of placing it before Root, in whose discretion I knew you have entire confidence. He ought to know what you say. Whenever you can get on here let me know, and I shall get you to come to lunch or dinner, when we can talk at length over those Eastern matters.

Sincerely, yours,

(Signed) THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN,
120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Exhibit H. N."

The paper referred to was marked "Exhibit H. N." and handed to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Please state the contents of that exhibit.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Letter from Mr. Harriman to the President, under date of November 30, 1904. [Reading:]

EXHIBIT H. N.

NOVEMBER 30, 1904.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have just had a telephone talk with Mr. Loeb, and requested him to give you a message from me.

I drew his attention to the last paragraph of your letter to me of October 14 last, and explained that of course I did not want to make a trip to Washington unless it should be necessary; that the only matter I knew of, and about which I had any apprehension, and which might be referred to in your coming message to Congress, is that regarding the Interstate Commerce Commission, and what the attitude of the railroads should be toward it.

I have communications from many conservative men in the West asking me to take the matter up, they having, which I have not, information as to what you propose to say in your message on that subject, and I am very apprehensive about it.

Mr. Loeb stated he believed that that part of the message could be sent to me, and I hope that he will do so. I sincerely believe it would be best for all interests that no reference be made to the subject, and in any event, if referred to, in such a way as not to bring about increased agitation. It is, as you well know, the conservative element, and the one on which we all rely, which is the most seldom heard from.

Yours, sincerely,

(Signed) E. H. HARRIMAN.

To the PRESIDENT,
Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the attached papers.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This is a letter from Theodore Roosevelt, marked "Strictly personal," dated November 30, 1904, as follows:

Strictly personal.]

WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, November 30, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: Mr. Loeb tells me that you called me up to-day on the telephone and recalled my letter to you of October 14, in which I spoke to you of a desire to see you before sending in my message, as I wanted to go over with you certain governmental matters, and you added that you had heard that I had referred to the Interstate Commerce Commission; that you regretted this and wished I had left it out. In writing to you I had in view, especially, certain matters connected with currency legislation, and had not thought of discussing railroad matters with you. However, if it had occurred to me, I should have been delighted to do so; but if you remember when you were down here, both you and I were so interested in certain of the New York political developments that I hardly, if at all, touched on governmental matters.

As regards what I have said in my message about the Interstate Commerce Commission, while, as I say, I should have been delighted to go over it with you, I must also frankly say that my mind was definitely made up. Certain revelations connected with the investigation of the Beef Trust caused me to write the paragraph in question. I went with extreme care over the information in possession of the Interstate Commerce Commission and of the Bureau of Corporations before writing it. I then went over the written paragraph again and again with Paul Morton, who is of all my Cabinet the man most familiar with railroad matters, of course, and with Root, Knox, Taft, and Moody. It is a matter I had been carefully considering for two years, and had been gradually though reluctantly coming to the conclusion that it is unwise and unsafe from every standpoint to leave the question of rebates where it now is, and to fail to give the Interstate Commerce Commission additional power of an effective kind in regulating these rates.

Let me repeat that I did not have this question in mind when I asked you to come down, but that I should most gladly have talked it over with you if it had occurred to me to do so; but, as a matter of fact, as you will remember, when you did come down to see me, you and I were both so engaged in the New York political situation that we talked of little else; and finally that the position I have taken has not been taken lightly, but after thinking over the matter and looking at it from different standpoints for at least two years, and after the most careful consultation with Morton, Taft, Moody, Knox, and Root, as to the exact phraseology I should use.

I do not send you a copy simply because I have given no one a copy, not even the men above mentioned. It is impossible if I give out copies of any portions of my message to prevent the message being known in advance; and the three press associations who now have the message are under a heavy penalty not to disclose a word of it before the appointed time.

Sincerely, yours,

(Signed)

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

E. H. HARRIMAN, Esq.,
120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

[Copy.]

DECEMBER 2, 1904.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Thank you for your favor of the 30th.

It was natural for me to suppose that railroad matters would be included in any discussion you and I might have before writing your message. I am of the opinion that an effective Interstate Commerce Commission could regulate the matter of rebates and absolutely prevent the same without any additional power of any kind, and, as you say, Paul Morton is more familiar with such matters than anyone else in your Cabinet, and I believe he will agree with me in this. I fear there has been a lack of cooperation.

During the enormous development of the last four years the railroads have found it very hard to keep pace with the requirements imposed upon them, and the so-called surplus earnings, as well as additional capital, have been devoted to providing additional facilities and the bettering and enlarging of their properties, so as to give the increased and better service required of them. This work of betterment and enlargement must go on, and is all important for the proper development of all sections of the country. There is little doubt that during the next decade every single-track railroad in the country will have to be double-tracked and provide large terminal and other facilities, and any move that will tend to cripple them financially would be disastrous to all interests over the whole country.

I beg that you will pardon my not signing this personally, as I have to leave to catch my train for Arden, and have asked my secretary to sign it for me.

Yours, sincerely,

(Signed)

E. H. HARRIMAN.

To the PRESIDENT,
Washington, D. C.

Senator POMERENE. What is the date of that?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. December 2, 1904.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Exhibit H. O."

The paper was marked "Exhibit H. O." and handed to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. State the contents of that exhibit.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This is a copy of a letter from Mr. Harriman, addressed to President Roosevelt, under date of December 20, 1904, as follows:

EXHIBIT H. O.

Subject: Politics—Arizona—Stillwell.

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD Co.,
EXECUTIVE OFFICES,
120 Broadway, New York, December 20, 1904.

To the PRESIDENT, Washington, D. C.

SIR: I am informed that there is likely to be a vacancy, by resignation, in the chief justiceship of the Territory of Arizona at an early date, and if so I wish to commend to your consideration for appointment to the position Hon. W. H. Stillwell, of the Phoenix, Ariz., bar, who has been practicing for some years in the courts of Arizona and who has very excellent standing as a man and lawyer. At one time he was one of the judges of the supreme court of Arizona, holding his appointment, as I understand, from President Hayes.

I respectfully suggest that Mr. Stillwell's willingness to accept the position affords an excellent opportunity for the selection of what I believe to be the very best material for one of the Territorial judgeships.

Respectfully,

E. H. HARRIMAN.

That was signed by Mr. Harriman personally.

The CHAIRMAN. I observe on that exhibit a pencil line drawn through the signature of Mr. Harriman. Is that not so?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about that, any explanation of it?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I have a press copy of this letter which bears Mr. Harriman's signature.

The CHAIRMAN. I observed, as I handed it to you, some statement at the top of the letter.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. "Politics—Arizona—Stillwell," a pencil notation.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the attached papers.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This is a letter from William Loeb, jr., secretary to the President. It is dated December 21, 1904, as follows:

WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, December 21, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: Your letter of the 20th instant, in behalf of Hon. W. H. Stillwell, has been received, and in reply I would say that the President does not know that there will be such a vacancy as you mention. He will, however, very carefully look the matter up.

Very truly, yours,

WM. LOEB, Jr.,
Secretary to the President.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN,
120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of the occasion of drawing the pencil line through the signature in this exhibit?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Exhibit H. P."

The paper was marked "Exhibit H. P." and handed to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the contents of this exhibit.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This is a copy of a letter to the President, dated January 24, 1905, as follows:

EXHIBIT H. P.

JANUARY 24, 1905.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Referring to our conversation of yesterday evening, I beg to say that all my information is to the effect that Chief Justice Edward Kent, of Arizona, is a good man, and I do not think you will make any mistake

in appointing him governor of that Territory. If you should make such appointment, then I beg again to urge the appointment of W. H. Stillwell, Esq., of Phoenix, as chief justice to succeed Judge Kent, for I am satisfied there is no more suitable man in the Territory for that important office.

Yours, sincerely,

(Signed) E. H. HARRIMAN.

To the PRESIDENT,
Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Exhibit H. Q."

The paper was marked "Exhibit H. Q." and handed to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. State the contents of this exhibit.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This is a copy of a letter signed by Alex. Millar, secretary, dated January 28, 1905, as follows:

EXHIBIT H. Q.

(Von Krumhaar.)

[Copy.]

JANUARY 28, 1905.

MY DEAR MR. LOEB: I have your note of the 26th instant, regarding appointment for Mr. von Krumhaar Wednesday morning next, and I have immediately placed the information in his hands to be guided thereby.

Yours, very truly,

(Signed) ALEX. MILLAR,
Secretary.

WM. LOEB, Jr., Esq.,
Secretary to the President,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the papers attached.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This is a copy of a telegram addressed to Mr. Loeb, as follows:

(Rush.)

JANUARY 27, 1905.

WM. LOEB, Jr.,
White House, Washington, D. C.:

Have not heard from you fixing day and hour regarding which we spoke yesterday.

ALEX. MILLAR.

The next is a copy of a telegram from William Loeb, jr., Secretary to the President, addressed to Mr. Alexander Millar, as follows:

WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D. C., January 27, 1905.

To Mr. ALEXANDER MILLAR,
Care E. H. Harriman, Esq.,
Equitable Building, New York, N. Y.:

Have written you making appointment for 9 o'clock next Wednesday a. m.

WM. LOEB, Jr.,
Secretary to the President.

The next is a letter from William Loeb, jr., secretary to the President, addressed to Mr. Alexander Millar, under date of January 26, 1905, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, January 26, 1905.

MY DEAR MR. MILLAR: Referring to our telephone conversation this morning, the President will give Mr. von Krumhaar a half hour Wednesday morning next, beginning at 9 o'clock, at the Executive Office. His photographer should be here a quarter before 9 and have his camera all set up. When Mr. Krumhaar comes I shall arrange with him about future sittings.

Very truly, yours,

(Signed) WM. LOEB, Jr.,
Secretary to the President.

Mr. ALEXANDER MILLAR,
Care Mr. E. H. Harriman, 120 Broadway, New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Excuse me; I am called out of the room. You can go on, Mr. Oliver.

Senator OLIVER. Mark this "Exhibit H. R."

The paper was marked "Exhibit H. R." and handed to the witness.

Senator OLIVER. Read the contents of that exhibit.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This is copy of a letter to the President, under date of January 28, 1905, as follows:

NEW YORK, January 28, 1905.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am informed that Mr. B. A. Fowler, of Arizona, will be urged for appointment as governor of Arizona, to succeed Gov. Brodie, and I wish to say that while I have no candidate to urge, yet I should very much regret the appointment of Mr. Fowler, and I sincerely trust that some other and, as I believe, more suitable man may be selected for the office.

Yours, sincerely,

(Signed)

E. H. HARRIMAN.

To the PRESIDENT,

Washington, D. C.

Senator OLIVER. Read the attached papers.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This is a letter from Theodore Roosevelt, dated January 29, 1905, as follows:

WHITE HOUSE,

Washington, January 29, 1905.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: Before receiving your letter I had in a way become committed to Fowler. He was our candidate for Congress, and his nomination seemed to me to be absolutely right. What influenced me most was Chief Justice Kent's emphatic indorsement of him. I may add that the only protest I received against Wells was on the ground (which I think is wholly untrue) that he is a Santa Fe man. What is there against Fowler?

Sincerely, yours,

(Signed)

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

E. H. HARRIMAN, Esq.,

120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

The next is copy of a letter from Mr. Harriman to the President, marked "Personal," dated January 30, 1905, as follows:

Personal.]

JANUARY 30, 1905.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I thank you for your letter of the 29th. My information is to the effect that Mr. Fowler is a very strong partisan of the Santa Fe and is practically dominated by Mr. Murphy, of that line. This is the general belief in Arizona, and I have been told that it was largely responsible for Mr. Fowler's defeat at the late election.

I never heard that Mr. Wells, to whom you also refer, was a Santa Fe man. He has the reputation of being an able and fair man, and his appointment would be satisfactory to us. I refer to Mr. E. H. Wells, of Prescott. However, as I said before, I have no candidate to urge, but I trust you will not appoint Mr. Fowler. I would like to talk to you, if possible, on phone about this.

Yours, sincerely,

(Signed)

E. H. HARRIMAN.

To the PRESIDENT,

Washington, D. C.

The next is a letter from Theodore Roosevelt, dated January 31, 1905, as follows:

Personal.]

WHITE HOUSE,

Washington, January 31, 1905.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: I have your letter of the 30th. As I wrote you, I am afraid I am committed to Fowler, and I do not see very well how I could get out of it. It would be very unpleasant for me, with Morton in my Cabinet, to say that I rejected him merely because I had heard that he was "a strong Santa Fe man" unless there was some specific objection to him. I need hardly tell you that if I appointed him I would twist his neck as if he was a chicken

the moment I found he was showing one particle of favor to the Santa Fe, or, for the matter of that, to the Southern Pacific, or any other railroad, just as I would twist it if I found he was discriminating against any railroad. How would it do for me to write him this in practically these words?

Sincerely, yours,

(Signed) THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

E. H. HARRIMAN, Esq.,
120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

The next is copy of a letter from Mr. E. H. Harriman, addressed to the President, dated February 1, 1905, as follows:

Personal.]

FEBRUARY 1, 1905.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Thank you for your letter of yesterday.

Mr. Morton being in your Cabinet is, it seems to me, a strong reason for not appointing a partisan.

Mr. Fowler's defeat last autumn is evidence that there is little or no sentiment for him in Arizona, and I believe Judge Kent's recommendation was influenced by Mr. Murphy.

The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Co's property in Arizona is exempt from taxation, and that company is without the same interest that we and other taxpayers have.

We have no candidate to suggest, and only wish a square deal, which we and others will not get by Mr. Fowler's appointment. Why not ask Gov. Brodie's opinion? Prevention is better than cure.

Yours, sincerely,

(Signed) E. H. HARRIMAN.

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a paper marked "Exhibit H. S." Please read it.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This is a letter from Theodore Roosevelt, addressed to Mr. Harriman, dated Oyster Bay, N. Y., July 1, 1905:

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: What are your movements this month. Can you come out and take lunch with me some time?

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN,
120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. And the attached papers?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Copy of a letter of Mr. Harriman to President Roosevelt, dated 120 Broadway, New York, July 5, 1905, as follows:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Yours of the 1st instant reached me at Arden yesterday.

At the end of this month, about the 20th, I expect to leave for the West, to be there and on the Pacific coast until the 16th of August, when I sail with my family and some of our officers for Japan, returning probably the end of October or beginning of November.

I will be glad at any time to go out and lunch with you, preferring the first or middle of the week rather than Friday or Saturday.

Yours, sincerely,

(Signed) E. H. HARRIMAN.

To the PRESIDENT,
Oyster Bay, Long Island.

Letter from William Loeb, jr., dated Oyster Bay, N. Y., July 6, 1905, as follows:

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: The President is in receipt of your letter of the 5th instant and requests me to say that he would be glad to have you come to lunch on Thursday, July 13, at 1 o'clock. Please be good enough to advise if you can come. Take 11.02 train from Long Island City, arriving Oyster Bay 12.20.

Very truly, yours,

WM. LOEB, Jr.,
Secretary to the President.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN,
120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Copy of letter from Alex. Millar addressed to Mr. Loeb under date of July 8, 1905, as follows:

DEAR MR. LOEB: Your letter of the 6th instant was forwarded to Mr. Harriman at Arden.

He requests me to notify you that he will be glad to accept the President's invitation on Thursday next, at 1 o'clock.

Yours, sincerely,

ALEX. MILLAR.
FWH.

WILLIAM LOEB, Jr., Esq.,
Secretary to the President,
Oyster Bay, Long Island.

Original telegram from William Loeb, jr., secretary, addressed to Mr. Harriman at Arden, N. Y., dated July 8, 1905:

My letter July 6 inviting you to lunch with President on Thursday should have given date as Friday. Please advise if you can come to lunch Friday, July 14, at 1 o'clock.

(Signed) WM. LOEB, Jr., *Secretary.*

Original telegram from William Loeb, secretary, dated July 9, 1905, addressed to Mr. Harriman at Arden:

Telegram received; engagement for lunch Friday, 1 o'clock p. m., noted.

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a paper marked "Exhibit H. T." Please read it.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Copy of a letter from Mr. Harriman addressed to the President under date of November 24, 1905:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Before I left for Japan in the summer you asked me to write in case anything of interest came to my notice.

This has already been read once, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a duplicate copy?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. It must be.

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a paper marked "Exhibit H. U." Please read it.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This is a letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Mr. Harriman, dated February 18, 1906:

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: I was sorry not to be able to make an appointment with you, but of course I was up to my ears immediately after the wedding, and on Sunday I have to make a rule to see no one except in altogether exceptional cases in the evening, and you are leaving on the 4 o'clock train.

It was a pretty wedding, was it not?

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN,
120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. These letters, copies purporting to be signed by Mr. Harriman, were they made by you?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you get the copies?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. The copies were made in my office.

The CHAIRMAN. When?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. On Friday or Saturday.

The CHAIRMAN. Made under your direction?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Made under my direction; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I meant. Did you compare them with the letter-press copies?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I have; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you testify that they are correct copies?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you find any other papers or documents of any kind connected with the campaign of 1904?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was Mr. Hitton—

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Mr. Hellen. He is assistant secretary of the Union Pacific Railroad Co., and acted at that time as Mr. Harriman's secretary in railroad matters.

The CHAIRMAN. He was assistant secretary to the company?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you, as I understand it, were Mr. Harriman's private secretary?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was Mr. Millar?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Mr. Millar is secretary of the Union Pacific Railroad Co.

The CHAIRMAN. You obtained these papers, you say, about a year after Mr. Harriman's death?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What knowledge have you of your own as to the whereabouts of those records during that year?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Well, I know they were in Mrs. Harriman's possession.

The CHAIRMAN. After Mr. Harriman's death, do you know who placed them in your possession; had you any knowledge of it?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I had no knowledge as to that at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You had no personal knowledge, then, that they were in her possession?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Only from her own word; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were with Mr. Harriman did you ever hear him say anything about contributions to the Republican campaign of 1904?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. More than once?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Well, I do not recall more than once.

The CHAIRMAN. About when was that?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. To the best of my recollection, in the latter part of 1907.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was present, if anyone, besides yourself and Mr. Harriman?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No one.

The CHAIRMAN. Just the two of you?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state that conversation, as you can recall it.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. As near as I can recall it, it was during the time of one of Mr. Harriman's illnesses, just shortly before Christmas, and he had called me up to his house to talk upon matters pertaining to his business; and when we had finished he got to talking over his relations that existed with Mr. Roosevelt then, and drifted back to 1904 and remarked then, as I knew, that he had been importuned by Mr. Roosevelt to come to Washington, and he had gone, and I also knew

the result of his visit was that at Mr. Roosevelt's request he had raised this money.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how much?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. The hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and his contribution—his personal contribution at that time of that sum—was \$50,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you cognizant at the time he was raising this money of the fact that he was raising the money?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he state to you at that time from whom this was being raised?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. He did not; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who made any contributions to that fund outside of this \$50,000?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I would not swear that I did; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In this conversation he had with you, about Christmas, 1907, was any reference made to Mr. Bliss?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Not at that time; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there at any time any conversation between Mr. Harriman and yourself?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No, sir; none at all.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time of the collection of this contribution in 1904, when you say you were cognizant of the fact of its being collected, your knowledge of that was from conversations with Mr. Harriman?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Not at that time; no, sir. I had actual possession of the checks that were received.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any of the signers of those checks?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No, sir; I could not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any of the amounts?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Well, I think there were two checks besides Mr. Harriman's of \$50,000 each. I am not certain about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, do I understand that at that time Mr. Harriman did not talk with you about this contribution that he was getting?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Not at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. You were with Mr. Harriman in 1908?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of his making any contributions in 1908 to the Republican national campaign?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I do not; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. During the time that you were with Mr. Harriman, do you know of his having made any contributions to congressional campaign committees?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You understand, do you, that in addition to a national campaign committee each party has a congressional campaign committee to contribute?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No, sir; I can not say that I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not understand that?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I did not understand that.

The CHAIRMAN. You never heard him talk of any contributions to the congressional campaign?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. None whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Hellen living?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is he now?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. In New York.

The CHAIRMAN. And his business?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Assistant secretary of the Union Pacific Railroad Co.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Millar, is he still living?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. His business?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Secretary of the Union Pacific Railroad Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Located in New York?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. In New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any reason to believe that there are any papers relating to this campaign of 1904, or bearing on the relations between Mr. Harriman and Col. Roosevelt, that were in Mr. Harriman's control or custody that you have not been able to get?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No, sir; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time you received the papers, the year after his death, did you receive them from Mrs. Harriman?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. From Mrs. Harriman; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was the transfer made?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Right in my office in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she bring them there?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How far did Mr. Harriman live from this office?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. The office is at Forty-first Street and Fifth Avenue, and the house at that time was at Fifty-fifth Street—about 14 blocks.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time was there anything said by Mrs. Harriman as to these papers being the complete papers that had been turned over to her upon his death?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. These papers have been added to since then.

The CHAIRMAN. From that source?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. She gave me the whole file at the time; she gave me all the personal papers. These papers have been selected from those—all of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but there are no papers here or copies of papers of which the originals were not given you by her at that time?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Oh, no. I did not understand your question.

The CHAIRMAN. Your answer would have been a little misleading, possibly. Do you know of any circumstance that you have not testified to bearing upon campaign contributions by Mr. Harriman or relations between Mr. Harriman and Col. Roosevelt?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the only conversation that you can testify to now is the one you have referred to at this time?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir; the one I have referred to.

Senator PAYNTER. I wanted to ask a question or two, but the letters are not here. I can state the substance of them. In one of the letters of the then President Roosevelt to Mr. Harriman he recites to the fact, as I remember it, that he was informed Mr. Harriman thought it was best for him not to come here in obedience to the

President's request that he come and have an interview with him. Do you remember the date of that letter?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No; I do not remember the date of it. I did not tax my mind with that.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not remember the date of that letter, and would not undertake to state the exact substance of it, but I know a letter has been read here in which the President said that he had been informed that Mr. Harriman thought it best for him not to come over here.

Senator OLIVER. The date of that letter is October 14th.

Senator PAYNTER. Then there is another letter here, written subsequent to the election, either in November or December, in which the President said to Mr. Harriman that he would have been glad to talk to him about railroad matters, but they were so busy talking about political matters and the conditions in New York when he was there that he had overlooked that matter. Do you recall that letter? I do not remember the exact language.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I recall both letters.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know whether Mr. Harriman visited the President between the first letter to which I have referred and some date before the election?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And conferred about New York matters?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know the date of that visit?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I do not. I have never intrusted my memory as to that, but I know he did visit him.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you understand at that time that it was in connection with the political conditions in New York or with his contribution?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Not to my personal knowledge; no. I surmised that it was, though.

Senator PAYNTER. You understood from Mr. Harriman that the \$250,000 was to be raised by Mr. Harriman and others?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir; and others.

Senator PAYNTER. And Mr. Harriman afterwards told you in regard to the matter that he had raised it?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I have some recollection that some two or three years ago some letter was published that Mr. Harriman wrote, or somebody wrote, to a man named Webster, in which these facts were detailed—the circumstances under which that money was raised.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I haven't been here all the time. Has that letter been put into the record, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Senator PAYNTER. What do you know about that statement of Mr. Harriman as to what occurred, or as to that letter?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I have a copy of that letter here in the letter book, if you would like to read it.

Senator PAYNTER. You have? I would like to have it made a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. You may read it, so that it will go into the record.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This is a letter written by Mr. Harriman, dated January 2, 1906, addressed to Mr. Sidney Webster, 245 East Seventeenth Street, New York City.

NEW YORK, January 2, 1906.

Mr. SIDNEY WEBSTER,

245 East Seventeenth Street, New York City.

DEAR MR. WEBSTER: I am glad to know that you are to be in town and hope soon to have an opportunity of talking the matters over with you.

I had the printed copies of the testimony sent you in hopes that you would after reading them give me some idea of where I stand, for I confess that I feel somewhat at sea in this whole insurance matter. The trouble originated in my allowing myself to be drawn into other people's affairs and problems from a desire to help them, and at their request. I seem to feel like the fellow who got in between the man and his wife in their quarrel. As to my political instinct, to which you refer in your letter of December 13, I am quite sure that I have none, and my being made at all prominent in the political situation is entirely due to President Roosevelt and because of my taking an active part in the autumn of 1904 at his urgent request, and his taking advantage of the position then created to further his own interests. If it had been a premeditated plot it could not have been better started or carried out. About a week before election, in the autumn of 1904, when it looked certain that the State ticket would go Democratic, and was doubtful as to Roosevelt himself, he, the President, sent me a request to go to Washington to confer upon the political conditions in New York State. I complied, and he told me he understood the campaign could not be successfully carried on without sufficient money, and asked if I would not help them in raising the necessary funds, as the national committee under Chairman Cortelyou had utterly failed to obtain them, and there was a large amount due from them to the New York State committee. I explained to him that I understood the difficulty here was mainly caused by the up-State leaders being unwilling to support Depew for reelection as United States Senator; that if he, Depew, could be taken care of in some other way I thought matters might be adjusted and the different contending elements in the party brought into close alliance again. We talked over what could be done for Depew and finally agreed that if it were found necessary he would appoint him as ambassador to Paris.

With full belief that the President would keep this agreement I came back to New York, sent for Treasurer Bliss, who told me that I was their last hope, and that they had exhausted every other resource. In his presence I called up an intimate friend of Senator Depew, told him that it was necessary in order to carry New York State that \$200,000 should be raised at once, and if he would help I would subscribe \$50,000. After a few words over the telephone the gentleman said he would let me know later, which he did, probably in three or four hours, with the result that the whole amount, including my subscription, had been raised. The checks were given to Treasurer Bliss, who took them to Chairman Cortelyou. If there were any among them of life-insurance or other like organizations, of course Cortelyou must have informed the President. I do not know that the subscribers were other than friends of Depew, who was an individual. This amount enabled the New York State committee to continue its work, with the result that probably at least 50,000 votes were turned in the City of New York alone, making a difference of 100,000 votes in the general result.

There are between 2,200 and 2,300 districts in the State of New York, and in a campaign such as that the expenditure of, say, \$50 in each district for campaign purposes, including the watchers on election day, would take more than \$100,000. Some time in December, 1904, on way from Virginia to New York, I stopped and had a short talk with the President. He then told me he did not think it necessary to appoint Depew as ambassador to Paris, as agreed; in fact, favored him for the Senate. I had not expected that he was the one to determine as to what would be necessary, but he arrogated that to himself, and of course I can say nothing further. After that I used what influence I could to have Depew returned to the Senate, and I considered there had been an implied obligation which should be lived up to.

This is the way I was brought to the surface in the political matters, as I had never before taken any active part and had only done what I could and any other private citizen might. So you see I was brought forward by Roose-

velt in an attempt to help him, at his request, the same as I was in the insurance matter by Hyde and Ryan by their request for help; and in the case of Ryan I would probably have dropped the matter after our first interview had it not been for my desire to save Belmont from taking a position for which he would have been criticized by the public press, as he was the one whom Ryan desired me to influence from opposing Morton from election as chairman on the Equitable board, and Belmont a few days afterwards thanked me for doing it, as if he had voted against Morton in view of his local traction contentions with Ryan it would have been misconstrued. Ryan's success in all his manipulations of traction deals, tobacco companies, manipulations of the State Trust Co. into the Morton Trust Co., and the Shoe & Leather Bank into the Western National Bank and then again into the Bank of Commerce, thus covering up his tracks, has been done by the adroit mind of Elihu Root, and this present situation has been brought about by the conditions and circumstances which have brought together the Ryan-Root-Roosevelt element. Where do I stand?

Yours, sincerely,

E. H. HARRIMAN.

The CHAIRMAN. What book does that appear in?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. This was Mr. Harriman's personal book.

The CHAIRMAN. What page?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Page 470.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, that relates to the campaign of 1904?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I had supposed I had asked you whether you had anything else that related to that campaign. Have you other letters in there that you have not given copies of here?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No; there are no others here. I had supposed a copy of this letter was there. I have no desire to——

The CHAIRMAN. I did not mean that.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I think the mistake was made in putting in the duplicate copy of that Japan letter instead of this.

Senator PAYNTER. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. January 2, 1906.

Senator PAYNTER. Two years or more after the election?

Senator OLIVER. About 20 months after the election.

Senator PAYNTER. Who is Mr. Webster? Is he a business man in New York?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. He was a lawyer.

Senator PAYNTER. A lawyer in New York?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Tegethoff, I want you to be a little more explicit about several of these matters. You say you got these letters from Mrs. Harriman. Now, did she bring to you these letters with reference to the subject to the campaign of 1904 alone, or were they included in a lot of other private letters?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. They were included in a lot of other private letters.

Senator POMERENE. It was not with reference to this subject matter, then, that these letters were brought to you and put in your possession?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Oh, no.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether there are any other letters in Mrs. Harriman's possession pertaining to this campaign?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I know that there are not.

Senator POMERENE. Have you made any search?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I have made a diligent search of all the files, and this is the result.

Senator POMERENE. Were the private letters and documents of Mr. Harriman during his lifetime kept at the office, or were they left at his home?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Oh, no; they were kept at his office.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you have produced here a receipt for \$50,000, and that seems to bear date November 2, 1904.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And you have stated that this is a part of the \$250,000 contribution?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You also stated that you had these checks in your possession. What was the occasion of their being in your possession?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. They were sent to my office, and I turned them over to Mr. Harriman. Our offices were separated.

Senator POMERENE. They were sent to you by whom?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Different brokers' houses.

Senator POMERENE. By the donors?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Not the donors themselves; no. These checks came through different brokers' houses, and sent to me.

Senator POMERENE. Were there communications with the checks?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. None whatever.

Senator POMERENE. Sent by messenger?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Sent by messenger.

Senator POMERENE. And were they all received on this particular day?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. They were received on November 1, I am quite positive; not November 2.

Senator POMERENE. And can not you now recall any of these checks?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No, sir; I would not want to attempt that.

Senator POMERENE. You say they were sent to you by brokers?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Were they the checks of the brokers or the checks of the donors themselves?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No; they were not the checks of the donors; I know that. They were checks of the brokers.

Senator POMERENE. You do not know who the brokers were. Do you know who the donors were?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I do not; no, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you now recall any of the brokers?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I do not.

Senator POMERENE. And when these checks came to you, did you turn them over to Mr. Harriman?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I did; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What disposition did Mr. Harriman make of them, if you know?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Well, I do know. Mr. Harriman turned them over to Judge Lovett.

Senator POMERENE. Judge Lovett. What is his first name?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Robert.

Senator POMERENE. Did he live in New York?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. His home is at Locust Valley, Long Island.

Senator PAYNTER. Is he president of the Southern Pacific Railway now?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No; not president. He is chairman of the board.

Senator OLIVER. His office is in New York?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Oh, yes.

Senator POMERENE. Did Mr. Harriman take a receipt for the amount of this contribution?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. The whole contribution, do you mean?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. That I could not say; I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether Judge Lovett has any receipts pertaining to this contribution?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I do not.

Senator POMERENE. Now, do I understand you to say that you had personal knowledge of the importuning of Mr. Harriman to come to Washington and take this matter up?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Mr. Harriman having told me himself, as I testified——

Senator POMERENE. I know, but that was later, during his illness in 1907.

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, will you just give that conversation, the full conversation, so far as it pertains to this matter or his relations with Col. Roosevelt?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. His remark to me at that time was, as I knew he had been importuned by the President to come to Washington, that he had gone, that he had returned, and at the President's request had raised this money, part of which was the contribution, the receipt for which you have there.

Senator POMERENE. What was the reason for bringing this subject-matter up at that time?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Nothing at all, except that he was reminiscing a little bit and talked over various matters and drifted back to 1904.

Senator POMERENE. Now, in your answer, you have said that Mr. Harriman said that he was being importuned, and then you added, "as I knew." What was your knowledge on that subject?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. As I knew he had raised the money—he had raised the money, as I knew.

Senator POMERENE. Did you know of these communications passing between the White House and Mr. Harriman during this campaign?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Not at that time; no, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you know of telephoning between the two places?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I have been present when Mr. Harriman has put in calls for the White House, and I presume he was talking to the President or Mr. Loeb.

Senator POMERENE. Do you have any knowledge of the conversations which occurred?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. None whatever.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

Senator PAYNTER. I have before me letter of October 14, 1904, the date of which I did not catch when I was asking you some questions, and in which it is stated: "The suggestion has come to me in a

round-about way that you do not think it wise to come to see me in these closing weeks of the campaign, but that you are reluctant to refuse inasmuch as I have asked you." That is October 14, 1904?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. I presume that the interview that Mr. Harriman had with the President, in which he said he was solicitous to raise the money, took place between October 14 and the 1st of November?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Is there any letter in this batch in which the President renewed his invitation to come to Mr. Harriman after the 15th of October?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No.

Senator PAYNTER. You say he was occasionally telephoning to the White House?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all. You will be subject to the call of the committee.

Senator POMERENE. I should like an opportunity to inquire of him to-morrow, as I have not had a sufficient opportunity to do so to-day. I regret very much, Mr. Tegethoff, to subject you to delay.

The CHAIRMAN. I was going to say that your papers will be returned to you.

TESTIMONY OF MR. CHARLES A. PEABODY.

Charles A. Peabody, having been duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name, please, to the reporter.

Mr. PEABODY. Charles A. Peabody.

The CHAIRMAN. And your address.

Mr. PEABODY. Thirty-two Nassau Street, New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Your occupation.

Mr. PEABODY. President of the Mutual Life Insurance Co.

The CHAIRMAN. During Mr. E. H. Harriman's life did you sustain any relations with him of a business nature?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the relation?

Mr. PEABODY. Well, for many years I acted at times as his attorney and sat on several boards with him, and had business relations with him of that nature.

The CHAIRMAN. Were your relations rather intimate than otherwise?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir; I think they were for many years.

The CHAIRMAN. Since his death what business or social relations have you sustained toward Mrs. Harriman?

Mr. PEABODY. Well, I am not practicing law generally, but I have acted as an adviser of Mrs. Harriman from time to time in matters connected with the estate.

The CHAIRMAN. You are rather friendly than otherwise?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir; I have been for many years, and know her well.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard Mr. Tegethoff testify here in regard to certain letters. Have you any knowledge, in the first

place, of the disposition of the papers of Mr. Harriman at the time of his death and afterwards?

Mr. PEABODY. I was very familiar with Mr. Harriman's personal office, and knew Mr. Tegethoff there for many years as his secretary and who had charge of his personal affairs. I knew in a general way his papers were there, to a great extent. There were a great many in my office—not papers of this character, but papers relating to his property, and such matters as that were in my office and are still.

The CHAIRMAN. You were served with a subpoena to produce papers relating to this case?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes. Well, I was telegraphed, and I said I would waive the subpoena.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Have you made any search for the papers?

Mr. PEABODY. I have thought of it a great deal. I know I have no papers relating to this campaign matter that we have before us. Papers of that kind would not, naturally, be in my office.

The CHAIRMAN. During his life did you have any of his papers relating to campaign or political matters?

Mr. PEABODY. He showed me one or two letters that have been read.

The CHAIRMAN. No; I mean were you custodian of them?

Mr. PEABODY. Not at all; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But I understand you were custodian of some of his papers?

Mr. PEABODY. Papers relating to his property and matters of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand, but you were not the custodian of his papers relating to political or campaign matters?

Mr. PEABODY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any reason to believe that there are any papers relating to campaign matters other than those that Mr. Tegethoff has been able to produce?

Mr. PEABODY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever talked with Mrs. Harriman about this matter?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. With reference to these papers?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And what was her answer to any inquiry you may have made?

Mr. PEABODY. I have talked within a week to her, two or three times, in reference to a publication in the newspaper which indicated that she was going to be subpoenaed here, and I told her that that was probably the necessary means taken to obtain the production of such papers as she had. I advised her generally to send all the papers here that related to this subject, and I thought in that case the committee would not require her personal attendance. She accepted that view very readily, and I subsequently talked with her last Thursday, before I came here to Washington, and I think I was present while some of these papers were being gotten together in Mr. Tegethoff's office. I do not think he was there at the moment, but I have no doubt in my mind that all there is relating to this subject is here now before you.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you, during Mr. Harriman's life, have any conversation with him in regard to campaign funds?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Especially with reference to the campaign of 1904?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. More than once?

Mr. PEABODY. Twice, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. When was the first time, as near as you can recall, and where?

Mr. PEABODY. The first one was in his office, toward the end of October, 1904.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyone else present?

Mr. PEABODY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state that conversation as near as you can recall it.

Mr. PEABODY. Mr. Harriman, on that occasion, showed me one of these letters, and I think two of them. I am not sure about the two, because there has been so much said about it, and I have seen them so many times, that I am not quite clear when I first saw them. But he showed me one which contained a reference to his going to Washington. It was quite by chance. The letter happened to be lying on his desk, and I had gone there on other business entirely.

He told me then that he had been to Washington and Mr. Roosevelt wanted him to raise some money for the campaign fund, and that he was then engaged in doing it. He mentioned the fact that he himself was subscribing \$50,000, and he hoped to raise the rest, which, I think, he mentioned as \$240,000. I have that figure in my mind. I never heard of \$250,000.

At that time while I sat by his desk he had a telephone conversation with a gentleman in New York who was raising or contributing some of it. I sat by while they talked about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who that was?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was it?

Mr. PEABODY. I hoped I would not bring any more names in here, but if the committee requires it——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I know; but the purpose of this investigation is to obtain that information.

Mr. PEABODY. The gentleman he talked to over the wire on that occasion was Mr. Hamilton Twombly.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hamilton Twombly?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his relation with any business organization?

Mr. PEABODY. Mr. Twombly was a man of prominence in the business world. His relation to business was quite general. I do not think he was an officer——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). But he was at the head of some particular business enterprise, was he not?

Mr. PEABODY. He was director of a number of corporations and an active man of affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. He is dead, I believe?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. About how long ago did he die, if you happen to recall.

Mr. PEABODY. Oh, within three or four years.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any other names?

Mr. PEABODY. No; I did not hear any other name in connection with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there anything said to indicate the amount of Mr. Twombly's contribution?

Mr. PEABODY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. It was about when?

Mr. PEABODY. This was late in October, 1904.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you have the next conversation, as near as you can recall?

Mr. PEABODY. I saw Mr. Harriman more or less every day in those times, when it may have been spoken of; but the next that I recall was the following December. I went to his house at Arden, where he was spending a few days; I think it was Christmas week.

The CHAIRMAN. That was December, 1904?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes; I think so; I think it was about New Year.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was there, if anyone, besides Mr. Harriman and yourself?

Mr. PEABODY. No one; I was sitting talking with Mr. Harriman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state that conversation, if you recall it.

Mr. PEABODY. That conversation was in relation to the reelection of Senator Depew. He told me on that occasion there had been a misunderstanding.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, one moment. This conversation related in its general scope to Col. Roosevelt, did it not?

Mr. PEABODY. Oh, yes; he said at the time he had raised this fund he supposed he had an understanding as to the appointment of Senator Depew to a foreign mission, but that it could not be carried out. He had not succeeded in carrying it out and that some of the friends of Senator Depew who had aided at the time thought that there was an implied understanding that Senator Depew should be taken care of in some way; and as he could not be taken care of with a foreign mission it had become necessary to arrange for his reelection.

You see, it is eight years ago, now, and it did not make very much impression on me, and I may have some of the details wrong; but I recollect the conversation.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any other conversation with Mr. Harriman?

Mr. PEABODY. I do not think I ever conversed with him on this subject again until several years later, when the Webster letter was published, and it was in the newspapers and in the air. I think that we may have spoken of it two or three times.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall anything that was said?

Mr. PEABODY. No; nothing special. Anything that was said was entirely confirmatory of what I have testified to here.

The CHAIRMAN. Your relations continued about as you have described them with Mr. Harriman up to the time of his death?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hear him say anything about contributions in 1908?

Mr. PEABODY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Nothing whatever?

Mr. PEABODY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Until you were here to-day and heard the statement, did you understand that in these campaigns there is a national committee and also a congressional campaign committee?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir; I knew that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hear Mr. Harriman say anything about contributions to the congressional campaign committees?

Mr. PEABODY. No; except I know in a general way that as a Republican he was in the habit of subscribing to some committee fund now and then. He was a man who was very much solicited that way for all sorts of things, and I think he was fairly liberal about it; but I do not know of any particular case.

The CHAIRMAN. Specially with reference to the congressional campaign of 1908?

Mr. PEABODY. No; I know nothing specially with reference to that.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not recall anything with reference to that?

Mr. PEABODY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you become president of the life insurance company?

Mr. PEABODY. January 1, 1906.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the company, to your knowledge, make any contributions to the campaign of 1908?

Mr. PEABODY. It did not.

The CHAIRMAN. You are still president of the company?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the company made any contributions to any preliminary campaign of 1912 for nomination for President?

Mr. PEABODY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you made any?

Mr. PEABODY. Personally?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. PEABODY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any having been made by any officer of the company?

Mr. PEABODY. No, sir; I do not know of anything at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any campaign contributions having been made by any officer of the company in the campaign of 1908?

Mr. PEABODY. No. You spoke of 1912 before?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. PEABODY. No; I do not know of any in 1908, either.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know any circumstance, Mr. Peabody, to which your attention has not been called that bears upon the question of campaign funds of 1904 and 1908, or the preliminary campaigns of 1912?

Mr. PEABODY. No, sir. Of course I know there was all that general talk about the insurance companies in 1904. I was not then connected with it. I have no personal knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. I know. You came into the presidency after that?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You came in after the investigation?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I am asking you if there is anything in your knowledge that you have in mind to which your attention has not been called, that bears upon the campaign funds of these years which I have mentioned?

Mr. PEABODY. No, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Peabody, in one of the letters that have been introduced here there is an allusion to the fact that Mr. Harriman, in gathering up this money, consulted an intimate friend of Senator Depew. Do you remember that circumstance?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Considering the relation that existed between Mr. Twombly and Senator Depew, is it not altogether likely that Mr. Twombly was the man that is alluded to in those letters?

Mr. PEABODY. I think it is.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Twombly had always been connected with the New York Central Railroad, in which Mr. Depew had been a leading officer for many, many years?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. And they were intimately associated together politically, socially, and in business?

Mr. PEABODY. I think so.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Peabody, you understood from Mr. Harriman that he was seeking to settle the troubles in the Republican Party in New York at the time he was solicited to raise this money?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you understand from him the fact that the up-State politicians were opposing the election of Senator Depew to the Senate, and that Mr. Harriman thought it important to remove that element of discord by securing a promise from the President to send him to France in the event of his success in the election?

Mr. PEABODY. That was my understanding. I do not know how much of it he said to me on that occasion or how much I have since acquired on reading these letters. I have no doubt of the fact myself.

Senator PAYNTER. Did Mr. Harriman tell you that he came to Washington to see the President, at the President's solicitation—that is, to raise this money at his instance and request?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you state the amount which Mr. Twombly had subscribed to this fund?

Mr. PEABODY. No; I never heard of that.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know who any others of the subscribers were?

Mr. PEABODY. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or the amounts which they gave?

Mr. PEABODY. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or how many they were?

Mr. PEABODY. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any connection with the Mutual Life Insurance Co. during the year of 1904 as a director or otherwise?

Mr. PEABODY. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I believe that company contributed toward that fund. What was the amount of it?

Mr. PEABODY. My recollection of it is that it was \$50,000. It was so published in the papers. I had no knowledge of it at the time,

and have no personal knowledge of it now. But in the insurance investigation——

Senator POMERENE. There was an investigation of it?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And you recall the fact that that investigation disclosed that there was \$50,000 paid by that company?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. That was the company's funds?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did any of the officials of the company contribute, if you know?

Mr. PEABODY. I do not know of any contributions.

Senator POMERENE. At the time Mr. McCurdy was the president of your company?

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of any correspondence which Mr. Harriman may have had with Mr. Cortelyou or other members of the national committee on the subject of the campaign contributions in 1904?

Mr. PEABODY. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. That is, you have no knowledge, you mean to say, do you?

Mr. PEABODY. I have no knowledge of it.

Senator POMERENE. You do not mean to say there was none?

Mr. PEABODY. Oh, not; I mean I have no knowledge of any.

Senator POMERENE. Or with Mr. Bliss?

Mr. PEABODY. Or with Mr. Bliss.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be all. You will, of course, be subject to the further call of the committee.

Mr. PEABODY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. With that understanding you may return to New York.

The witness was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will take a recess until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Thereupon, at 5.15 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, October 1, 1912, at 10 o'clock a m.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1912.

**SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,**

Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m., pursuant to adjournment, for the further consideration of the resolutions S. 79 and 386.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Oliver, Paynter, and Pomerene.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

TESTIMONY OF ELON HUNTINGTON HOOKER.

Elon Huntington Hooker, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Please state your name in full.

Mr. HOOKER. Elon Huntington Hooker.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your residence?

Mr. HOOKER. New York.

The CHAIRMAN. And your occupation?

Mr. HOOKER. Engineer.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you any connection with the preliminary campaign of Col. Roosevelt for the nomination in the spring and summer of 1912?

Mr. HOOKER. I had an informal connection with the preliminary campaign. There was no treasurer, and I acted in an informal personal capacity to some extent in that connection.

The CHAIRMAN. About when did you begin in that relation?

Mr. HOOKER. I was made treasurer of the New York County Roosevelt committee about the latter part of February of this year, and continued in that capacity for a few weeks, and then gradually, as that work finished, took on some of this other work.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any records pertaining to the contributions and expenditures while you acted as treasurer of the county committee?

Mr. HOOKER. I had those in full. They were all filed with the secretary of state at Albany.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you copies here?

Mr. HOOKER. I have copies here.

The CHAIRMAN. You may present them.

The witness here produced the papers called for. The exhibit is marked "Exhibit Hooker A," and is as follows:

HOOKEE EXHIBIT A.

ALBANY STATEMENT, APRIL 15, 1912.

STATEMENT OF TREASURER OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE, PRIMARY ELECTIONS AND CONVENTIONS, REPUBLICAN PARTY, NEW YORK COUNTY, NEW YORK CITY.

To the SECRETARY OF STATE, Albany, N. Y.:

Pursuant to the provisions of section 546 of the election law, I, _____, treasurer of the Roosevelt committee, representing the Republican Party in the city and county of New York, do hereby report that the following is a statement of all moneys received, expended, disbursed, or liabilities incurred by said committee and of every officer, member, or other person in its behalf in connection with the primary election representing the Republican Party held in the city and county of New York on the 26th day of March, 1912, viz:

Receipts.

Date of receipt.	Name.	Amount received.
Mar. 4	Regis H. Post.....	\$50.00
	Dr. J. H. Burnstein.....	25.00
5	C. H. Duell.....	1,000.00
6	E. H. Hooker.....	1,000.00
8	George W. Perkins.....	5,000.00
12	R. P. Perkins.....	1,000.00
	Frank A. Munsey.....	10,000.00
	George W. Perkins.....	5,000.00
18	Byron L. Smith.....	500.00
19	Alexander S. Cochran.....	15,000.00
20	A. Foster Higgins.....	1,000.00
21	H. T. Vernon.....	100.00
23	George Baxter.....	5,000.00
26	Oscar S. Straus.....	500.00
	H. L. Satterlee.....	100.00
	C. H. Duell.....	600.00
28	H. L. Stoddard.....	2,500.00
Apr. 4	George W. Perkins.....	5,000.00
	Frank A. Munsey.....	5,000.00
	Miscellaneous small subscriptions as per list.....	58,375.00 750.75
	Exchange on out-of-town checks.....	59,125.75 .80
		59,126.55

Minor corrections made since statement was submitted to Albany show the total receipts to be made up as follows:

Large subscriptions as per list.....	\$58,375.00
Miscellaneous small subscriptions as per list.....	771.75
	59,146.75
Exchange on out-of-town checks.....	.40
	59,146.35
Less anonymous check, not good.....	20.00
	59,126.35

Miscellaneous small subscriptions.

William Wallace Young.....	\$5.00	W. R. Hotchkiss.....	\$5.00
William Duncan Cameron.....	10.00	John Doe.....	1.00
George A. Romans.....	1.00	John O. Howell.....	2.00
Edwin Emerson, jr.....	10.00	David R. Boyd.....	2.00
Ben Heine.....	1.00	A. Randolph.....	1.00
Thomas P. Howard.....	2.50	B. T. Wales.....	1.00
Mrs. Mary West.....	1.00	Arthur R. Beeve.....	5.00
W. G. Sill.....	1.00	John F. Frager.....	1.00

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

259

Anonymous	\$1.00	Jane C. Watson	\$5.00
J. B. Blanco	1.00	William Brokow Bamford	1.00
G. W. Wallmer	25.00	A. Forman Smith	1.00
J. R. King	1.00	G. H. Schwarzwald	1.00
William N. Bush	2.00	L. B. Gothall	1.00
John M. Waldron	2.00	George F. Powell	1.00
S. D. Levy	1.00	T. A. Stowell	10.00
J. P. Lyons	2.00	W. E. Trost	5.00
F. M. Aday	1.00	D. W. Wynkoop	5.00
Mrs. L. C. Andrews	1.00	Francis A. Pangratz	1.00
Herbert J. Douglas	1.00	A. M. Edwards	2.00
John E. Heyke	2.00	B. L. Kanvich	1.00
H. B. Chase	2.00	W. J. Roe	1.00
S. W. Goldberg	1.00	Gordon Henderson	5.00
R. Donnelly	1.00	F. J. Warne	1.00
H. W. Griffen	2.00	William Wallace Young	5.00
Robert H. Noe	5.00	William Duncan Cameron	10.00
Roger Hinds	1.00	George A. Romans	1.00
N. J. Higinbotham	5.00	Edwin Emerson, jr	10.00
William J. McIlvaine	1.00	Ben Helne	1.00
John S. Bryant	2.15	Thomas P. Howard	2.50
Julius Janowitz	10.00	Mrs. Mary West	1.00
A. S. Johnston	10.00	W. G. Sill	1.00
Barnett Bush	1.00	W. R. Hotchkiss	5.00
H. Moore	1.00	John Doe	1.00
W. F. Gould	2.00	John O. Howell	2.00
D. M. Donohue	1.00	David R. Boyd	2.00
Mrs. B. G. Taylor	1.00	A. Randolph	1.00
G. M. Baldwin	1.00	B. T. Wales	1.00
Louis Schwab	25.00	Arthur R. Beeve	5.00
Samuel Marcus	1.00	John F. Frager	1.00
J. D. Haggerty	1.00	Anonymous	1.00
W. Carner	1.00	J. B. Blanco	1.00
C. C. Bushnell	7.00	G. W. Wallmer	25.00
William D. Bowne	2.00	J. R. King	1.00
Ralph Waldo Carrod	1.00	William N. Bush	2.00
Dr. Silvain Neuhof	1.00	John M. Waldron	2.00
A. J. Harvey	2.00	S. D. Levy	1.00
William Budd	1.00	J. P. Lyons	2.00
J. W. Stimson	5.00	F. M. Aday	1.00
C. F. Richardson	2.00	Mrs. L. C. Andrews	1.00
E. L. Howard	1.00	Herbert J. Douglas	1.00
J. F. Walsh	1.00	John E. Heyke	2.00
C. M. Lane	1.00	H. B. Chase	2.00
D. B. Armstrong	1.00	S. W. Goldberg	1.00
Saul Hotchner	2.00	R. Donnelly	1.00
W. B. Syenlus	1.00	H. W. Griffen	2.00
I. Friedman	2.00	Robert H. Noe	5.00
W. E. Rowley	1.00	Roger Hinds	1.00
Abram Bauer	2.00	N. J. Higinbotham	5.00
John S. Rathbone	1.00	William J. McIlvaine	1.00
D. G. Holmes	5.00	John S. Bryant	2.15
George C. Saltford	5.00	Julius Janowitz	10.00
E. B. Walker	10.00	A. S. Johnston	10.00
Isaac Van Riper	1.00	Barnett Bush	1.00
Stephen Sicard	3.00	H. Moore	1.00
Mrs. J. L. Meeher	25.00	W. F. Gould	2.00
F. E. Dunfield	1.00	D. M. Donohue	1.00
John J. Radley	5.00	Mrs. B. G. Taylor	1.00
A. E. Engzellus	1.00	G. M. Baldwin	1.00
E. H. Lewis	1.00	Louis Schwab	25.00
Henry Reubold	1.00	Samuel Marcus	1.00
Harrison Stillman	25.00	J. D. Haggerty	1.00
F. W. Richter	1.00	W. Garner	1.00
S. J. Hagaman	1.00	C. C. Bushnell	7.00
Anonymous	1.00	William D. Bowne	2.00
Charles A. S. Ferguson	1.00	Ralph Waldo Carrod	1.00
Anonymous	.25	Dr. Silvain Neuhof	1.00

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

A. J. Harvey	\$2.00	S. M. Swanson	\$1.50
William Budd	1.00	John J. Dwyer	10.00
J. W. Stimson	5.00	E. Howard Hunt	1.00
C. F. Richardson	2.00	Mr. Brown	1.00
E. L. Howard	1.00	A. Alexander	10.00
J. F. Walsh	1.00	Milton Webster	1.00
C. M. Lane	1.00	Benjamin T. Ferry	5.00
D. B. Armstrong	1.00	Dr. W. F. Gardner	10.00
Saul Hotchner	2.00	William Bulloch	20.00
W. B. Syenius	1.00	E. A. Gunther	2.00
I. Friedman	2.00	S. L. Searles	2.00
W. E. Rowley	1.00	Grace G. Williams	1.00
Abram Bauer	2.00	W. N. Parker	1.00
John S. Rathbone	1.00	D. H. Ahrend	1.00
D. G. Holmes	5.00	Louis Kallsher	2.00
George C. Saltford	5.00	F. W. Herz	5.00
E. B. Walker	10.00	I. C. L. Goadling	7.00
Isaac Van Riper	1.00	William Ellery	1.00
Stephen Sicard	3.00	R. P. Perry	5.00
Mrs. J. L. Meeher	25.00	C. L. Brownson	2.00
F. E. Dunfield	1.00	N. A. Elsberg	100.00
John J. Radley	5.00	A. O. Elmer	1.00
A. E. Engzelius	1.00	L. Ladenburger	5.00
E. H. Lewis	1.00	Ruben Fine	3.00
Henry Reubold	1.00	Anonymous	1.00
Harrison Stillman	25.00	A. W. Knox	1.00
F. W. Richter	1.00	John C. Embree	1.00
S. J. Hagaman	1.00	E. Alfred Plitt	1.00
Anonymous	1.00	George S. Kinney	1.00
Charles A. S. Ferguson	1.00	George W. Gillett	1.00
Anonymous	.25	J. T. Sinnette	1.00
Jane C. Watson	5.00	William Logie	5.00
William Brokaw Bamford	1.00	Joseph Iepsanto	1.00
A. Forman Smith	1.00	L. V. Schembre	1.00
G. H. Schwarzwald	1.00	A. Washington	1.00
L. B. Gothall	1.00	Ava B. Ross	2.00
George F. Powell	1.00	E. R. Lamson	1.00
T. A. Stowell	10.00	William L. Rich	25.00
W. E. Trost	5.00	Lewis Buddy, 3d	1.00
D. W. Wynkoop	5.00	Anonymous	20.00
Francis A. Pangratz	1.60	J. B. Stevens	1.00
A. M. Edwards	2.00	W. J. Mosler	1.00
B. L. Kanvich	1.00	Joseph A. Millang	5.00
W. J. Roe	1.00	Frederick Britslk	5.00
Gordon Henderson	5.00	Byron Phelps	10.00
F. J. Warne	1.00	A. M. Bing	10.00
C. R. C. Johnston	1.00	David Welch	25.00
C. S. Rutter	1.00	Richard Johnston	1.00
H. S. Baldwin	1.00	I. Moody	1.00
H. E. Lee	1.00	J. Mintze	1.00
A. T. Leith	1.00	Lloyd Collis	97.75

The voucher numbers in the margins of the various sheets showing expenditures were inserted simply for the convenience of the treasurer in keeping his books and making up his report. These voucher numbers often cover a large number of expenditures, but in each case the committee has individual receipt for each separate expenditure.

[Wherever the entry "Salaries, 1 Madison Avenue," appears in this statement it means that the amounts set out were paid for clerk hire at the general headquarters of the committee at 1 Madison Avenue, New York City.]

Voucher No.

5. Cash, salaries, 1 Madison Avenue:

B. T. Thompson	\$18.00
Michael F. Radice	4.00
Joseph Glizzie	2.50
Wm. A. Holden	6.60

Voucher No.

5. Cash, salaries, 1 Madison Avenue—Continued.

R. C. Burton	\$8.30	
H. E. White	6.80	
R. C. Sachs	4.00	
L. C. Schimel	4.00	
E. L. Read	4.00	
Anna L. Goldsamt	5.00	
Eva Gordon	5.00	
		\$68.00
Personal and sundry petty expenses of A. G. Carniencke to Mar. 2	11.65	

\$79.65

6. Petty cash 100.00

7. Cash: Petty cash 50.00

8. Campaign expenses in thirty-fifth and thirty-fourth assembly districts 200.00

Mar. 8, 1912:

9. Abraham Jordan, for campaign expenses for establishing headquarters in twenty-eighth assembly district 100.00

10. Cash, salaries, 1 Madison Avenue:

B. F. De Barros	\$40.00	
Martin Casey	8.00	
Philip Schroeder	24.50	
Tannhauser	18.00	
P. J. Schermerhorn	25.00	
		\$115.50
Isaac B. Allen	25.00	
John C. Baker	30.00	
Fred R. Bender	43.00	
C. Edgar Burton	42.00	
Chas. E. Conick	25.00	
Robert J. Cromie	20.00	
A. H. Curley	20.00	
W. T. R. Richardson	25.00	
Miss Goldsamt	29.00	
Joseph Gizzie	31.00	
Eva Gordon	25.00	
William A. Holden	36.00	
Edward Kellar	20.00	
T. J. Kilgallen	37.00	
L. P. Klug	20.00	
Sol Krisky	6.00	
Henry Lazar	25.00	
Emanuel Levy	10.00	
Walter Llewellyn	21.00	
Joseph McCourt	25.00	
W. J. Morgan	25.00	
Fred M. Opitz	12.50	
A. G. Perkins	25.00	
Edward Pollack	21.00	
Edwin G. Riley	25.00	
W. A. Smith	25.00	
B. W. Silverman	25.00	
Wm. D. Spear	30.00	
W. R. Velitch	20.00	
A. T. von Schack	21.00	
O. A. von Munchhausen	21.00	
Harry E. White	32.00	
Harry Welsing	25.00	
Michael Wohn	16.00	
Robert Zimmerman	16.00	
		860.50
Postage	5.00	
Petty cash	84.00	
Samuel Maltze, for obtaining signatures for Roosevelt petition	35.00	

Mar. 8, 1912—Continued.

10. Cash, salaries, 1 Madison Avenue—Continued.

Isaac Newman—

For campaign expenses for establishing headquarters in twenty-fourth assembly district..... \$50. 00

For campaign expenses in thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth assembly districts..... 200. 00

\$250. 00

\$1, 350. 00

11. O. C. Carpenter, salary..... 400. 00

12. G. R. Manchester, salary..... 100. 00

13. James J. Lewis, salary..... 60. 00

14. J. W. McGrath, salary..... 30. 00

16. E. W. Klein, salary..... 30. 00

17. Arthur Faust, salary..... 45. 00

18. Isaac Newman, salary..... 25. 00

19. Helen F. Kennedy, salary..... 20. 00

20. Leon Bleecker, fees in connection with obtaining signatures to Roosevelt petition paid to notaries..... 100. 00

Mar. 7, 1912:

21. Louis F. Grenner, fees in connection with obtaining signatures to Roosevelt petition, paid to the following notaries: Charles Meyer, F. W. Brooks, Robert Stebbins, Phil Goldman, Henry Marshak, William Draemel, jr., Joseph Mahoney..... 100. 00

Printing bill for the fifteenth and sixteenth congressional districts..... 25. 00

125. 00

22. Petty cash..... 238. 00

24. Remington Typewriter Co., rental of machine, Feb. 28, 1912... 5. 00

25. New York Press Co. (Ltd.), advertising, "Help wanted," Mar. 3, 1912..... 2. 80

26. The Globe, advertising, "Help wanted," Mar. 4, 1912..... 2. 80

27. Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., rent—
Mar. 1, 1912..... \$283. 34
Mar. 4, 1912..... 150. 00

433. 34

Mar. 11, 1912:

28. New York Herald, advertising, "Help wanted," Mar. 3, 1912... 4. 05

29. O. C. Carpenter, porters and extra help..... \$8. 50
Almanacs..... 4. 50

Maps, postal scale, and incidental office supplies..... 15. 00

Personal expenses..... 20. 00

48. 00

30. Tower Bros. Stationery Co., stationery—

Feb. 29, 1912..... { 6. 93
Mar. 4, 1912..... { 1. 80
Mar. 5, 1912..... { 4. 50
Mar. 5, 1912..... { . 15

13. 38

32. Corlies, Macy & Co.—

Mar. 5, 1912, journal..... 1. 75

Mar. 6, 1912, 3 Roosevelt committee receipt books..... 12. 00

13. 75

33. Globe-Wernicke Co., furniture and fixtures—

Feb. 26, 1912..... 22. 63
Feb. 27, 1912..... { 6. 00

Feb. 27, 1912..... { 2. 75

Feb. 29, 1912..... { 39. 75

Feb. 29, 1912..... { 39. 13

10. 13

Mar. 11, 1912—Continued.

33. Globe-Wernicke Co., furniture and fixtures—Con.		
Mar. 2, 1912-----	\$15. 00	
	30. 70	
	27. 00	
Mar. 4, 1912-----	77. 50	
	67. 88	
Mar. 6, 1912-----	59. 13	
	11. 50	
		\$409. 10
34. Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., bell work installation, Mar. 1, 1912-----		
		2. 50
35. A. R. Ohman Map Co., maps of Borough of Manhattan and parts of Bronx, Feb. 26, 1912-----		
		10. 50
36. George W. Read, lettering door, Mar. 6, 1912-----		
		4. 50
37. Mail & Express Job Print—		
Feb. 28, 1912, primary nominating petition---	\$25. 00	
Feb. 29, 1912—		
Postal cards-----	300. 00	
Primary nominating petition-----	30. 00	
Envelopes-----	200. 00	
Letterheads-----	160. 00	
		715. 00
39. Mail and Express Job Print, Feb. 26, 1912—		
Letterheads-----	7. 50	
Envelopes-----	7. 00	
Primary nominating petition-----	22. 20	
		36. 70
40. M. Laue—		
Commissioner's fees-----	5. 00	
Clerical help-----	15. 00	
Incidentals-----	4. 25	
		24. 25
41. R. Gordon Mackay, postage on circular letters-----		
		100. 00
42. Petty cash-----		
		50. 00
43. S. C. Rosenzweig, newspaper files-----		
		37. 50
March 12, 1912:		
44. Cash voucher—		
Feb. 21, 1912—		
Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., rent----	\$225. 00	
Sheppard, Knapp & Co., carpets-----	111. 87	
The Globe-Wernicke Co., furniture-----	88. 28	
Feb. 24, 1912, the Globe-Wernicke Co., filing cabinet-----	30. 50	
Feb. 26, 1912—		
The City Record, 350 copies, at 5 cents---	17. 50	
J. D. Phillips, drawing maps-----	5. 00	
W. J. Carmel, drawing maps-----	5. 00	
Tower Manufacturing & Novelty Co., stationery-----	4. 90	
Underwood Typewriter Co., rental of one machine-----	5. 00	
Feb. 28, 1912—		
Boyd's City Dispatch, postage on 50,000 letters-----	1, 000. 00	
Boyd's City Dispatch, letters-----	500. 00	
Postage stamps-----	2. 00	
Feb. 29, 1912, postage stamps-----	4. 75	
Mar. 1, 1912—		
Boyd's City Dispatch, postage and letters---	420. 00	
Post-office rental of box and keys-----	1. 76	
Mar. 2, 1912—		
Postage-----	50. 00	
Trow Directory Co., 1 city directory-----	12. 00	
Rand McNally & Co., maps of city-----	2. 50	
Siegel-Cooper Co., 3 tables-----	3. 25	

Mar. 12, 1912—Continued.

44. Cash voucher—Continued.

Feb. 26, 1912—

Postage stamps----- \$1. 00

Salaries—

Jas. J. Lewis----- \$20. 00

Jas. J. Lewis, week ending

Mar. 3----- 60. 00

G. R. Manchester, week ending

Mar. 3----- 100. 00

J. W. McGrath, week ending

Mar. 3----- 30. 00

Isaac Newman, week ending

Mar. 3----- 25. 00

Miss Kennedy, week ending

Mar. 3----- 18. 00

Holden and others, week end-

ing Mar. 3----- 50. 00

303. 00

Seward & Cochran, drawing maps-----

26. 69

Boyd's City Dispatch-----

180. 00

Mar. 4, 1912—

Campaign expenses in thirty-fifth and
thirty-fourth assembly districts-----

150. 00

Petty cash -----

71. 00

Miscellaneous expenses headquarters
twenty-seventh district, furniture, and
rent to Apr. 5-----

100. 00

Miscellaneous sundry expenses-----

35. 00

Mar. 7, 1912—

E. W. Klein, salary 2 days, week ending

Mar. 3, 1912----- 9. 00

J. W. McGrath, petty cash-----

5. 00

J. W. McGrath, stamps-----

5. 00

\$3, 375. 00

45. August F. Schwarzler, fees in connection with obtaining sig-
natures to Roosevelt petition for notaries-----

328. 50

Mar. 13, 1912:

48. Boyd's City Dispatch, Mar. 12, 1912, furnishing, addressing,
and mailing 43,000 envelopes-----

1, 118. 00

50. Sheppard, Knapp & Co., carpets, Mar. 11, 1912-----

341. 56

51. Tower Bros. Stationery & Novelty Co., Mar. 8,
1912, stationery -----

\$4. 00

1. 75

2. 15

2. 50

10. 40

52. Underwood Typewriter Co., rental Feb. 29, 1912-----

5. 00

53. } O. C. Carpenter, for salaries, 1 Madison Avenue. 1, 600. 00

56. } Cash ----- 1, 525. 00

3, 125. 00

The distribution of these two items is shown as
follows:

Salaries—

Isaac B. Allen----- \$25. 00

John C. Baker----- 30. 00

Fred R. Bender----- 42. 00

C. Edgar Burton----- 42. 00

Robert J. Cromie----- 35. 00

Miss Goldsamt----- 35. 00

Joseph Gizzie----- 30. 00

Eva Gordon----- 30. 00

William A. Holden----- 36. 00

Edward Kellar----- 30. 00

T. J. Kilgallen----- 36. 00

L. P. Klug----- 35. 00

53. } Salaries—Continued.
56. }

Sol Krisky	\$20. 00
Henry Lazar	31. 00
Emanuel Levy	31. 00
Walter Llewellyn	31. 00
Joseph McCourt	31. 00
W. J. Morgan	36. 00
Fred M. Opitz	20. 00
A. G. Perkins	25. 00
Edward Pollack	7. 50
W. T. R. Richardson	25. 00
Edwin G. Riley	30. 00
W. A. Smith	36. 00
B. W. Silverman	30. 00
Wm. D. Spear	36. 00
Theresa Unger	16. 00
W. R. Veitch	31. 00
John D. Walton	25. 00
Louis Kerner	20. 00
A. T. von Schack	30. 00
O. A. von Munchhausen	36. 00
Henry E. White	30. 00
Harry Welsing	35. 00
Michael Wohn	31. 00
Robert Zimmermann	30. 00
John H. Lowe	29. 00
Edwin Campbell	30. 00
F. W. Burns	34. 00
Joe Morris	34. 00
Edwin Eisner	35. 00
Frank Moore	29. 00
Miss Leikel	35. 00
Miss Tauber	35. 00
Miss Benedict	35. 00
Miss Stuart	31. 00
Miss Reynolds	15. 00
Miss Schlang	30. 00
A. De Wilde	31. 00
S. J. Beckerman	14. 50
Roscoe Simmons	10. 00
George W. Harris	25. 00
Joe Krombach	25. 00
Frank Herschkowitz	12. 50
J. C. H. Smith	12. 50
Henry Osborn	12. 50
Moritz Klein	12. 50
Anthony M. McCabe	25. 00
Nathan Meltzer	7. 50
Annie Wolf	18. 00
John Kelly	25. 00
J. P. McManus	25. 00
A. H. Curley	36. 00
W. J. Holden	25. 00
<hr/>	
\$86. 00	
vertime—	
J. J. Lewis	6. 00
Miss Kennedy	5. 00
J. W. McGrath	4. 00
Isaac Newman	6. 00
A. H. Faust	2. 00
E. W. Klein	4. 00
B. F. De Barros	4. 00
Martin Casey	4. 00
C. Conick, jr	7. 00

Mar. 13, 1912—Continued.

58. } Overtime—Continued.
56. }

Carl Dannhauser.....	\$1. 00	
P. C. Schroeder.....	5. 00	
P. C. Schermerhorn.....	2. 00	
P. J. McManus.....	5. 00	
C. S. Ramsay.....	2. 00	
		\$57. 00

Salaries—

Oliver C. Carpenter.....	125. 00	
George R. Manchester.....	100. 00	
James J. Lewis.....	60. 00	
Isaac Newman.....	25. 00	
Helen Kennedy.....	20. 00	
J. W. McGrath.....	30. 00	
A. H. Faust.....	30. 00	
E. W. Klein.....	25. 00	
B. F. De Barros.....	40. 00	
Martin Casey.....	28. 00	
C. Conick, jr.....	25. 00	
Carl Dannhauser.....	18. 00	
P. C. Schroeder.....	24. 50	
P. C. Schermerhorn.....	25. 00	
M. Hayes.....	18. 00	
		593. 50

Petty cash.....	¹ 192. 00	
Roosevelt League letters for the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth congressional districts.....	64. 00	
Canvassers and workers, thirteenth assembly district.....	100. 00	
Advertising, literary bureau.....	100. 00	
For campaign expenses in thirty-fifth assembly district.....	250. 00	
	3, 125. 00	

55. Petty cash..... **\$201. 40**

Mar. 16, 1912:

57. O. C. Carpenter:

Mar. 12, 1912, Boyd's City Dispatch	\$258. 00	
Mar. 14—		
Boyd's City Dispatch.....	77. 88	
Boyd's City Dispatch.....	18. 65	
Mar. 15—		
Boyd's City Dispatch.....	90. 00	
Boyd's City Dispatch.....	150. 00	
		594. 53
Mar. 19—		
Boyd's City Dispatch.....	3. 57	
Boyd's City Dispatch.....	5. 95	
Mar. 21, L. G. Schroeder, canvassing expenses, twenty-first congressional district.....	40. 00	
Mar. 19—		
Eighth assembly district, for canvassing expenses.....	75. 00	

¹ The distribution of item "Petty cash, \$192," on vouchers 53 and 56, should have read as follows:

Petty cash.....	\$90. 80
Postage.....	40. 00
Campaign expense.....	40. 00
Stationery and office supplies.....	. 70
General office expense.....	1. 00
Salaries.....	20. 00
	192. 00

Mar. 16, 1912—Continued.

57. O. C. Carpenter—Continued.

Mar. 19—Continued.

George W. Husch, canvassing expenses, first assembly district	\$100. 00
Isaac Newman, canvassing expenses, twenty-fourth assembly district	175. 00
Edward A. Le Pard, canvassing expenses, fifth assembly district	25. 00
Freihley, canvassing expenses, twelfth assembly district...	25. 00

Mar. 16—

L. G. Schroeder, canvassing expenses, twenty-first congressional district	250. 00
Canvassing expenses, twelfth congressional district	300. 00
	<hr/> \$900. 52

A. G. Phillips, canvassing expenses, seventeenth and nineteenth assembly districts, and twenty-first congressional district	100. 00
Star Casino, rent	25. 00
Philip Silverman, expenses, twenty-sixth assembly district	150. 00
Leon Bleecker, expenses, tenth assembly district	100. 00
Henry Green, expenses, sixth assembly district	100. 00

Mar. 20—

James P. Kelker, canvassing expenses, twelfth assembly district	25. 00
Incidentals .....	. 48
	<hr/> 1. 500. 00

\$2, 004. 51

59. Journal voucher, petty cash :

Mar. 6—

New York American, notaries	4. 05
J. W. McGrath, postage	5. 00
Salaries—	
Klein	7. 00
Schermerhorn	3. 00
McGrath	6. 00
Carmiencke	4. 75
Conick	2. 00
De Barros	1. 00
Faust	5. 00
Rabick	28. 00
Dunbar	8. 50
Dugan .....	. 75
Brown	2. 00
Brown	7. 00
Newman, I	9. 00
Manchester	6. 00
	<hr/> 90. 00

Mar. 7, P. K. Hilton—

Stationery	0. 75
Sundries	2. 75
	<hr/> 3. 50
Notary fees in nineteenth congressional district	100. 00

Mar. 16, 1912—Continued.

59. Journal voucher, petty cash—Continued.

Mar. 9—

P. K. Hilton, general office expenses-----	\$2. 25
James P. McManus, salary-----	\$30. 00
General office expense-----	3. 00
	<hr/> 33. 00

Salaries:

Miss Under-----	6. 00
Miss Lenkel-----	9. 50
Miss Tauher-----	9. 50
Miss Benedict-----	9. 50
Miss Stuart-----	9. 50
	<hr/> 44. 00

General office expenses-----	5. 00
Edw. Elsner, salary-----	28. 50
F. W. Burns, salary-----	24. 00
Frank Morris, salary-----	19. 25
Roosevelt League-----	60. 00

Mar. 11—

Clty Record, stationery and office sup- plies-----	9. 30
P. K. Hilton, general office expense-----	. 60
P. K. Hilton, general office expense-----	. 60
J. J. Lewis, rent-----	10. 00
J. W. McGrath, postage-----	5. 00
P. K. Hilton, general office expense-----	5. 00

Mar. 12—

P. K. Hilton, general office expense-----	. 50
P. K. Hilton, general office expense-----	1. 50
J. W. McGrath, general office expense--	5. 00
Louis Ejler, general office expense-----	. 35

Mar. 13—

J. W. McGrath, postage-----	5. 00
C. S. Ramsay, general office expense----	. 30

Mar. 9—

Salaries—

Martin Casey-----	6. 50
Miss H. Lacomte-----	18. 00
Miss Kennedy-----	6. 00
	<hr/> 30. 50

General expenses—

A. G. Carmiencke, pencils-----	4. 50
A. G. Carmiencke, petty cash-----	2. 45
A. G. Carmiencke, personal ex- penses-----	11. 55
A. G. Carmiencke, taxicab hire---	3. 00
	<hr/> 52. 00

513. 70

This voucher accounts for \$513.70 out of the total of \$813.70 charged against petty cash on vouchers 6, 7, 10, 22, 42, 55, and 56, the remaining \$300 remains in petty cash.

65. Roosevelt League for notaries, item-
ized statement of which is shown in
the list of notaries-----

\$354. 65

Mar. 19, 1912:

Albert C. Phillips, for expenses in con-
nection with obtaining signatures to
Roosevelt petition in the twenty-first
congressional district-----

400. 00

67. Jacob Shongut, expense Roosevelt com-
mittee of the Bronx—

Underwood Typewriter Co-----	\$10. 00
J. Shapiro-----	24. 73

Mar. 19, 1912—Continued.

67. Jacob Shongut, etc.—Continued.

John H. Howell, jr-----	\$7. 00	
Frank McDermott-----	8. 00	
J. B. Rothenburg-----	. 55	
Sutton's -----	1. 60	
Henry Voigt -----	2. 65	
Empire Oil Co-----	2. 50	
A. F. Muhlbacher-----	6. 00	
William N. Thornton, jr-----	9. 00	
Leo P. Glasel-----	12. 00	
Julius W. Jensen-----	40. 00	
Peter A. Lauria-----	35. 00	
W. A. Stubbs-----	30. 00	
G. A. Farrington-----	3. 00	
Charles A. Jackson-----	18. 00	
H. D. Smith-----	19. 40	
		\$229. 43

69. Cash postage for thirty-fourth and
thirty-fifth assembly districts----- 22. 50
Distributing campaign literature in
seventeenth congressional district--- 500. 00

522. 50

70. Campaign expenses Roosevelt colored committee-- 300. 00

Mar. 20, 1912:

71. Lenox assembly rooms, rent----- 40. 00
72. Mannerchor Hall, rent----- 90. 00
73. Star Casino, rent----- 75. 00
74. Niblo's Garden, rent----- 50. 00
75. Mail & Express Job Print, postal cards to enrolled
Republicans----- 350. 00
76. Ebling's Casino, rent----- 15. 00
77. Henry Green, for campaign expenses in sixth as-
sembly district----- 100. 00
78. A. Jordan, for campaign expenses in twenty-
eighth assembly district----- 50. 00

\$18, 142. 37

79. E. A. Le Pard, for campaign expenses in fifth assembly dis-
trict ----- 50. 00

80. Hermann Laue, court proceedings before Judge
Blackmar, Kings County ----- \$25. 00
Expenses, Roosevelt committee, Kings County—
Clerk hire ----- \$35. 00
Typewriter ----- 10. 00
Rent ----- 25. 00
Cash, fuel, etc----- 5. 00
Postage ----- 40. 00

115. 00

140. 00

81. Roosevelt committee, twenty-third assembly dis-
trict, headquarters expenses—

Klein & Jackson, rent-----	40. 00	
Underwood Typewriter Co-----	5. 00	
Meyer & Harris, electrical fixtures-----	13. 50	
F. M. Moran & Co., signs-----	16. 75	
New York Letter Co-----	4. 50	
Postage on circular-----	16. 00	
L. A. Collier, stenographer-----	18. 00	
Table -----	1. 95	
Sundry small expenditures-----	9. 30	

¹ 125. 00

82. Bela Tokaji, expenses in ninth congressional district,
Brooklyn ----- 100. 00

¹ Should be \$125.03. See addition at end of statement.

Mar. 21, 1912:

84. Globe Wernicke Co., furniture and fixtures—

Mar. 7, 1912	-----	\$61. 25
Mar. 6, 1912	-----	32. 38
Mar. 7, 1912	-----	1. 45
Mar. 6, 1912	-----	16. 25
Mar. 7, 1912	-----	9. 50
	-----	21. 80
Mar. 8, 1912	-----	173. 00
	-----	13. 30
Mar. 9, 1912	-----	35. 50
Mar. 12, 1912	-----	3. 35
	-----	118. 25
	-----	9. 05
Mar. 13, 1912	-----	115. 15
	-----	12. 00

\$622. 23

85. Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., rent, Mar. 4, 1912-----

200. 00

86. Remington Typewriter Co., rental, Mar. 16, 1912-----

2. 50

87. National Equipment Co., Mar. 7, 1912, campaign buttons-----

36. 00

88. W. F. Brainard, Mar. 12, 1912-----

5. 00

89. Underwood Typewriter Co., rentals-----

55. 00

90. A. B. Dick Co.—

Mar. 7, 1912, mimeograph	-----	\$45. 00
Mar. 8, 1912, supplies	-----	13. 69
Mar. 12, 1912, supplies	-----	8. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, supplies	-----	12. 00

78. 69

91. Typewriter Economy Co., Mar. 11, 1912-----

3. 00

93. George H. Grieshaber, Mar. 8, 1912, pictures Col. Roosevelt--

25. 00

94. Tower Manufacturing & Novelty Co., stationery-----

. 75

96. Frank Presbrey Co., advertising, New York papers, Mar. 19, 1912-----

974. 40

98. Boulevard Auto Co., Mar. 9, 1912-----

29. 25

99. Arcade Stationer, stationery—

Mar. 2, 1912	-----	\$0. 45
Mar. 5, 1912	-----	2. 00
Mar. 6, 1912	-----	. 25
Mar. 12, 1912	-----	3. 75
Mar. 13, 1912	-----	2. 90
Mar. 14, 1912	-----	. 35
Mar. 16, 1912	-----	6. 10
Mar. 15, 1912	-----	16. 30
Mar. 18, 1912	-----	34. 14

66. 24

100. Boyd's City Dispatch—

Mailing cards to enrolled Republicans	-----	360. 00
Postage	-----	900. 00

1, 260. 00

101. Trow Directory Print & Bookbinding Co., postage for envelopes in connection with obtaining signatures to Roosevelt petition addressed to enrolled Republicans-----

2, 140. 00

102. Philip Silverman, for campaign expenses in twenty-sixth assembly district-----

200. 00

103. Leon Bleecker, for campaign expenses in tenth assembly district-----

150. 00

104. Nathan Greenbaum, for campaign expenses in fourth assembly district-----

600. 00

105. Cash postage-----

60. 00

Mar. 22, 1912:

106. Cash, salaries 1 Madison Avenue—

Oliver C. Carpenter	-----	\$125. 00
George R. Manchester	-----	100. 00
James J. Lewis	-----	60. 00
Helen M. Kennedy	-----	20. 00
Arthur H. Faust	-----	30. 00
J. W. McGrath	-----	30. 00

Mar. 22, 1912—Continued.

106. Cash, salaries, 1 Madison Avenue—Continued.

L. L. Goetz	\$8. 00
E. W. Klein	30. 00
Virginia Dullin	15. 00
Isaac Newman	25. 00
Martin Casey	28. 00
Charles Conlck, jr	25. 00
Carl Dannhauser	18. 00
Philip Schroeder	24. 50
F. E. Cooksey	16. 67
P. C. Schermerhorn	25. 00
M. Hayes	18. 00
Mrs. Mowbray	15. 00
C. S. Ramsay	24. 00
Miss Baumer	30. 00
Fred R. Bender	42. 00
Miss Benedict	36. 00
L. H. Bevan	30. 00
Miss Cameron	12. 50
Miss Deutch	10. 00
A. De Wilde	37. 00
Laura D. Dunn	35. 00
E. Elsner	37. 00
Miss Enright	30. 00
Miss Fellner	7. 00
Miss Goldsant	36. 00
Miss Greenfield	16. 50
James Klujman	27. 00
Miss Leukel	36. 00
MacManus, J	42. 00
Mellinger, Miss	5. 00
Pinkoff, Miss	9. 50
Pierce, Joseph B	19. 75
Reinhardt, Miss	8. 00
Reynolds, Miss	20. 00
Schimmel, Miss	12. 50
Schlang, Miss	27. 00
Schwartz, Miss M	12. 00
Schwartz, Miss R	36. 00
Stuart, Miss	31. 00
Tauber, Miss	36. 00
Unger, Theresa	17. 00
Vickery, Miles S	22. 00
Grace, Thomas	18. 00
Wendt, Bert	12. 00
Lutzky, Benjamin	8. 00
Smith, J. S	3. 50
Adisky, Abe	20. 00
Allen, Isaac B	25. 00
Beckerman, S. J	25. 00
Engel, Herman	20. 00
Gerther, M. L	20. 00
Hampton, W. J	25. 00
Harris, George W	25. 00
Hirshkowitz, Frank	25. 00
Jerkowitz, William	35. 00
Kelly, John	25. 00
Kerner, Louis	20. 00
Klein, Moritz	25. 00
Krisby, Sol	20. 00
Krombach, Joe	25. 00
Le Pard, E. A	25. 00
McCabe, Anthony M	25. 00
Meltzer, Nathan	15. 00
Osborn, Henry	25. 00

Mar. 22, 1912—Continued.

106. Cash. salaries, 1 Madison Avenue—Continued.

Perkins, A. G	\$25. 00
Regensburg, Sam	25. 00
Richardson, W. T. A	25. 00
Simmons, Roscoe	25. 00
Smith, J. C. H	25. 00
Walton, John D	25. 00
Wolf, Annie	18. 00
Baker, John C	28. 00
Baker, George	15. 00
Bermas, H	15. 00
Burns, F. W	36. 00
Burton, C. Edgar	42. 00
Campbell, Edwin	36. 00
Cromie, Robert J	36. 00
Gizzie, Joseph	32. 00
Holden, William A	36. 00
Kellar, Edward	36. 00
Kilgallen, T. J	37. 00
Klug, L. P	37. 00
Lazar, Henry	31. 00
Lazar, N. H	12. 00
Levy, Emanuel	31. 00
Llewellyn, Walter	4. 00
Lowe, John H	35. 00
McCourt, Joseph	36. 00
McDermott, Frank	30. 00
Morgan, W. J	37. 00
Moore, Frank	25. 00
Morris, Joe	36. 00
O'Neill, C. J	19. 00
Opitz, Fred M	18. 00
Pollack, Edward	2. 75
Powers, W	19. 00
Price, G. A	11. 00
Riley, Edwin G	36. 00
Schwartz, M	19. 00
Silverman, B. W	31. 00
Smith, W. A	36. 00
Spear, William D	37. 00
Strong, John	16. 50
Velch, W. R	31. 00
Von Munchhausen, O. A	37. 00
Von Schack, A. T	31. 00
Welsing, Henry	31. 00
White, Henry E	31. 00
Wohn, Michael	31. 00
Zehder, H. J	20. 00
Zimmermann, Robert	30. 00

\$3, 139. 67

107. Petty cash	177. 84
109. Robert D. Ireland, for expenses in thirty-fifth assembly district	675. 00
110. Isidore Klatzkie, for expenses in twenty-fourth assembly district	100. 00
111. Isaac Newman, for expenses in twenty-fourth assembly district	150. 00
112. D. P. Carey, for expenses in seventeenth, nineteenth, and thirty-first assembly districts	500. 00
113. E. A. LePard, for expenses in fifth assembly district	75. 00
114. Samuel Aronowitz, for expenses in sixth assembly district	75. 00
115. H. C. Parker, for expenses in seventeenth and twenty-first congressional districts	500. 00
117. Joseph Silverman, for expenses in twenty-sixth assembly district	45. 00
119. Joseph Silverman, for expenses in twenty-sixth assembly district	150. 00

Mar. 22, 1912—Continued.

120. Joseph McCourt, for expenses in ninth assembly district.....	\$80. 00
121. John Kelly, for expenses in fifth assembly district.....	50. 00
122. Trow Directory Printing & Bookbinding Co., Mar.	

23, 1912—

Printing cards for election districts.....	\$926. 40
Addressing, inserting, and sealing 100,000 envelopes.....	275. 00
Packing and tying.....	20. 00
	<hr/> 1, 221. 40

Mar. 23, 1912:

123. Sarasohn & Son, advertising, Jewish Daily News. Mar. 20, 1912.....	60. 00
124. Leon Bleecker, for expenses in tenth assembly district.....	200. 00
125. Bela Tokaji, for expenses in ninth congressional district, Brooklyn.....	200. 00
126. Herman Laue, for expenses in fifth assembly district.....	80. 00
127. L. G. Schroeder, for expenses in twenty-first congressional district—	
Salaries.....	267. 67
Electrician.....	23. 90
Canvassers.....	429. 00
Brady Sign Co.....	93. 50
	<hr/> 814. 07

128. Amsterdam News, advertising, Mar. 23, 1912.....	255. 00
131. Cash. (See voucher 239 for distribution.).....	
132. Henry Green, for expenses in sixth assembly district.....	75. 00
133. Isidore Klatzkie, for expenses in twenty-fourth assembly district.....	150. 00
134. Cash. (See voucher 239 for distribution.).....	
136. Trow Directory Printing & Bookbinding Co., 11,000 postal cards.....	110. 00
138. L. G. Schroeder, for expenses in twenty-first congressional district.....	303. 10
139. Jacob Shongut, Bronx headquarters' expenses.....	196. 92
140. M. Ginzig, printing posters and circulars.....	91. 50
141. Markowitz & Brant, rent Clinton Court Theater.....	65. 00
142. Joseph Shongut, expenses Roosevelt committee in Bronx, Mar. 23, 1912.....	730. 45

Apr. 4, 1912:

145. George R. Manchester—	
Salary.....	\$100. 00
Traveling expenses.....	10. 00
Sundry expenses.....	113. 80
	<hr/> 223. 80

Apr. 9, 1912:

147. North Side News, advertising, Mar. 24, 1912.....	10. 00
149. The Whitehead Hoag Co., badges.....	65. 00
150. Italian Press Publishing Association, Mar. 23, 1912, pamphlets.....	125. 00
151. Trow Directory Printing & Bookbinding Co., city directories.....	48. 00
152. The Freytag Printing Co., Mar. 19, 1912, stationery.....	48. 00
153. National Equipment Co., Mar. 23, 1912, badges.....	300. 00
155. F. S. Towle Co., Mar. 23, 1912, campaign pins.....	86. 00
156. McElheny, Bennett & Slcher—	
Printing record in the appellate division in the matter of Duell v. Board of Elections.....	\$17. 50
Printing record for the court of appeals in the same case.....	28. 50
Traveling expenses, William Bennett, to Albany (two trips).....	25. 00
Filing orders, certified copies of orders, messenger service, and various court proceedings.....	10. 00
Printing brief for the court of appeals in the same case.....	8. 00
	<hr/> 89. 00

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

Apr. 9, 1912—Continued.

157. Campaign expenses—

Philip Silverman, twenty-sixth assembly district of twentieth congressional district	\$200. 00
Isaac Newman, twenty-fourth assembly district of twentieth congressional district	150. 00
Henry Green, twentieth congressional district	100. 00
John D. Walton, twenty-sixth assembly district of twentieth congressional district	25. 00
Abraham Jordan, twenty-eighth assembly district of twentieth congressional district	200. 00

\$675. 00

159. Bryant Motor Service Co., automobile hire, Mar. 26----- 142. 50

160. Corlies, Macy & Co., voucher checks, Mar. 11, 1912----- 14. 50

161. The Warhelt, advertising, Mar. 25, 1912----- 50. 00

162. John S. Henry----- 20. 00

163. Mail and Express Job Print—

Filing cards	\$31. 40
Circular letters	136. 10
Primary nominating petition	270. 30
Postals	404. 50
Letterheads	259. 45
Envelopes	199. 30
Miscellaneous	89. 10

1, 390. 15

164. Mail and Express Job Print—

Postal cards	245. 85
Posters and hangers	755. 70
Identification cards and watchers' certificates	147. 90
Charter of Democracy and other pamphlets	651. 40
Circular letters	578. 60
Letterheads	261. 40
Envelopes	138. 50
Sample ballots	107. 80
Miscellaneous	385. 60
Nominating petition	82. 00

3, 354. 75

165. Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau----- 61. 85

166. Chas. S. Conick, jr----- 31. 00

167. Isidore Klatzkie, advertising----- 97. 50

168. The Bronx Star----- 20. 00

169. New York Telephone Co----- 254. 00

170. Campaign expense, James A. Francis, twenty-third assembly district, twenty-second congressional district----- 79. 50

171. Schnee Bros., Mar. 8, 1912, signs----- 45. 00

172. Underwood Typewriter Co., rental----- 81. 85

173. Joseph Mahony, Apr. 1, 1912, towel supply----- 7. 50

174. R. W. Linen, stationery----- 1. 50

175. National Equipment Co., badges----- 207. 50

176. A. B. Dick Co., stationery, Mar. 7, 1912----- 19. 00

177. Remington Typewriter Co----- 5. 00

178. M. B. Brown, maps----- 3. 00

179. Boulevard Auto Co., auto hire, Mar. 27, 1912----- 123. 88

180. The State Law Stenographers, speech reporting, Mar. 27, 1912----- 191. 00

181. Julius P. Storm, advertising, Mar. 29, 1912----- 1, 100. 00

182. Sarasohn & Son., advertising, Mar. 20, 1912----- 50. 40

183. New York Telephone Co., Apr. 1, 1912----- 132. 67

185. Vanderbilt Hotel, Apr. 3, 1912----- 132. 67

186. The Evening Mail, advertising, Mar. 30, 1912----- 9. 80

187. L. G. Schroeder----- 287. 65

188. A. Burton, salaries----- 28. 00

189. F. R. Bender, salaries----- 29. 00

190. Miss Dunn, salaries----- 25. 00

191. Von Munchhausen, salaries----- 32. 00

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

275

Apr. 9, 1912—Continued.

192. A. H. Faust, salaries-----	\$32. 00
193. F. J. Kilgallen, salaries-----	28. 00
194. Charles Conick, jr., salaries-----	2. 00
195. Helen N. Kennedy, salaries-----	22. 50
196. Philip Schroeder, salaries-----	43. 65
197. Virginia Dullin, salaries-----	3. 00
198. Isaac Newman, salaries-----	33. 00
199. F. C. Cooksey, salaries-----	13. 50
201. E. H. Holland, salaries-----	24. 00
202. James McDonald, salaries-----	24. 00
203. J. W. Davis, salaries-----	7. 80
204. A. B. Dick, stationery, Mar. 26, 1912-----	11. 05
205. Globe-Wernicke, furniture, as per statement, Apr. 4, 1912--	213. 14
206. Crystal Spring Water Co-----	25. 50
208. Kanouse Mountain Water Co., Mar. 18, 1912-----	5. 50
210. M. B. Brown, maps-----	1. 00
211. Underwood Typewriter Co-----	2. 20
212. M. Bachrach & Son, stationery, Apr. 1, 1912-----	3. 10
213. Tower Manufacturing & Novelty Co., stationery, Apr. 1, 1912-----	14. 46
217. Cash, salaries:	
M. S. Vickery-----	\$25. 00
C. S. Ramsay-----	22. 00
A. A. Mowbray-----	4. 00
	<hr/> \$51. 00
Postage -----	10. 00
	<hr/> 61. 00
218. U. S. Frame & Picture Co., Apr. 4, 1912-----	2. 75
219. Trow Directory Printing & Bookbinding Co., Apr. 3, 1912, pamphlets-----	92. 71
220. Campaign expense, Civic Forum tickets, Carnegie Hall----	495. 00
222. M. S. Vickery, notarial fees-----	10. 75
223. William H. Hatfield, salary-----	25. 00
224. Herring-Hall-Marvin Safe Co.:	
Mar. 7, 1912 -----	\$140. 00
Apr. 1, 1912-----	10. 00
	<hr/> 150. 00
225. Nathan Greenbaum, expenses, Apollo Hall, Mar. 25, 1912---	46. 00
226. H. Fidelman, music, Apollo Hall, Mar. 25, 1912-----	35. 00
227. Leon Bleecker, Lenox assembly rooms, Mar. 25, 1912-----	25. 00
228. H. Fidelman, music, Lenox assembly rooms, Mar. 25, 1912---	35. 00
229. Frederick M. Bent, music, Mar. 25, 1912-----	160. 00
230. Carl Hauser, speeches, Mar. 25, 1912-----	50. 00
231. Isaac Newman, expenses, Star Casino, Mar. 25, 1912-----	23. 50
232. J. Wollenberg, music, Mar. 25, 1912-----	65. 00
233. New Polo Express & Van Co., Mar. 26, 1912-----	15. 00
234. National Equipment Co.—	
Mar. 26, 1912, decorations-----	\$25. 00
Mar. 25, badges-----	3. 00
	<hr/> 28. 00
235. Brady Sign Co., signs, Mar. 20, 1912-----	20. 00
236. Harlem Garage, auto hire-----	10. 50
237. Edward H. Healy, expenses, Ebling's Casino, Mar. 25, 1912—	
Music -----	\$55. 00
Auto hire -----	8. 00
Decorations-----	15. 00
	48. 36
Signs-----	29. 00
	25. 00
	<hr/> 155. 36
238. Salaries for week ending Mar. 30, as per Exhibit A-----	1, 800. 00
239. Journal voucher—	
Mar. 5, 1912—	
C. S. Ramsay, jr., 2 dinners-----	\$4. 00
Telegram to Mr. Payne-----	1. 56
	<hr/> \$5. 56

Apr. 9, 1912—Continued.

239. Journal voucher—Continued.

Mar. 22—		
Auto hire-----	\$56.75	
Bills of Morris, canvassing-----	15.00	
Mar. 25—		
100 copies primary law-----	25.00	
C. S. Ramsay, jr., telegram, messenger-----	1.90	
Postage-----	10.00	
Postage for headquarters thirty-fifth assembly district-----	70.00	
Petty cash-----	200.00	
Mar. 26—		
Petty cash-----	100.00	
Press expenses-----	100.00	
Postage-----	10.00	
Mar. 27, 1912, car fare-----	.50	
Mar. 28—		
P. K. Hilton, supper, telephone, car fare, taxicab, etc-----	4.00	
Cab hire-----	9.00	
Mar. 29—		
P. K. Hilton, car fare, lunch-----	1.00	
C. S. Ramsay, jr., 2 dinners-----	2.00	
Mar. 30—		
Postage-----	1.00	
Check returned from Fifth Avenue Bank-----	20.00	
C. S. Ramsay, salary for Sunday, Mar. 24-----	5.00	
Leopold Goetz, salary-----	6.00	
Car fares and exchange-----	.85	
Salaries for 1 Madison Avenue-----	130.25	
Miss Dullin, salary-----	7.50	
Expenses in Bronx-----	100.00	
Apr. 2—		
Taxicab-----	1.00	
Dinners for 3 employees-----	7.60	
Moving furniture-----	2.00	
Apr. 4—		
Car fare and telephone-----	.60	
Car fare and telegram-----	2.77	
Apr. 10, postage-----	1.00	
		\$896.28
		49,565.93
Notaries-----		3,500.00
81. Error in listing as \$125; should have been \$125.03-----		.03
241. Campaign expense-----	\$12.00	
General office expense-----	.60	
		12.60
59. In on statement but not extended-----		513.70
181. (Part) omitted from statement—		
Salaries-----	\$30.00	
Postage-----	36.08	
General office expense-----	17.68	
Traveling expense-----	140.35	
		224.11
		53,816.37

The following items are deducted from statement
because the distribution of same is given in
vouchers 53, 56, 59, and 239:

6. Petty cash-----	100.00
7. Petty cash-----	50.00
10. Petty cash-----	84.00

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

277

Apr. 9, 1912—Continued.

22. Petty cash.....	\$238. 00	
42. Petty cash.....	50. 00	
55. Petty cash.....	201. 40	
56. Petty cash.....	90. 30	
		<u>\$813. 70</u>
		53, 002. 67

Less refunds:

Mar. 20, cash book, p. 4, E. H. Hooker, traveling expense.....	96. 15	
Apr. 9, cash book, p. 8, general office expense, redeposited.....	10. 00	
		<u>108. 15</u>
		52, 898. 52

These entries are supplementary and were added to this statement after the original had been filed at Albany.

Less deduction as per attached slip.....	270. 00	
		<u>52, 628. 52</u>
Less anonymous check, N. G., and deducted from receipts.....	20. 00	
		<u>52, 608. 52</u>

Voucher 164: \$270 of this should have been charged to national committee.

Salaries week ending Mar. 30, 1912.

C. E. Burton.....	\$38. 00	A. M. Dugan.....	\$10. 00
F. R. Bender.....	38. 00	Joseph Gizzie.....	15. 00
T. J. Kilgallen.....	33. 00	Wm. A. Holden.....	17. 00
Von Munchhausen.....	33. 00	Edward Kellar.....	23. 00
Miss Dunn.....	33. 00	L. P. Klug.....	15. 00
Vickery.....	33. 00	Henry Lazar.....	9. 00
O. C. Carpenter.....	125. 00	N. H. Lazar.....	9. 00
G. R. Manchester.....	100. 00	Emanuel Levy.....	9. 00
Jas. J. Lewis.....	60. 00	Joseph McCourt.....	17. 00
H. M. Kennedy.....	20. 00	Isaac B. Allen.....	12. 50
Arthur H. Faust.....	30. 00	S. J. Beckerman.....	3. 00
J. W. McGrath.....	30. 00	Herman Engel.....	17. 50
Isaac Newman.....	25. 00	M. L. Gerther.....	10. 00
E. W. Klein (1 day).....	5. 00	W. J. Hampton.....	5. 00
P. C. Schermerhorn.....	25. 00	Frank Hirshkowitz.....	12. 50
Hayes, M.....	18. 00	William Jerkowitz.....	20. 50
Mowbray, Mrs.....	18. 00	Louis Kerner.....	10. 00
Ramsay, C. S.....	18. 00	Moritz Klein.....	12. 50
Martin Casey.....	28. 00	Sol Krisky.....	10. 00
Chas. Conick, jr.....	25. 00	Joe Krombach.....	12. 50
Carl Dannhauser.....	14. 00	Abraham Levy.....	25. 00
Philip Schroeder.....	24. 50	Nathan Meltze.....	7. 50
Cooksey, F. E.....	25. 00	Henry Osborn.....	12. 50
Abe Adisky.....	17. 50	A. G. Perkins.....	12. 50
Miss Enright.....	15. 00	W. T. R. Richardson.....	12. 50
Miss Goldsant.....	15. 00	Roscoe Simmons.....	12. 50
Miss Greenfield.....	15. 00	J. C. H. Smith.....	12. 50
James Klugman.....	17. 00	Annie Wolf.....	19. 00
Miss Lenkel.....	15. 00	A. G. Perkins.....	12. 50
Miss Mellinger.....	5. 00	W. T. Velitch.....	4. 50
Miss Reynolds.....	15. 00	W. D. Spear.....	2. 00
Miss R. Schwartz.....	15. 00	E. Levy.....	1. 00
Miss Sachs.....	34. 00	Henry Lazar.....	5. 00
Miss Stuart.....	15. 00	Miss Mellinger.....	1. 00
Miss Tauber.....	15. 00	Miss Baumer.....	15. 00
Miss Unger.....	11. 50	Miss Benedict.....	15. 00
John C. Baker.....	15. 00	L. H. Bevan.....	17. 00
Edwin Campbell.....	17. 00	Miss Cameron.....	15. 00
Fred A. Guckson.....	25. 00	A. de Wilde.....	17. 00

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

E. Eisner	\$8. 50	Overtime.	
W. J. Morgan	17. 00		
Joseph Morris	15. 00	Jas. J. Lewis	\$8. 00
G. A. Price	9. 00	J. W. McGrath	3. 00
Edwin G. Riley	17. 00	H. M. Kennedy	11. 00
Louis E. Rose	12. 00	A. H. Faust	5. 00
M. Schwartz	9. 00	L. I. Goetz	3. 00
B. W. Silverman	17. 00	E. W. Klein	20. 00
W. A. Smith	17. 00	Chas. Conick, jr	27. 00
Wm. D. Spear	18. 00	Martin Casey	12. 00
John Strong	15. 00	Carl Dannhauser	21. 00
W. R. Veltsch	17. 00	F. C. Cooksey	9. 00
A. T. Von Schach	15. 00	P. C. Schermerhorn	7. 00
Henry Welsing	17. 00	M. Hayes	1. 00
Henry E. White	7. 00	Mrs. Mowbray	3. 00

Petty cash to March 27, 1912.

Butler	\$0. 35
Spear .....	. 90
Hatfield	10. 00
Burton	2. 50
Burton	2. 65
Rabinoff .....	. 60
Cash ticket	1. 00
Barnstein	1. 15
J. C. H. Smith	5. 50
Henry Horn	2. 00
Henry Horn	1. 00
Henry Horn	1. 15
A. G. Carmiencke	3. 25
A. G. Carmiencke	14. 80
Von Munchhausen	1. 00
A. G. Carmiencke	5. 00
G. R. Bender	6. 40
	59. 25
Deduct advance	15. 00
	44. 25

Errors in pay roll March 16, 1912, paid by Albert G. Carmiencke.

	Dr.	Cr.
Miss Fellner, correction from \$7 to \$11		\$4. 00
Miss Schwartz, correction from \$12 to \$10	\$2. 00	
Miss Mollinger, correction from \$5 to \$13		8. 00
Balance due A. G. Carmiencke	10. 00	
	12. 00	12. 00

Money expended by the Roosevelt League for notaries in connection with obtaining signatures to Roosevelt petitions.

Feb. 2, 1912, Joseph Murray	\$10. 00	Mar. 6, 1912—Continued.	
Feb. 26, 1912:		Peter Alpern	\$3. 50
Joseph Murray	20. 00	John H. Howell	7. 00
William J. Murray	10. 00	Charles O. Snyder	10. 00
Giovanni Zingale	2. 50	Mar. 7, 1912:	
Mar. 6, 1912:		Nathan Balach	12. 00
George J. Hayden	15. 50	Jacob Cash	10. 00
David Maxcy	10. 00	Arthur W. Wall	7. 00
E. H. Haines	9. 50	Franklin M. Clark	12. 50
Joseph H. Goldstein	9. 50	Albert Singer	4. 00
W. A. Allen	2. 00	Franklin Brown	2. 00
E. J. Lepman	12. 50	Arthur Robson	6. 00
Robert J. Marshall	6. 00	Morris Levy	8. 00
M. J. A. Hickey	8. 00	Simeon J. Becherman	40. 00

Mar. 7, 1912—Continued.

Louis I. Fordham	\$9.50
Robert L. Stelbust	7.50
W. A. Holden	2.45
Harry M. Fuldman	9.00
Frank D. Shea	16.00
Samuel J. Levy	15.00
Albert Sanford	5.00
Abraham Levy	17.50
T. W. Brooks	2.50
David Helfier	4.50
Arthur M. Daly	3.00
Edw. A. Le Pard	11.00
Sam Gowzer	4.50
A. Allen	4.50
Albert Trilsch	2.00
Henry W. Ferns	5.00
Giovanni Quigale	2.50
Nathaniel F. Schmidt	7.25
Morris P. Marcus	2.25
P. Palladino	12.50
E. Bingdorf	1.50
Albert E. Schnelder	1.00
Harry Kurzman	10.00
Bernard Schlenger	7.00
Frank McDermott	10.00
John H. Webster	5.00
Charles R. Hughes	10.50
R. K. Burr	6.00
George T. Gettum	4.00

Mar. 2, 1912:

Frederick C. Dunn	16.00
Arthur Robson	10.50
L. H. Lubrasky	8.25
Simeon J. Beckerman	16.50
George M. Troutman	10.00
Edw. Elsner	5.00
Gaylord N. Smith	10.50
Frank G. Weiss	5.00
Edw. A. Le Pard	17.50
Arthur G. Muhlker	5.50
Arthur G. Muhlker	2.50

Mar. 4, 1912:

William Tromm	13.00
Jacob Cash	10.00
Frederick C. Dunn	25.00
Louis F. Pieper	12.00
Frank D. Shea	.50
William S. Chamberlain	.50
Samuel Makoff	3.50

Mar. 3, 1912. Geo. F. Mahoney.

Mar. 12, 1912. Albert Tulchy.

Mar. 4, 1912:

P. Palladino	10.50
E. H. Haines	5.00
Albert G. Veitch	1.50
Samuel Goldfried	2.50
J. H. Webster	7.50
George T. Gettum	5.00
Harry Kurzman	10.00
Aaron Lichtblau	9.00
Albert A. Valentine	7.50
Henry C. Quintin	6.00
Giovanni Zingole	5.50
Rollin K. Burr	6.50
Edmund J. Liepmann	8.50
George F. Bentley	6.00

Mar. 4, 1912—Continued.

Monroe J. Keith	\$2.50
Morris Marcus	12.50
Frederick C. Dunn	12.50
Louis R. Sherman	1.00
James A. Hawley	7.50
Harry P. Somerville	3.00
M. M. Abraum	5.00
L. H. Lubarsky	5.50
Simeon J. Beckerman	30.00
Maxim Callif	10.00
David Maxcy	3.00
Thomas F. Kilroe	3.00
B. E. Halley	9.00
Maxwell Posner	3.50
Frank G. Weiss	7.50
Charles Beckman	4.50
G. M. Troutman	15.00
Maxwell Posner	.50
Charles R. Hughes	4.00
James A. Bailey, jr	5.50
Simpson Levi	3.00
Abraham N. Eltenla	2.00
John O. Henron	2.50
John H. Lombard	6.50
E. Byron Ray	4.00
Frank D. Shea	3.00
L. A. Wendt	9.50
Frank McDermott	10.00
F. M. Brooks	4.00
Joseph Hoffman	10.00
John H. Howell, jr	4.00
Peter Alpern	10.50
Barney D. Lipman	.50
A. G. Hudson	5.00
Joseph B. Pierce	5.50
Harry L. Blot	1.00
M. M. Korn	5.00
Albert Schnelder	5.00
Edw. A. Le Pard	7.00
Herman L. Levy	4.50
Charles Ielbowitz	10.00
W. M. Campbell, jr	6.50
Gaylord N. Smith	9.00
Robert J. Marshall	3.00
George J. Heydem	5.50
Samuel J. Levy	8.00
George F. Mahoney	5.00
Leo Rocklin	7.50
James J. Malloy	7.00
M. Finkelstein	4.50
Charles O. Snyder	5.00
E. H. Haines	5.00
Jacob Cash	9.00
A. F. Muhlbacker	7.50
David Hufler	8.50
Harry Greenberg	9.00
Joseph Paone	9.50
Arthur W. Wall	5.50
I. M. Jacobs	3.00
Samuel F. Fromm	.70
Beckerman	20.00
James M. Campbell	7.00
Samuel Weingarten	5.50
Morris Levy	11.50
Michael J. A. Hickey	2.00
Harry M. Friedman	8.50

Mar. 4, 1912—Continued.

Henry M. Harris	\$3. 00
Louis T. Cordan	9. 00
M. Myers	1. 50
C. Franklin Cam	17. 00
Harry P. Somerville	3. 50
L. Backlin	8. 50
Samuel Goldgried	4. 50
William Draemel, jr	3. 00
Samuel Makoff	4. 00
Morris P. Marcus	8. 00
Franklin M. Clark	5. 00
W. Allen	1. 00
Harry P. Somerville	3. 50
L. H. Lubarsky	4. 00
William A. Ferguson	1. 00
William A. Ferguson	1. 00
P. Palladino	10. 00
John H. Webster	14. 50
M. Finkelstein	2. 50
James K. Clark	13. 00
William Abramson	5. 00
Nathan Lutzky	3. 50
E. S. Manee	5. 00
Marcy Coan	5. 00
John T. Lacy	14. 25
J. David Dux	6. 50
Frank N. Simon	6. 25
Charles Leibowitz	19. 50
Alfred T. Rowe	10. 00
George T. Gerstine	1. 50
James J. Malloy	6. 50
Unknown	3. 50

Mar. 5, 1912:

Harry M. Friedman	5. 00
Nathan Barash	13. 00
Jacob Cash	5. 00
E. H. Haines	5. 00
Arthur Robson	14. 50
F. Murphy	7. 50
J. W. Gray	10. 00
Harry Greenberg	9. 50
Thomas C. Reilly	10. 00
A. Levy	3. 00
Arthur W. Wall	1. 00
Louis Wilednik	2. 40
A. P. Sanforn	2. 00
W. S. Howe	2. 00
Samuel Weingarten	5. 00
E. S. Manee	5. 00
F. L. Shea	3. 00
J. M. Jacobs	7. 50
Max Jacobs	6. 50
M. J. A. Hickey	5. 00
John Gallagher	2. 00
P. Palladino	2. 00
Nathaniel F. Schmidt	6. 50
Frederick C. Dunn	15. 00
Harry Kurzman	9. 00
A. G. Hudson	1. 00
Joseph Morris	. 50

Mar. 4, 1912:

Conrad Jaki, jr	10. 00
Arthur M. Daly	10. 00
Frederick Calhoun	3. 00

Mar. 4, 1912—Continued.

Louis Bernstein	\$10. 00
Thomas C. Reilly	3. 00
Nathan Lutzky	4. 50
Nathan Barach	3. 00
William Tromm	4. 50
F. H. Sarfatz	6. 50
Alfred T. Rowe	7. 00
W. H. Gleason	4. 25
Louis F. Pieper	7. 50
Robert Stethus	11. 50
James N. McNeud	4. 50
Albert Singer	9. 50
W. H. Durua	10. 00
H. M. Smith	4. 50
Ernest Bungdorf	4. 50
Arthur F. Muhlker	10. 00
David Helfler	8. 50
George H. Goldstein	7. 00
Morris M. Drake	11. 00

Mar. 6, 1912:

Frank McDermott	6. 00
Charles R. Hughes	7. 00
Harry Greenberg	14. 50
Henry C. Quintin	6. 50
Rollin K. Burr	9. 50
L. A. Wandt	19. 00
Harry Kurzman	15. 00
E. A. Le Pard	6. 00
Louis F. Pieper	11. 50
John T. C. Lombard	8. 50
Maxwell Posner	6. 00
Joseph Hoffman	14. 00
R. A. Lubarsky	10. 00
George F. Bentley	10. 50
M. Myers	3. 00
David Helfler	9. 50
Thomas C. Reilly	19. 00
A. F. Muhlbacker	5. 00
Aaron Lichtblau	10. 50
Leopold Levy	7. 50
George M. Troutman	10. 00
William J. Smith	7. 00
Arthur Klein	5. 00
Peter Lauria	13. 00
Maxim Cuciled	9. 50
Arthur M. Daly	4. 00
Arthur E. Carroll	3. 50
A. Valentine	12. 00
George F. Stewart	10. 00
Solomon Mattyson	5. 00
Charles Beckman	16. 00
Joseph Paone	12. 00
Arthur G. Muhlker	10. 00
James M. Campbell	3. 50
Morris Shenker	10. 50
Edwin Campbell, jr	7. 50
Conrad Jak, jr	5. 50
L. J. Le Rolle	9. 50
Max Sudowitz	3. 00
Frank G. Weiss	8. 00
Samuel F. Fromm	22. 00
Gaylord N. Smith	10. 00
Elkan L. Wasserman	6. 00
B. B. Fordeman	3. 50
C. Royce Hubert	11. 50

Mar. 6, 1912—Continued.

James J. Molloy	\$4. 50
Arthur Robson	2. 50
Nathan Lutzky	10. 50
George F. Bentley	3. 00
Robert J. Marshall	8. 50
Alfred T. Rowe	4. 00
Aaron Lichtblau	4. 00
F. L. Dimmoch	3. 50
G. M. Troutman	2. 50
Marcy Coan	6. 00
Rollin K. Burr	9. 00
Charles Leibowitz	10. 50
William Draemel, jr	12. 50
Albert Valentine	6. 00
Maxwell Posner	8. 50
Giovanni Zingole	6. 50
Max Finkelstein	7. 00
Frank McDermott	10. 00
John T. Lucy	12. 00
Robert M. Purcell	11. 50
Henry C. Quintin	10. 00
W. I. Smith	8. 50
Edwin Campbell, jr	10. 00
Peter Alpern	4. 50
E. Bryon Ray	6. 00
I. L. Arofsky	1. 00
John C. Lombardo	5. 50
James A. Bailey, jr	1. 50
W. W. G. Clason	5. 50
Charles R. Hughes	10. 00
Horace Meyers	7. 00
Joseph B. Pierce	3. 00
Joseph Hoffman	9. 50
Meyer Shapiro	5. 00
Nathaniel F. Schmidt	13. 50
Morris P. Marcus	14. 00
L. A. Wendt	9. 50
G. Young	6. 00
Frank G. Weiss	8. 50
Albert Singer	13. 50
Herman L. Levy	4. 00
R. F. Larfat	10. 00
Havilak M. Smith	6. 50
Edmund J. Liepmann	6. 50
Gaylord N. Smith	12. 00
John H. Howell, jr	6. 00
Edw. J. Le Pard	8. 50
C. Jursik	5. 50
Damen N. McNeill	6. 00
F. M. Brook	7. 50
Arthur G. Muhlker	6. 00
Robert L. Stelhus	12. 50
Maxim Cuciter	4. 00
Peter T. Lauria	14. 00
Solomon R. Matthysse	9. 50
Charles R. Hubert	10. 50
M. M. Duhan	13. 00
Samuel J. Levy	9. 00
George J. Heydeman	9. 50
Joseph H. Goldstein	6. 00

Mar. 7, 1912:

Maxwell Posner	2. 00
Harry P. Somerville	7. 00
Isidore D. Gutz	2. 00
William J. Smith	9. 50

Mar. 7, 1912—Continued.

Henry C. Quintin	\$6. 50
W. I. Smith	15. 00
Joseph Hoffman	4. 50
John T. C. Lombard	7. 00
Harry Kurzman	4. 00
Morris P. Marcus	13. 50
B. J. Carter	7. 50
George F. Bentley	10. 00
Harry Greenberg	1. 00
M. Myers	6. 00
Simeon J. Beckerman	8. 50
Louis Bernstein	25. 00
Edward A. Le Pard	7. 50
J. M. Jacobs	10. 50
C. Franklin Cam	17. 50
Frank G. Weiss	5. 50
Albert Singer	4. 25
Giovanni Zingole	2. 50
John P. Peel	7. 00
Henry J. Callahan	2. 75
Arthur E. Carroll	5. 50
Henry J. Callahan	. 25
Gaylord N. Smith	5. 25
W. W. Gleason	17. 50
L. A. Wendt	12. 00
P. Palladino	15. 50
James J. Molloy	7. 00
A. G. Hudson	9. 00
A. W. Daly	5. 00
Nelson J. Roth	. 50
John T. Lacy	17. 00
G. M. Troutman	19. 00
F. W. Brook	5. 25
Samuel Weingarten	4. 00
Mar. 8, 1912, Charles Meyer	4. 50
Mar. 7, 1912, Frankel Brown	4. 25
Mar. 8, 1912:	
James M. Campbell	1. 00
A. G. Velch	3. 50
Abraham Levy	14. 00
Samuel J. Levy	1. 00
Joseph Paone	6. 00
Henry M. Harig	8. 50
M. M. Duhan	5. 25
Robert L. Stebbins	2. 50
Unknown	3. 25
Louis B. Cordan	5. 25
Harry Knustle	3. 00
Herman M. Stoffus	27. 00
Morris Silverstone	5. 50
H. W. Peters	7. 25
Bernard Schlenger	16. 50
O. H. Vickruh	1. 75
Frank McDermott	10. 00
Morris Shenker	5. 25
Robert Holmes, jr	7. 00
Morris Shenker	5. 25
Frederick N. Hamberg	3. 50
Morris Weinstein	3. 25
Joseph B. Pierce	6. 00
William A. Holden	4. 00
Abraham Adisky	16. 50
Morris P. Marcus	14. 50
Harry Kurzman	15. 00
Samuel Goldgrier	2. 00

Mar. 8, 1912—Continued.

Frederick C. Dunn	\$14. 00
Harry Greenberg	4. 50
Henry C. Quintin	6. 00
Frank G. Weiss	6. 00
Oscar T. Gettum	4. 50
John T. Lombard	7. 00
Joseph Hoffman	8. 50
Wm. Silverstone	2. 50
James A. Hanley	5. 50
Albert A. Valentine	12. 50
Alfred T. Rowe	9. 25
Chas. O. Snyder	1. 50
Nelson Potts	3. 50
Edw. A. Le Pard	5. 75
Wm. J. Smith	2. 75
Rollin K. Burr	20. 00
Abraham Levy	20. 00
Henry W. Horig	5. 50
Wm. Draemel, jr	3. 50
W. W. Gleason	4. 25
Robt. L. Stebbins	9. 75
Chas. Meyer	4. 50
Louis F. Pleper	9. 00
Edward Elsner	28. 50
Frank Mone	19. 25
A. G. Veitch	3. 50

Feb. 27, 1912:

Wm. F. O'Brien	8. 25
August C. Auger	7. 00
A. Baecht	5. 00
Keim Adv. Agency	. 75
Conrad A. Laum	5. 00
M. Scheinberg	2. 50
A. C. Chasel	5. 00
A. Baecht	4. 00
Giovanni Zingole	4. 50
Fredk. C. Dunn	10. 00
Wm. F. O'Brien	5. 50
Fredk. C. Dunn	5. 00
Samuel Weingarten	5. 50
James P. McManus	12. 00
James P. McManus	1. 00
M. L. Jacobs	5. 00
Gaylord N. Smith	5. 00
Henry C. Quintin	18. 75
Aug. C. Auger	3. 50
Arthur G. Muhlker	10. 00
Arthur G. Muhlker	3. 50

Feb. 28, 1912:

Louis Baerhr	5. 00
Peter Alpern	5. 00
C. Franklin Cam	1. 00
M. L. Jacobs	7. 00
L. H. Lubarsky	4. 50
A. C. Chaset	2. 50
Rollin K. Burr	2. 50
M. Schenberg	10. 00
Giovanni Zingole	5. 00
Wm. F. O'Brien	7. 00
W. J. Murray	10. 00
Peter Alpern	5. 50
G. M. Troutman	5. 50
James P. McManus	12. 00
Henry C. Quintin	9. 50
Giovanni Zingole	. 50
Simeon J. Beckerman	8. 00

Feb. 29, 1912:

William Abramson	\$8. 00
Gaylord N. Smith	7. 50
C. Franklin Cam	3. 00
Samuel Weingarten	7. 00

Feb. 28, 1912:

George F. Mahoney	6. 00
Arthur F. Muhlker	3. 50

Feb. 29, 1912:

Giovanni Zingole	1. 00
Rollin K. Burr	3. 00
C. Franklin Cam	1. 50
Peter Alpern	7. 50
Gaylord N. Smith	4. 00
James P. McManus	5. 00
F. W. Burne	5. 00
L. H. Lubarsky	7. 50

Mar. 1, 1912:

Frederick C. Dunn	18. 00
S. J. Beckerman	19. 50
George F. Mahoney	1. 00
Auger	9. 50
James Osgood	7. 50
Pasquale Palladino	7. 00
Wm. S. Chamberlain	1. 00
A. A. Valentine	2. 00
Nathan Barach	5. 00
S. Weingarten	3. 00
L. H. Lubarsky	5. 50
Arthur Robson	5. 00
Albert A. Valentine	4. 50
F. M. Burns	5. 00
Unknown	3. 00
Rollin K. Burr	6. 50
Frederick C. Dunn	15. 00
Edw. A. Le Pard	7. 50
Peter Alpern	10. 00
William Abramson	6. 00
Chas. R. Hughes	7. 75
Albert Singer	9. 75
W. I. Smith	10. 00
M. J. Carter	5. 50
Abraham Levy	9. 75
Albert Singer	8. 25
Simeon J. Beckerman	19. 50
James J. Reilly	8. 75
Leopold Levy	7. 50
Samuel Weingarten	3. 75
David Heifler	3. 00
P. Palladino	13. 00
Giovanni Zingole	17. 00
John T. Lacy	12. 50

Mar. 9, 1912:

Wm. A. Holden	5. 00
Fredk. C. Dunn	12. 25
L. A. Wendt	16. 50
F. W. Burns	24. 00
H. W. Tenas	9. 25
Jos. Morris	24. 00
W. J. Coppings	1. 25
Jno. H. Webster	8. 25
Franklin Brown	4. 50
J. P. McManus	33. 00
Simeon J. Beckerman	15. 00
Gaylord N. Smith	11. 00

Mar. 2, 1912:

C. Franklin Cam	6. 50
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Mar. 2, 1912—Continued.

G. M. Troutman	\$5.00
L. Hyland	3.00
P. Palladino	2.50
Nathaniel F. Schmidt	2.50
H. C. Quintin	7.50
Max Jacobs	4.50
F. W. Burns	5.00
Joseph Morris	6.00
Peter Flint	5.00
James P. McManus	30.00

Mar. 2, 1912—Continued.

Frank D. Shea	\$3.50
Nathaniel F. Schmidt	4.00
Harry C. Quintin	5.50
George F. Bentley	2.00
George T. Gettum	1.50
Nathan Barach	9.00
R. K. Burr	13.00
A. A. Valentine	4.00
Samuel Weingarten	2.50
Peter Alpern	12.00

Exhibit shown witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hooker, what is Exhibit A?

Mr. HOOKER. Exhibit A is a statement of all receipts and expenditures which passed through my hands as treasurer of the New York County committee during the primary campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that committee called?

Mr. HOOKER. The Roosevelt committee of the State of New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions that were made to that fund to your knowledge that do not appear in this Exhibit A?

Mr. HOOKER. Nothing of any kind.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any by repute?

Mr. HOOKER. No; I think the secretary of state of New York said that was the most complete report that had ever been made by any political committee. It gives every expenditure down to \$5 from the beginning of the campaign to the end, and all receipts.

The CHAIRMAN. This will be marked "Exhibit B." [To the witness] Mr. Hooker, what is Exhibit B?

Mr. HOOKER. Exhibit B is a summation of the contents of Exhibit A.

The paper referred to is accordingly marked "Hooker, Exhibit B," and is as follows:

HOOKEE EXHIBIT B.

[Office of the treasurer, Elon Huntington Hooker.]

PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
HOTEL MANHATTAN,
New York, September 30, 1912.

Mr. E. H. HOOKER, Treasurer,
Hotel Manhattan, New York City.

DEAR SIR: I beg to submit the following statement showing receipts and disbursements of funds handled by you during the New York State primary campaign:

New York State primary campaign—Official report dated Apr. 15, 1912, and filed at Albany, N. Y.

Total receipts from contributions	\$59, 126. 35
Total disbursements	52, 606. 52
	6, 519. 83

Balance transferred or subscribed to national primary campaign.

Very truly, yours,

G. E. VERIE, Auditor.

HOOKER EXHIBIT B2.

[Office of the treasurer, Elon Huntington Hooker.]

PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

HOTEL MANHATTAN,
New York, September 30, 1912.Mr. E. H. HOOKER, *Treasurer,*
Hotel Manhattan, New York City.

DEAR SIR: I beg to submit the following statement showing receipts and disbursements of funds handled by you during the national primary campaign:

National primary campaign.

Disbursement of funds accounted under report dated Sept. 7, 1912:

Total receipts from contributions.....	143,999. 62
Total disbursements.....	141,657. 64

Cash balance.....	2,341. 98
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Very truly, yours,

G. E. VELIE, *Auditor.*

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to the Republican national convention held in Chicago in June, was there a State organization in the interest of Col. Roosevelt's candidacy that you know of?

Mr. HOOKER. No; no clean-cut State organization. There was an organization in the State of New York, but no general State organization, just as there is now.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any individual who acted as treasurer generally for the State?

Mr. HOOKER. Of New York?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HOOKER. I acted in that capacity to whatever extent there was one. The money is all shown there that was spent.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand—I have not had time to examine this paper, but understand that this relates to Kings County.

Senator PAYNTER. To New York County.

Mr. HOOKER. Yes; but there were no expenditures outside of that that we had any knowledge of.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, to the best of your knowledge, Exhibit A covers all the contributions that were made in Col. Roosevelt's behalf in the State of New York for the campaign previous to the Republican national convention held at Chicago?

Mr. HOOKER. So far as I know, and that is the official report only for the county. But there was practically nothing else.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who acted——

Mr. HOOKER. Senator, may I add a word?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. HOOKER. There is an exception which I just remember. Mr. Amos Pinchot was treasurer of the league of clubs centering around New York, which spent around \$11,000, and he made a report to the secretary of state of New York as well. Those two things comprise all the money that was spent.

Senator POMERENE. Did you say Amos Pinchot?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of your own knowledge that he did report?

Mr. HOOKER. I know he did; yes, sir. His report was published in the papers at the same time mine was.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to the Republican national convention held at Chicago in June, do you know to what extent, if any, there was a national organization in behalf of Col. Roosevelt's candidacy?

Mr. HOOKER. There was a more or less formal national organization, of which Senator Dixon was the campaign manager.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who acted as treasurer for that organization?

Mr. HOOKER. That organization had no treasurer. To an extent, I acted as treasurer as near as there was one.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any statement of contributions to that fund?

Mr. HOOKER. I have such a statement; yes sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may present it.

The witness here produced the paper called for.

The CHAIRMAN. I think in order to shorten the record, I will have the summary attached as one exhibit, with the approval of the committee. [To the witness.] That is the national State convention?

Mr. HOOPER. That is the digest on the top and the detail follows.

The CHAIRMAN. Please hand this paper to the reporter to be marked "Hooker Exhibit C."

The paper referred to is accordingly marked "Hooker Exhibit C," and is as follows:

HOOKER EXHIBIT C.

National primary campaign—Total expenditures to September 7, 1912.

Salaries of employees connected with the management of the campaign	\$4, 194. 60
Printing.....	9, 913. 91
Advertising.....	7, 990. 86
Stationary and office supplies.....	1, 025. 46
Telegraph and telephone.....	3, 962. 02
Office rent and office expenses.....	2, 504. 39
Furniture and fixtures.....	176. 45
Traveling expenses, railway transportation, and all other expenses connected with speakers and other men in the field.....	16, 970. 11
Campaign expenses, including postage, shipping of printed matter, etc.....	3, 110. 57
National convention expenses, including cost of headquarters, \$4,132.35	4, 557.25
Maryland	5, 000. 00
Massachusetts	52, 134. 00
Maine	3, 500. 00
Vermont	2, 500. 00
Illinois	13, 500. 00
Oklahoma	2, 501. 00
New York State committee.....	25. 00
Washington, D. C., headquarters.....	7, 500. 00
Vermont recount.....	94. 74
Massachusetts recount	475. 28
Total.....	141, 657. 64

National primary campaign contributions.

Feb. 20-29. H. L. Stoddard.....	\$4, 000. 00
Mar. 6. Alex. S. Cochran.....	10, 000. 00
Apr. 9. Frank A. Munsey.....	5, 000. 00
George W. Perkins.....	5, 000. 00

1912.

Apr.	15.	Queene Feery Coonley	\$499. 50
	16.	Charles S. Stickney	500. 00
	17.	W. Emlen Roosevelt	5, 000. 00
	18.	F. A. Munsey	5, 000. 00
		W. Barbour	5, 000. 00
		Dr. L. H. Baekeland	100. 00
	26.	Chas. S. Bird	5, 500. 00
		D. R. Hanna	25, 000. 00
		Oscar L. Straus	500. 00
	27.	F. A. Munsey	7, 500. 00
May	3.	George W. Perkins	5, 000. 00
	7.	E. D. Brandegee	1, 000. 00
		L. E. Opdycke	100. 00
		Frank A. Munsey	1, 500. 00
	9.	George W. Perkins	7, 500. 00
	21.	R. D. Wrenn	100. 00
		T. H. Minks	100. 00
	25.	Wm. Barbour	2, 500. 00
	27.	Hamilton Fish	1, 000. 00
	28.	Fredk. Whitridge	1, 000. 00
		George W. Perkins	5, 000. 00
	29.	Leigh Hunt	500. 00
	31.	Quan Yick Nam	100. 00
June	3.	J. P. Grier	250. 00
		Frank B. Keech	1, 000. 00
		Henry W. Bull	100. 00
		Judge Wm. H. Day	250. 00
		Herman Frascch	10, 000. 00
	21.	D. J. Hill	499. 50
	24.	J. D. Larkin	1, 000. 00
		Olivia M. Cutting	2, 000. 00
July	3.	Dr. Albert Shaw	3, 000. 00
	25.	Everett Colby	150. 00
	29.	Douglas Robinson	5, 000. 00
		G. Emlen Roosevelt	5, 000. 00
		E. H. Hooker and Blanche Ferry Hooker	5, 000. 00
		Sundry small contributions as per list attached	230. 79
		Roosevelt Committee of City of New York	6, 519. 83

Total 143, 999. 62

Sundry small contributions.

1912.

Apr.	15.	Arthur T. Lowry	\$5. 00
		Carl Ashley	1. 00
		Anonymous	16. 79
	16.	Curtis C. Bushnell	3. 00
		Anonymous	1. 00
		Curtis C. Bushnell	10. 00
	22.	Mrs. R. F. Beardsley	1. 00
		Anonymous	31. 00
	24.	Anonymous	4. 00
May	26.	W. H. Potter	10. 00
	21.	Paul S. Ache	75. 00
		J. Emerson	1. 00
		A. H. Ratcliffe	5. 00
		Robert C. Hull	5. 00
		J. C. Dopsee	5. 00
		Wm. S. Cannon	10. 00
	27.	Wm. J. Lowell	10. 00
	31.		10. 00
		Yandell Henderson	25. 00
June	3.	Dr. R. H. Waterford	5. 00
	8.	Elizabeth Coonley	5. 00
	24.	Anonymous	1. 00
July	6.	J. C. Jessup	5. 00

230. 79

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

287

Expenditures for national purposes.

1912.	V. No.		
Mar. 12.	46.	Cash sent to Oklahoma-----	\$2, 500. 00
12.	47.	Cost of transmitting the above-----	1. 00
13.	54.	Sent to Frank Knox for Illinois-----	3, 000. 00
18.	61.	Kountze Bros. (bank draft for Illinois)-----	2, 500. 00
18.	62.	Sent to Alexander Revell for Illinois-----	7, 500. 00
19.	70.	Charles H. Duell for Vermont-----	500. 00
23.	116.	Charles H. Duell for Vermont-----	1, 400. 00
25.	137.	Col. Fredk. Hale for Maine-----	2, 000. 00
Apr. 4.	144.	G. E. Velle, to repay advances for Roosevelt party on trip to Louisville-----	101. 00
4.	146.	Traveling expenses of E. H. Hooker, to Chicago-----	200. 00
15.	239.	Sundry payments to Pullman Co. and for railroad tickets during month of April, paid through petty cash-----	190. 75
Mar. 6.	3.	R. C. Mitchell, part traveling expenses to North Carolina-----	30. 00
6.	7.	E. H. Hooker, for trip to Boston-----	30. 00
11.	31.	Herring Hall Marvin Safe Co. for one small safe-----	65. 00
11.	38.	R. C. Mitchell, part traveling expenses to North Carolina-----	36. 74
12.	44.	R. C. Mitchell, balance of expenses, North Carolina trip-----	125. 00
13.	58.	Advance to E. H. Hooker for traveling expenses-----	200. 00
19.	68.	Viereck Publishing Co. for mailing Roosevelt pamphlets-----	300. 00
20.	83.	George Henry Payne for personal expenses-----	100. 00
21.	95.	F. A. Munsey Co. for 500 magazines sent to Arthur R. Rypley, Harrisburg, Pa-----	39. 8
21.	97.	James B. Reynolds for traveling expenses, trip to Manchester, N. H-----	20. 0
21.	164.	Mail & Express Job Print (part bill)-----	270. 0
Apr. 9.	1.	The Pullman Co., Roosevelt party-----	350. 0
9.	2.	G. E. Velle, reimbursement for advances, traveling expenses to Chicago-----	70. 00
9.	3.	Charles H. Duell:	
		Pennsylvania Railroad-----	\$652. 50
		Baltimore & Ohio Railroad-----	380. 75
		Baltimore & Ohio Railroad-----	468. 75
			1, 502. 00
9.	4.	Frank Miscuraca, advertising in newspapers printed in foreign languages-----	2, 500. 00
9.	5.	Charles H. Duell, Pennsylvania Railroad-----	1, 689. 50
9.	6.	Canceled-----	
9.	8.	Cash, traveling expenses of E. H. Hooker-----	100. 00
9.	9.	Frank A. Munsey Co., bill Mar. 26-----	2, 310. 82
9.	10.	George H. Payne, advance statement of disbursements Feb. 29 to Apr. 6-----	168. 59
13.	11.	New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R., traveling expenses-----	265. 09
13.	11.	G. E. Velle, reimbursement for advances on transportation-----	202. 91
13.	13.	T. J. Kilgallon, salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	12. 50
13.	14.	H. F. Kennedy, salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	20. 00
13.	15.	Philip Schroder, salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	24. 50
13.	16.	C. E. Conick, jr., salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	25. 00
13.	17.	J. M. Macdonald, salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	15. 00
13.	18.	C. S. Ramsay, salary-----	18. 00
15.	19.	J. W. McGrath, 2 weeks' salary-----	60. 00
15.	20.	Cash, A. G. Carmiencke, advance against salary, \$10; P. K. Hilton, personal expenses Apr. 12 and 13, \$4.75-----	14. 75
16.	21.	Civic Forum-----	10. 00

1912.	V. No.		
Apr. 17.	22.	G. H. Payne, as per statement, Feb. 29 to Apr. 6-----	\$200. 00
17.	23.	Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R., traveling expenses-----	2, 696. 00
18.	24.	L. G. Schroeder, transportation and sundry expenses---	198. 60
19.	25.	J. W. Davis, reimbursement for expenditures up to and including April 12-----	53. 67
20.	26.	James J. McDonald, salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	41. 00
20.	27.	Chas. E. Conick, jr., salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	37. 50
20.	28.	Phillip Schroeder, salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	33. 50
20.	29.	H. F. Kennedy, salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	32. 00
20.	30.	L. G. Dunn, salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	31. 00
20.	31.	Miss Turpeny, salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	4. 00
20.	32.	B. Frost, salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	18. 00
20.	33.	Phillip Schroeder, weekly expense account-----	12. 53
20.	34.	A. A. Mowbray, salary-----	12. 10
20.	35.	C. S. Ramsay, salary-----	18. 00
22.	36.	G. E. Velle, reimbursement for advance for traveling expense-----	63. 00
22.	37.	Petty cash-----	100. 00
22.	38.	Pennsylvania Railroad-----	62. 91
22.	39.	Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad-----	186. 70
22.	40.	H. L. Stoddard; Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R., \$963.95; Pullman Co., \$675-----	1, 638. 95
22.	41.	Cash, traveling expenses, E. H. Hooker-----	75. 00
22.	42.	E. H. Hooker, Massachusetts Roosevelt committee---	5, 000. 00
22.	43.	G. E. Velle, reimbursement for advance for traveling expenses E. H. Hooker-----	125. 00
20.	44.	A. G. Carlencke, settlement in full of salary to date---	350. 00
22.	45.	T. J. Kilgallon, settlement in full of salary to date---	37. 50
27.	46.	J. J. McDonald, salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	30. 50
27.	47.	C. E. Conick, jr., salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	33. 50
27.	48.	P. Schroeder, salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	34. 00
27.	49.	H. F. Kennedy, salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	25. 50
27.	50.	L. D. Dunn, salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	26. 00
27.	51.	M. Turpeny, salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	13. 00
27.	52.	F. A. Frost, salary, 1 Madison Avenue-----	25. 50
27.	53.	C. S. Ramsey, salary-----	18. 00
29.	54.	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., rent-----	252. 52
29.	55.	C. H. Duell, New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R.---	647. 50
29.	56.	G. H. Payne, as per statement Apr. 7 to 20-----	258. 55
29.	57.	Evening Mail, advance on advertising bill-----	900. 00
29.	58.	J. W. Davis, personal expense-----	15. 00
29.	60.	Massachusetts Roosevelt committee, C. E. Ware, jr., treasurer-----	4, 500. 00
29.	61.	Massachusetts Roosevelt committee, C. E. Ware, jr., treasurer-----	9, 500. 00
29.	62.	Massachusetts Roosevelt committee, C. E. Ware, jr., treasurer-----	1, 500. 00
29.	63.	Massachusetts Roosevelt committee, C. E. Ware, jr., treasurer-----	4, 200. 00
29.	64.	J. R. Whipple, part payment hotel bill in Boston-----	120. 00
29.	65.	Joseph M. Dixon, for Washington headquarters-----	7, 500. 00
29.	66.	Massachusetts Roosevelt committee, C. E. Ware, jr., treasurer-----	2, 070. 00
May	7.	J. W. McGrath, three weeks' salary-----	90. 00
	7.	J. J. McDonald, salary, 1 Madison Ave-----	84. 00
	7.	L. D. Dunn, salary, 1 Madison Ave-----	28. 50
	7.	C. E. Conick, jr., salary, 1 Madison Ave-----	37. 25
	7.	P. C. Schroeder, salary, 1 Madison Ave-----	34. 50
	7.	H. F. Kennedy, salary, 1 Madison Ave-----	26. 75
	7.	M. Turpeny, salary, 1 Madison Ave-----	3. 25
	7.	F. A. Frost, salary, 1 Madison Ave-----	7. 50
	7.	F. A. Cooksey, salary, 1 Madison Ave-----	6. 67
	7.	Canceled-----	
	7.	C. S. Ramsey, salary-----	18. 00
	7.	G. H. Payne, statement, Apr. 28 to May 4, expenses---	357. 28
	7.	C. H. Duell, Pennsylvania R. R-----	447. 50

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

289

1912.	V. No.		
May 7.	80.	Spokesman Review, telegraph tolls on Col. Roosevelt's Louisville speech	\$89.00
9.	81.	Col. Fredk. Hale, for Maine	1,500.00
9.	82.	W. C. Bradley, telephone charges	7.20
9.	83.	Petty cash	100.00
9.	84.	Leopold L. Getz, salary	7.00
11.	{ 85. 90. }	Salaries, 1 Madison Ave	290.01
13.	86.	Western Union Telegraph Co., March bills	99.32
13.	87.	American District Telegraph Co., messenger service during March	150.70
13.	88.	Adams's stenographers, May 7 bill	7.00
13.	89.	Pullman Co., bill of April 27	122.51
18.	91.	Cash, E. H. Hooker, traveling expense	200.00
18.	92.	Salaries, 1 Madison Ave	226.24
18.	93.	G. H. Payne, statement, May 5 to 11	107.27
18.	94.	Arcade Stationer, April 1 bill	68.76
21.	95.	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., rent, May 21	45.84
21.	96.	G. H. Payne, advance for expenses	100.00
23.	97.	New York Telephone Co., payment on account	100.00
23.	98.	Cash, salaries, 1 Madison Avenue	406.38
27.	99.	G. W. Harris, advertising, Amsterdam News	150.00
27.	100.	H. C. Parker, payment as per statement	108.00
27.	101.	H. C. Thomas, payment as per statement	158.03
27.	102.	Pennsylvania R. R. Co., bill of May 14	216.37
27.	103.	National Equipment Co., buttons, statement, May 1, 1912	75.06
27.	104.	N. W. Ayer & Son, bill, May 1, 1912	5.00
27.	105.	Illinois Roosevelt committee, Chicago, lithographs, May 30, 1912	8.50
27.	106.	A. B. Dick Co., statement, May 1	21.31
27.	107.	Jules P. Storm, adjustment of advertising rates, Apr. 12, 1912	10.00
27.	108.	Arcade Stationer, bill, Apr. 22-May 1	47.95
27.	109.	Trow Directory Co., bill, May 1	26.75
27.	110.	Luce's Press Clipping Bureau, bill, May 1	31.11
27.	111.	F. E. Douglas, bill, Apr. 1	1.65
27.	112.	Evening Mail, bill, May, 1912	76.83
27.	113.	Lester T. Hubbard, bill, May 2	2.50
27.	114.	New York Telephone Co., statement, May 13	618.27
27.	115.	G. H. Payne, statement, Apr. 11 to May 18	282.64
27.	116.	Western Union Telegraph Co.	522.17
27.	117.	O. R. Ohman Map Co., bill, May 6	21.00
27.	118.	Petty cash	100.00
27.	119.	Massachusetts Roosevelt committee, C. E. Ware, jr., treasurer	1,500.00
29.	120.	Charles H. Duell, Baltimore & Ohio R. R.	434.50
29.	121.	Wallace Batchelder, for Vermont	600.00
29.	122.	Henry L. Stoddard, reimbursement for personal advances	900.00
29.	123.	Chauncey Dewey, for Illinois	500.00
29.	124.	American District Telegraph Co., bill, May 3	64.40
29.	125.	Western Union Telegraph Co.	34.01
29.	126.	C. S. Hammond & Co., May 21	8.55
29.	127.	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., rent	229.30
29.	128.	New York Telephone Co., May 9	2.60
29.	129.	Western Union Telegraph Co., Apr. 30	2.29
29.	130.	Tower Bros. Stationery Co., statement, Mar. 30	142.71
29.	131.	Evening Mail, bill, Apr. 15	682.50
31.	132.	Postal Telegraph-Cable Co., April	2.42
31.	133.	New York Telephone Co., June 1	379.13
31.	134.	Western Union Telegraph Co., April	1.45
31.	135.	American Badge Co., May 1	37.50
31.	136.	Underwood Typewriter Co., May 1	3.00
31.	137.	Tower Manufacturing & Novelty Co., May	24.84
31.	138.	Petty cash	86.69
June 1.	139.	Cash, salaries, 1 Madison Avenue	400.66

1912.	V. No.		
June	3. 140.	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., rent-----	\$229. 30
	3. 141.	Massachusetts Roosevelt committee, C. E. Ware, jr., treasurer-----	2, 500. 00
	3. 142.	Canceled.	
	8. 143.	Massachusetts Roosevelt committee, C. E. Ware, jr., treasurer-----	4, 039. 00
	8. 144.	Petty cash-----	100. 00
	8. 145.	Salaries, 1 Madison Avenue-----	241. 25
	8. 146.	Henry M. Harris, statement June 4-----	27. 00
	8. 147.	G. H. Payne, May 19-31, expenses-----	202. 65
	8. 148.	J. Wm. Davis, expenses June 1-2, as per statement--	33. 75
	8. 149.	Joseph Mahony, towel supply-----	7. 00
	8. 150.	American Bureau of International Translating, May 17--	19. 50
	8. 151.	G. E. Velle, E. H. Hooker, traveling expenses-----	44. 00
	8. 152.	Charles H. Thompson, Massachusetts Roosevelt com- mittee-----	25. 00
	11. 153.	Louis Sherry, telegram-----	. 37
	11. 154.	Roosevelt Republican League of New Jersey, advertising--	70. 20
	11. 155.	Pullman Co-----	331. 44
	11. 156.	Western Union Telegraph Co-----	22. 84
	11. 157.	New York Telephone Co-----	28. 66
	11. 158.	Petty cash-----	200. 00
	14. 159.	Charles S. Ramsay, transportation Col. Roosevelt, Chicago-----	280. 00
	15. 160.	Cash, salaries, 1 Madison Avenue-----	250. 50
	15.	George H. Payne, expenses-----	100. 00
	17.	George H. Payne, expenses-----	100. 00
	17.	B. F. Garland, services as investigator-----	245. 17
	19.	R. C. Moss-----	48. 58
	19.	J. A. Kingsbury, publicity expenditures-----	150. 00
	20.	Charles H. Thompson, reimbursement for sundry ex- penses-----	94. 74
	22. 161.	Cash, salaries, 1 Madison Avenue-----	160. 00
	22. 162.	George W. Harris's expenses, Chicago-----	75. 00
	22. 163.	Marian A. Whittlesey, stenographer-----	26. 00
	23.	J. A. Kingsbury, publicity expenses-----	40. 00
	24.	George H. Payne, expenses-----	91. 25
	24.	L. S. & M. S. R. R-----	398. 00
	24.	Drake Hotel Co-----	720. 00
	26. 164.	New York Telephone Co., bill July 11-----	103. 80
	26. 165.	Rose Printing Co., June 15-----	58. 00
	26. 166.	S. J. Gensher, June 20-----	3. 75
	26. 167.	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., installation June 1--	8. 95
	26. 168.	Evening Mail, May 27-----	23. 64
	26. 169.	Whitehead-Hoag Co., statement June 2-----	176. 33
	26. 170.	Holmes, Rogers & Carpenter, June 5-----	207. 37
	26. 171.	Crystal Spring Water Co., May 31-----	2. 30
	26. 172.	Frank Harper, Chicago expenses-----	61. 05
	29. 173.	Cash, salaries, 1 Madison Avenue-----	161. 51
	29. 174.	James J. McDonald, expenses, May 17-June 9-----	25. 31
	29. 175.	Petty cash-----	100. 00
	26. 176.	Frederick R. Bender, Chicago expenses-----	47. 10
	26. 177.	Mail & Express Job Print, payment on account-----	4, 841. 83
July	3. 179.	George R. Manchester, pay roll-----	340. 00
	3. 180.	George R. Manchester, traveling expenses-----	20. 00
	3. 181.	Charles H. Thompson, recount expenses-----	475. 28
	3. 182.	Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., rent-----	229. 30
	3. 183.	James A. Clarkson, traveling expenses, Chicago-----	318. 00
	5. 184.	Joseph Mahony, towel supply-----	3. 50
	5. 185.	A. B. Dick Co., July 1-----	8. 00
	5. 186.	H. Kasman, statement July 1-----	4. 75
	5. 187.	American Badge, statement June 21-----	125. 95
	5. 188.	Lester T. Hubbard, statement June 25-----	5. 00
	5. 189.	Trow Directory Printing Co., July 2-----	262. 50
	5. 190.	Cash, salaries, 1 Madison Avenue-----	134. 75
		G. H. Payne, June 22-----	31. 49
	193.	Salaries, cash, 1 Madison Avenue-----	117. 50

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

291

1912.	V. No.		
July	19.	194. Globe-Wernicke-----	\$2. 75
	19.	195. Remington Typewriter Co-----	2. 50
	22.	196. Everett Colby, special train for Col. Roosevelt-----	698. 00
	29.	197. Ormsby McHarg, in payment of cash advanced for personal and traveling expenses-----	644. 12
	29.	198. U. S. Trust Co., July 6-----	12. 78
	29.	199. Cameron Amberg Co., stationery, July 1 statement-----	81. 45
	29.	200. Herald Publishing Co., May 28-----	78. 00
	29.	201. E. M. Lee, June 22, Indiana contests-----	156. 20
	29.	202. Western Union Telegraph Co., July 17-----	1, 025. 91
	29.	203. Postal Telegraph Cable Co., July 1-----	367. 37
	29.	204. E. A. Eulass, June 15-----	262. 20
	29.	205. Thompson & Co., stationery-----	30. 00
	29.	206. Underwood Typewriter Co., Chicago, July 19-----	18. 75
	29.	207. Lecouver Press, June 14-----	58. 30
	29.	208. Congress Hotel Co., July 17-----	3, 982. 35
	29.	209. Remington Typewriter Co., Chicago, March 4-----	1. 00
	29.	210. Twentieth Century Press Clipping Co., July 17-----	115. 74
	29.	211. Burr Vach Co., stationery bill, July 1-----	59. 31
	29.	212. Neostyle Co., July 17-----	35.50
	No.	213. Sig. Antonio Frosolona, June 25-----	150. 00
	29.	214. Canceled.	
	29.	215. Canceled	
	29.	216. Milton Brown, July 20-----	25. 00
	29.	217. Canceled.	
	29.	218. Cash-----	67. 50
	29.	219. Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., rent-----	63. 84
	29.	220. Postal Telegraph Cable Co., July statement-----	155. 54
	29.	221. Mail & Express Job Print. July 31, statement-----	2, 000. 00
	29.	222. Alex. H. Revell & Co., office supplies-----	9. 40
Aug.	1.	223. National Equipment Co., May 28-----	189. 00
	1.	224. The Outlook, expenses of Roosevelt party June 14-25-----	511. 00
	1.	225. Henry J. Goldberg, July 10-----	16. 50
	1.	226. American Ice Co., May 31-----	6. 40
	1.	227. Julius Lansburgh, June 29, furniture-----	104. 05
	1.	228. C. & C. Coat & Towel Supply, June 7-----	15. 80
	1.	229. Bastian Bros. Co., buttons, April and May-----	484. 76
	1.	230. Yawman & Erbe Manufacturing Co., June 1-----	2. 35
	1.	231. Lucke Badge & Button Co., August 1-----	94. 77
	1.	232. Daisy O. Miller, stenographer-----	27. 63
	1.	233. Miles Polindexter, May statement, expenses-----	35. 00
	1.	234. Underwood Typewriter Co., Washington, June 30-----	19. 00
	1.	235. J. A. Franklin, buttons, June 20-----	178. 00
	1.	236. R. P. Andrews Paper Co., stationery, May-----	80. 59
	1.	237. R. P. Andrews Paper Co., stationery-----	4. 00
	1.	238. Columbia News Agency, June 26-----	10. 40
	1.	239. Remington Typewriter Co., June 1, Washington-----	7. 75
	1.	240. F. A. Munsey Co., office rent, June-----	40. 00
	1.	241. Brentano's Atlas, April 29-----	15. 00
	1.	242. Castalia Spring Water, Washington, June-----	17. 50
	1.	243. The North American, July 3-----	4. 20
	1.	244. Globe-Wernicke Co., July 1-----	5. 70
	1.	245. Typewriter and office supplies, July 9-----	17. 84
	1.	246. National Capital Press, June 5-----	47. 00
	1.	247. United States Express Co., June-----	8. 75
	1.	248. Canceled.	
	1.	249. North American, June statement-----	53. 22
	1.	250. W. S. Pearson-----	95. 00
	1.	251. Canceled.	
	1.	252. H. Rubin, July 1-----	23. 70
	1.	253. Crystal Spring Water Co., June 30-----	3. 50
	1.	254. American District Telegraph Co., July 3-----	40. 04
		255. Underwood Typewriter Co-----	78. 00
	27.	256. Canceled.	
		257. Canceled.	
		258. Vanderbilt Hotel Co., July 1-----	98. 60
		259. Canceled.	

1912.	V. No.		
Aug. 27.	260.	The Western Union Telegraph Co., final statement--	\$139. 30
	261.	Rand-McNally & Co., July 9-----	124. 50
	262.	New York Telephone Co., July 1-----	145. 51
29.	263.	R. W. Starr, payment for bands at Chicago-----	800. 00
Sept. 3.	264.	American Press Association-----	1, 366. 22
Apr. 27.		To E. C. Ware, jr., treasurer of Massachusetts Roose- velt committee-----	15, 500. 00
29.		To Paul S. Ache for organization expenses in Massachusetts -----	\$2, 050. 00
		Less returned -----	680. 00
			<hr/> 1, 370. 00
May 1.		To E. C. Ware, jr., treasurer-----	230. 00
4.		To Joseph R. Baldwin for Maryland-----	4, 000. 00
4.		To Col. Edward Carrington, jr., for Maryland-----	1, 000. 00
		Total-----	<hr/> 142, 308. 55

The CHAIRMAN. You observe now, Mr. Hooker, that there are three matters. You may describe Exhibit C.

Mr. HOOKER. Exhibit C is composed of a letter giving the summation of receipts and disbursements, with a condensed analysis of the different kinds of expenditures grouped in classes, and then the total of receipts and expenditures themselves.

Senator POMERENE. Let me understand. That is the national fund?

Mr. HOOKER. That is of the fund which I handled, to the extent to which I acted as treasurer of the national work at that time.

Senator POMERENE. Independent?

Mr. HOOKER. Entirely independent; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions made to what we will designate as the national preconvention campaign of Col. Roosevelt, to which this Exhibit C relates, other than those which appear in Exhibit B?

Mr. HOOKER. I have no personal knowledge of any.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any by repute?

Mr. HOOKER. I have a belief that Mr. Emlen Roosevelt sent a small amount of money to Senator Dixon in addition to that.

Senator POMERENE. What did you say his first name is?

Mr. HOOKER. Emlen—amounting to \$5,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Was a copy of Exhibit C filed with the secretary of state?

Mr. HOOKER. Exhibit C has never been shown before.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall in a general way the New York law with reference to filing accounts?

Mr. HOOKER. Within 10 or 20 days, I have forgotten at the moment which, after the primary election the treasurer is required to file with the secretary of state a full statement of receipts and disbursements. I endeavored to carry out the spirit of that law in that statement—Exhibit A. As contrasted with our opponents, who showed an expenditure of \$5,000 in New York at the same time, the secretary of state seemed to think this was somewhat more full.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Exhibit C does not cover items included in Exhibit A; or does it?

Mr. HOOKER. No, sir; each of those.

Senator PAYNTER. Is that the collection and expenditures in New York County—Exhibit A?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HOOKER. New York County. The other is the national. They have no bearing on each other.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Hooker, do you know of any circumstance bearing upon funds with reference to the preliminary campaign of Col. Roosevelt—the campaign for the nomination prior to the Chicago convention and including the convention—which do not appear in these exhibits or to which attention has not been called?

Mr. HOOKER. I have no knowledge other than newspaper talk.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you at Chicago?

Mr. HOOKER. I was at Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of the expenses incurred at Chicago?

Mr. HOOKER. Expenses incurred at Chicago for the national committee are shown in that report.

Senator POMERENE. That is Exhibit C?

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibit C.

Mr. HOOKER. In Exhibit C; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you yourself solicit any contributions for Col. Roosevelt's nominating campaign?

Mr. HOOKER. I solicited as hard as I could.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of anyone else who solicited?

Mr. HOOKER. During the national campaign?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, either the national campaign or the State campaign, the national campaign being the campaign preceding the Chicago Republican convention held in Chicago.

Mr. HOOKER. I do not think anyone else did any soliciting of any account in connection with either of those campaigns.

Senator PAYNTER. Who is Alexander S. Cochran? Is he a business man of New York?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir; he is a young business man of Yonkers, N. Y., a wealthy man, who——

Senator PAYNTER. What kind of business is he engaged in?

Mr. HOOKER. He has inherited a carpet business from his father recently—he and his brother. He is now, I believe, the candidate for Congress.

Senator PAYNTER. Who was treasurer of the national Roosevelt committee?

Mr. HOOKER. There was no treasurer.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know whether or not anybody else collected or handled any money for the purpose of promoting the candidacy of Col. Roosevelt?

Mr. HOOKER. Only through the newspapers.

Senator PAYNTER. You have no personal knowledge?

Senator PAYNTER. Did you handle the funds, the money, that was collected and expended, as shown by Exhibit C?

Mr. HOOKER. I handled the money shown in that document.

Senator PAYNTER. It has been suggested—the Cochran to which I referred is the Cochran that is mentioned in these exhibits?

Mr. HOOKER. No, sir; except as I spoke of, Amos Pinchot.

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I notice that he made a contribution of \$15,000. I think, to the New York campaign and \$10,000 to the national?

Mr. HOOKER. \$15,000 to the New York and \$10,000 to the national

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Perkins seems to have contributed in New York \$15,000?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir; sundry amounts.

Senator PAYNTER. It is \$22,500 to the national; at least the total is \$37,500. I have just glanced through it.

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir; there are several contributions there from him which foot up something like that.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Munsey seems to have contributed about the same amount?

Mr. HOOKER. About the same as Mr. Perkins.

Senator POMERENE. I notice C. H. Duell paid \$1,000; who is he?

Mr. HOOKER. Judge Duell was formerly Commissioner of Patents here, I think.

Senator POMERENE. And where does he live?

Mr. HOOKER. He lives in New York, and he was chairman of the New York County committee, of which I was treasurer.

Senator POMERENE. And E. H. Hooker is yourself?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You contributed \$1,000?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And who is R. P. Perkins?

Mr. HOOKER. R. P. Perkins is a manufacturer, an old friend of the Roosevelt family, with whom young Theodore Roosevelt has been in business for a number of years.

Senator POMERENE. Is he related to George W.?

Mr. HOOKER. No; no relation whatever.

Senator POMERENE. I see he contributed \$1,000. Who is Byron L. Smith, who contributed \$500?

Mr. HOOKER. He is president of the Northern Trust Co., of Chicago.

Senator POMERENE. Who is A. Foster Higgins, who is credited with a \$1,000 contribution?

Mr. HOOKER. A. Foster Higgins is the vice president of the New York Chamber of Commerce.

Senator POMERENE. What business is he engaged in other than that?

Mr. HOOKER. He is president of one or two smaller railroads in Mexico.

Senator POMERENE. And George Baxter, credited with a subscription of \$5,000?

Mr. HOOKER. I do not know who he is, other than a business man in New York.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know what line of business?

Mr. HOOKER. No; I do not.

Senator POMERENE. Did you solicit that subscription?

Mr. HOOKER. That was sent in—sent in through the mail.

Senator POMERENE. And Oscar L. Straus, \$5,000. That is the present nominee for governor?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir; the present nominee for governor.

Senator POMERENE. I see another contribution by C. H. Duell of \$600. That is the same Judge Duell?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And who is H. L. Stoddard, credited with a subscription of \$2,500?

Mr. HOOKER. He is editor of the New York Evening Mail.

Senator POMERENE. And Frank A. Munsey is the publisher we know about?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, these expenditures in Exhibits A and B were the amounts spent in New York City--received and disbursed in that campaign?

Mr. HOOKER. New York City and County.

Senator POMERENE. How many votes were cast in that county for the Roosevelt delegates?

Mr. HOOKER. We have never been able to find out.

Senator POMERENE. Wasn't there any report of it?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir; there was a report.

Senator POMERENE. What was the report?

Mr. HOOKER. It seems to me it was 16,000; 16,000 or 18,000.

Senator POMERENE. Sixteen or eighteen thousand?

Mr. HOOKER. I have forgotten what it was. It is a matter of record.

Senator POMERENE. Let me understand you. Isn't there any board of elections or any law up there which requires the making of returns in primaries?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And was not that complied with?

Mr. HOOKER. Not in a way that was altogether creditable to New York State. The New York primaries were a farce, and always will be under the existing laws.

Senator POMERENE. Well, in what respect did they fail to make true returns?

Mr. HOOKER. They make it so difficult for anyone who is not allied with either one of the two old parties, or who is not on pleasant terms with the bipartisan arrangement that put through that primary law, that it makes it very difficult for them to get any proper returns.

Senator POMERENE. I have not gone over your credits here, but was a portion of this money expended for challengers or watchers at the polls?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or workers at the polls?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What portion of it was so expended?

Mr. HOOKER. It shows right in the record there.

Senator POMERENE. Can you tell me approximately?

Mr. HOOKER. I can not tell you exactly, but a small part of it.

Senator POMERENE. That is, there were watchers and challengers at each poll?

Mr. HOOKER. No; we could not afford to have them there. That is the reason we did not get more votes.

Senator POMERENE. At how many polls did you have them?

Mr. HOOKER. Well, Senator, we were too poor to hold up our end in the New York primaries. That is the reason we did not get more votes. You have better primary laws in other States.

Senator POMERENE. So you mean to say that the reason why you did not get more votes was because you were so poor?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir; but not for the reason that you would intimate.

Senator POMERENE. Well, your answer was rather facetious, and perhaps my question was.

Mr. HOOKER. I suspect we got almost as many votes as Mr. Taft did, but they did not get counted.

Senator POMERENE. How many votes did Mr. Taft get, or, rather, to follow your own idea, how many was he reputed to have gotten?

Mr. HOOKER. Well, I think—my memory is a little at fault; but I think he had somewhere like 30,000; something in that neighborhood.

Senator POMERENE. So that, even assuming that there were 30,000, your expenditures amounted to \$52,606.52?

Mr. HOOKER. It is worse than that, Senator. You will have to add Mr. Pinchot's expenditures.

Senator POMERENE. What is that amount?

Mr. HOOKER. Eleven thousand dollars.

Senator POMERENE. That would make it in excess of \$63,000?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. So that, assuming you got 30,000 votes, or as many as the Taft delegates got, they cost \$2 per capita?

Mr. HOOKER. If you will start to organize a campaign in a great city like New York without any machine, dealing entirely with volunteer work and with nothing to count upon but pure patriotism, and considering the ground you have to cover, and the legitimate expenses which you have to go to to even cover a fraction of the polls with watchers if you suspect your opponents are not going to give you a square deal, you will find that even that amount of money is absorbed very quickly. There is no inference, I take it, that any of that was expended for improper purposes, because it was not.

Senator POMERENE. I do not so charge.

Mr. HOOKER. That campaign was singularly clean in every respect, so far as our side of it was concerned.

Senator POMERENE. Well, now, do you know whether other funds were raised or disbursed by anyone other than the funds that were raised and disbursed by you, and which you have accounted for here?

Mr. HOOKER. Well, it is reported at Albany that the Taft committee spent \$5,000.

Senator POMERENE. Through whom?

Mr. HOOKER. Through Ogden Mills, their treasurer.

Senator POMERENE. I did not catch that name.

Mr. HOOKER. Ogden L. Mills, their treasurer.

Senator POMERENE. Now, are there any other funds that you can give us?

Mr. HOOKER. I do not know anything about that. I did not give you that fund. In view of the fact that the regular Republican organization, as was testified here yesterday, spent \$3,000,000 in one campaign, \$3,500,000 in another campaign, \$2,000,000 in another, and \$1,600,000 in another, and considering the proportion of the work that has to be done in the city of New York, on that same scale, it would seem that the amount of money that those who had been used to disbursing Republican funds would spend, would make the \$52,000

you refer to there look rather small. But we have only knowledge of \$5,000 having been spent, according to the report to the secretary of state.

Senator POMERENE. The funds which were expended in those national campaigns had some reference to the number of votes which were cast at the election?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, looking at it from that viewpoint, were those national campaigns more expensive than the primary about which you were just testifying?

Mr. HOOKER. Oh, this primary campaign—of course, I have no definite knowledge of what was expended by the other sides except that I know that Senator La Follette had a great deal of money and some of the others, but for our own campaign I should say it was the most economical campaign, with reference to the number of votes cast, that has been carried on in this country by all odds.

Senator POMERENE. Even more economical than the campaign of 1904?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes, sir; but not so economical as the New York City campaign by the Taft committee.

Senator POMERENE. Of course, you have no special reason for referring to the Taft committee?

Mr. HOOKER. No.

Senator POMERENE. You have referred to the expenditures for the national campaign. I have not had time to look over those. Here I find a total of \$143,999.62. Now, without attempting to go over this account in detail, can you, in a few words, tell us the purposes for which this money was expended?

Mr. HOOKER. I would prefer that you loan me the manuscript.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; I will be very glad to.

(Paper handed witness.)

Mr. HOOKER. For the purpose of making it clear to the committee easily on that point I have purposely analyzed the expenditures and brought them down to a few heads here.

As I said, this work was carried on very largely by volunteer workers all through the country, so that the expenditures for salaries are very small—about \$4,000. Then printing and advertising amounted to about \$17,000. There is a considerable telephone and telegraph bill, as there always is—about \$4,000. The traveling expenses, railway transportation, and other expenses connected with the speakers and other men in the field, \$17,000. That includes the trips by Senator Beveridge and Col. Roosevelt and others out in the Middle West.

Shipping of printed matter, postage, etc., amounted to \$3,000. The expenditures at the national headquarters, regarding which Senator Clapp asked me, covered hotel bills and other amounts there, and amounted to \$4,577. Then there was disbursed to these various States money sent to the States to help them on with their campaigns. The various States were just as poor as the national committee was, which is saying a good deal.

Would you like to know the amounts that were sent to those States?

Senator POMERENE. Yes, if you will state them, please.

Mr. HOOKER. Five thousand dollars was sent to Maryland; \$3,500 to Maine; \$52,000 to Massachusetts; \$2,500 to Vermont; \$13,500 to Illinois.

May I interrupt myself a moment, Senator?

Senator POMERENE. Certainly.

Mr. HOOKER. Speaking of economical campaigns, \$13,500 was sent to Illinois. I dare say there were two or three thousand dollars expended out there by local people who had nothing to do with us, but we sent \$13,500 there, and from all I have been able to gather by hearsay there was not more than \$2,500 more spent.

Sixteen thousand dollars was used in carrying the whole State of Illinois for that tremendous sweeping of the primaries there. That shows what can be done, how economically a primary election can be carried on, and, I think, is a refutation of the theory that direct primaries are necessarily an enormous expense commensurate with a real election.

Oklahoma, \$2,500. Seven thousand five hundred dollars was sent to Senator Dixon for his use in the Washington headquarters. There was a recount in Massachusetts, costing \$475.28, and a recount in Vermont, costing \$94.74.

Those are the expenses in detail.

Senator POMERENE. Here is a contribution of H. L. Stoddard, \$4,000. That is the same Mr. Stoddard you have already referred to?

Mr. HOOPER. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Alexander S. Cockran, \$10,000. Is that the same Mr. Cockran?

Mr. HOOPER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Frank A. Munsey, \$5,000, the same person?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. George W. Perkins, we have heard of before, \$5,000. Queene Ferry Coonley, \$499.50. Who is she?

Mr. HOOKER. She is a Chicago woman, my sister-in-law.

Senator POMERENE. Charles S. Stickney, \$5,000?

Mr. HOOKER. He is a New York man, a lawyer, retired.

Senator POMERENE. Who is W. Emlen Roosevelt, who contributed \$5,000?

Mr. HOOKER. Col. Roosevelt's cousin.

Senator POMERENE. F. A. Munsey, \$5,000, the same publisher?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. W. Barbour, \$5,000?

Mr. HOOKER. He is the head of the linen thread company in New York, a manufacturer.

Senator POMERENE. Charles S. Bird, \$5,500?

Mr. HOOKER. He is the present candidate for governor of Massachusetts on the Progressive ticket.

Senator POMERENE. What is his business?

Mr. HOOKER. He is a manufacturer of paper in Massachusetts.

Senator POMERENE. D. R. Hanna, \$2,500?

Mr. HOOKER. He is the son of Mark Hanna.

Senator POMERENE. Of Cleveland?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Oscar L. Straus, \$500; he is the present candidate for governor of New York?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. F. A. Munsey, again, \$7,500; George W. Perkins, \$5,000; E. D. Brandegee, \$1,000——

Mr. HOOKER. He is a Boston manufacturer.

Senator POMERENE. Of what line?

Mr. HOOKER. I think his main business is in Utica, New York, but he lives in Brookline, Boston. I think they manufacture clothing up there. They operate one of those big knitting mills or something.

Senator POMERENE. Frank A. Munsey again, \$1,500; George W. Perkins again, \$1,500; William Barbour, \$2,500. Is that the same Mr. Barbour that we had awhile ago?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Hamilton Fish, \$1,000. What business is he in?

Mr. HOOKER. Hamilton Fish is a candidate for Congress in the upper Hudson district.

Senator POMERENE. George W. Perkins, \$5,000; Leigh Hunt, \$500. What business is he in?

Mr. HOOKER. He is interested in railroads in South America.

Senator POMERENE. Then J. B. Grier, \$250.

Mr. HOOKER. He is a broker.

Senator POMERENE. Frank B. Keech, \$1,000.

Mr. HOOKER. He is the head of the firm of Keech, Lowe & Co., of New York.

Senator POMERENE. In what line of business?

Mr. HOOKER. Bankers and brokers.

Senator POMERENE. Judge William H. Day, \$250.

Mr. HOOKER. He is president of the Equitable.

Senator POMERENE. Hermann Frasch, \$10,000.

Mr. HOOKER. He is, I believe, president of the Union Sulphur Co.

Senator POMERENE. Of what company?

Mr. HOOKER. The Union Sulphur Co. He is one of the main stockholders, and I think he is the president.

Senator POMERENE. D. J. Hill, \$499.50.

Mr. HOOKER. He is the former Assistant Secretary of State.

Senator POMERENE. J. D. Larkin, \$1,000.

Mr. HOOKER. He is a manufacturer, of Buffalo.

Senator POMERENE. Of what line?

Mr. HOOKER. Manufacturer of soap.

Senator POMERENE. Olivia M. Cutting, \$2,000.

Mr. HOOKER. Mrs. Bayard Cutting.

Senator POMERENE. Not in any business, I take it?

Mr. HOOKER. No.

Senator POMERENE. Dr. Albert Shaw, \$3,000.

Mr. HOOKER. Editor of Review of Reviews.

Senator POMERENE. Douglas Robinson, \$5,000.

Mr. HOOKER. Col. Roosevelt's brother-in-law.

Senator POMERENE. G. Emlen Roosevelt, \$5,000; the same we had before?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Blanche Ferry Hooker, \$5,000.

Mr. HOOKER. That is Mrs. Hooker.

Senator POMERENE. Your sister-in-law?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, do you have any knowledge of any other funds that were expended by this national committee than those here?

Mr. HOOKER. I have already answered that, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. I think you did; I think that is true.

Do you know whether any funds other than those you have referred to were raised and expended in behalf of Col. Roosevelt's campaign?

Mr. HOOKER. Only as you do by newspaper reports.

Senator POMERENE. Now, do you know whether funds were raised in the several States independent of the funds which were raised and expended according to this report?

Mr. HOOKER. I do not know anything about it.

Senator POMERENE. For instance, in several of these States there was a pretty active campaign. Referring to the State of Ohio, do you know whether any further funds were raised?

Mr. HOOKER. I have no personal knowledge of it whatever.

Senator POMERENE. Was there a treasurer——

Mr. HOOKER. In those States?

Senator POMERENE. Looking after the interests of Col. Roosevelt in each of those States?

Mr. HOOKER. In some of the States, to which I sent money—furnished in that list—and those are the only ones I do know of.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. HOOKER. Massachusetts had one.

Senator POMERENE. As I recall, in your statement of moneys expended in the several States, you did not refer to California.

Mr. HOOKER. No.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know what funds, if any, were raised there?

Mr. HOOKER. I have no knowledge of it whatever.

Senator POMERENE. You have no reference to any of the inter-mountain States?

Mr. HOOKER. I do not think any appear there. I do not remember any of them.

Senator POMERENE. Nor the State of Indiana?

Mr. HOOKER. No.

Senator POMERENE. Nor Ohio?

Mr. HOOKER. No.

Senator POMERENE. In fact, you have no knowledge, either one way or the other, as to whether funds were raised in these several States by the State committees, independent of and in addition to the amounts for which you account here?

Mr. HOOKER. I have no knowledge whatever on that subject.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

Senator PAYNTER. There is one item here that, it seems to me, in view of the fact that attention was called to the names and amounts given by the various people, ought not to be omitted. There is one here—Quan Yick Nam, \$100. Did you solicit that contribution?

Mr. HOOKER. No. He came into the office and brought it.

Senator PAYNTER. What is his business?

Mr. HOOKER. I do not know who he is. He is a Jap or Chinaman; and, if it is of interest, he has also contributed another \$100 to the present Progressive Party; but you are not interested in that. I

think he is, perhaps, some one who is interested in the Chinese or Japanese papers.

Senator PAYNTER. I asked the question as a matter of curiosity.

Mr. HOOKER. Yes. While the amounts of some of these contributions may seem large, it is necessary that they should be so in founding a new party without an organization reaching all over the country. There is not time to reach a great number of subscribers, and that seems to have been the experience with all of the others who contributed to the other candidates. I know that there were larger contributions than any of those shown there to some of the others.

Senator POMERENE. I wish to state that I did not call attention to all of the names of the contributors, but to the larger sums. I did not mean to slight any of them.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Hooker, Senator Pomerene has asked you with regard to the money sent to the several States. I would like you to take this account, Exhibit C, and go over it, because you can do it much better than I can, and state the different States to which you sent the money and the amount sent to each.

Mr. HOOKER. Shall I restate that? I did give it, Senator.

Senator OLIVER. Well, I would like to have it appear in the record en bloc.

Mr. HOOKER. I will repeat that: Maryland, \$5,000; Massachusetts, \$52,134; Maine, \$3,500; Vermont, \$2,500; Illinois, \$13,500; Oklahoma, \$2,500. That is all. These others are details.

Senator OLIVER. Then you have no knowledge of any expenditures or of what expenditures were made during the campaign in any other State?

Mr. HOOKER. Not of the other States, except those here.

Senator OLIVER. Any of the other States?

Mr. HOOKER. I have no knowledge that this is all that was expended in those States.

Senator OLIVER. I understand that is all you sent out to any of the States.

Mr. HOOKER. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. That is all.

Mr. HOOKER. But I think this is probably all that was furnished in those States.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hooker, do you know anything of the campaign contributions of 1904?

Mr. HOOKER. No; I have no knowledge of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Of 1908?

Mr. HOOKER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Or of the congressional campaigns of either 1904 or 1908?

Mr. HOOKER. Nothing of either of them. Like most men in the Progressive movement, I am an amateur and new in politics.

Senator OLIVER. There are a few exceptions to that, however.

Mr. HOOKER. Very few.

Senator OLIVER. Perhaps the leader of the party might be considered an exception.

Mr. HOOKER. Yes; there are a few distinguished exceptions.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I will ask you the general question: If there is anything within your knowledge bearing upon the campaign ex-

penditures in behalf of Col. Roosevelt prior to the adjournment of the Chicago convention that you have not testified to?

Mr. HOOKER. In behalf of Col. Roosevelt?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; in behalf of his candidacy for the nomination.

Mr. HOOKER. Yes; of the candidacy?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HOOKER. No; I have told you all I know of. I could volunteer some information on other candidates, if you desired it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, would it be within your own knowledge?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you may state it.

Mr. HOOKER. I have told you of Senator La Follette. I know he received a contribution of \$70,000 from one man.

Senator POMERENE. How much?

Mr. HOOKER. \$70,000; and the largest contribution here is \$25,000, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is it from?

Mr. HOOKER. Charles R. Crane. He received more than that also. It might be interesting to Senator Pomerene to know that he gave the same amount to Gov. Wilson also.

Senator POMERENE. Indeed, I am glad to know that.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the source of your knowledge as to these matters?

Mr. HOOKER. Mr. Crane told me.

The CHAIRMAN. You made some reference to a statement filed in Albany in behalf of the Taft campaign. Were you referring to the statement filed with the secretary of state?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes; under oath.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen that?

Mr. HOOKER. I have not seen it, but it was reported in the paper the same morning that my statement of \$59,000 was reported.

The CHAIRMAN. These reports of expenses, filed with the Secretary of State, purport to be public, do they not—all of them?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes; they are intended, as I construe the law, to carry out in a spirit of good faith the desire of the American people to know where campaign money comes from, and where it is expended, and to know it in toto. That is what Col. Roosevelt's representatives have tried to do from the inception of this campaign. We believe in a publicity law, and we believe in carrying it out in spirit as well as letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any further statement you desire to make?

Mr. HOOKER. Nothing further.

Senator POMERENE. Was that the same belief in the campaign of 1908?

Mr. HOOKER. Senator, I explained to you that I am an amateur in politics, and I was not in a position to know anything of that campaign. Mr. Bliss has testified about that.

Senator PAYNTER. Did Mr. Crane tell you he paid \$70,000 to promote the nomination of Mr. Wilson, or that he gave it to the national Democratic committee, subsequent to the nomination?

Mr. HOOKER. I do not distinguish the difference.

Senator PAYNTER. I want to know whether it was given before Mr. Wilson was nominated, or whether it has been given since.

Mr. HOOKER. Oh, yes; before his nomination. And that was not all; it was continuing at that time.

Senator PAYNTER. You have not answered the question, whether it was before or after.

Mr. HOOKER. It was before his nomination.

Senator PAYNTER. For \$70,000?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes; the expenditures with reference to him and with reference to Senator La Follette I happened to chance in upon while they were in progress. I do not know how much longer they continued at the rate of \$4,000 a week. I know they continued for some time after the \$70,000 I speak of.

Senator PAYNTER. Did he tell you he was making these contributions at the same time?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes; Mr. Crane is a very fine——

Senator PAYNTER (interposing). The Republican convention assembled on the 18th of June, I think, and the Democratic convention on the 25th of June, I believe. Do you mean to tell the committee that Mr. Crane told you that previous to these conventions he was making contributions to La Follette, to aid him before the Republican convention, and to Wilson's friends, to aid his candidacy before the Democratic convention?

Mr. HOOKER. Mr. Crane is a very fine, public-spirited citizen, who believes in progressive movements.

Senator PAYNTER. I was not asking you to make any defense of Mr. Crane.

The CHAIRMAN. Just tell what conversation you had.

Mr. HOOKER. He was helping both men in the work he was in sympathy with.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not mean to criticize him at all, but merely to get information.

Mr. HOOKER. He was helping both, because he thought both were progressives.

The CHAIRMAN. When did this conversation, if there was one, or if more, when did the others take place with Mr. Crane?

Mr. HOOKER. They took place in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. About when?

Mr. HOOKER. In March, I should think—March or April.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there more than one conversation?

Mr. HOOKER. Not at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had more than one conversation with Mr. Crane relative to contributions for preconvention campaigns? Of course, our inquiry under our resolution of 1912 applies only to preconvention campaigns. Have you had more than one conversation with Mr. Crane relative to contributions?

Mr. HOOKER. I had another conversation with him about a couple of weeks ago on the train coming from Chicago to New York, in which reference was made to our other talk.

The CHAIRMAN. State the conversation, as you recall it, with Mr. Crane in March or April at Chicago, to which you have referred. Was anyone present besides you and Mr. Crane?

Mr. HOOKER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did it occur?

Mr. HOOKER. At the Chicago Club.

The CHAIRMAN. State it as you can recall it.

Mr. HOOKER. Senator Crane said——

Senator OLIVER. Excuse me; you use the words "Senator Crane."

Mr. HOOKER. I beg pardon; Mr. Crane. He told me that he was contributing, with others, to Senator La Follette's campaign, which had proven very expensive, and he had up to that time given \$70,000. He was then contributing at the rate of \$4,000 a week. That, I know, continued for a number of weeks after that—at least, the campaign continued.

Senator PAYNTER. That is, La Follette's campaign?

The CHAIRMAN. What was said in regard to Mr. Wilson, if anything?

Mr. HOOKER. He said that he was contributing at the same time to Wilson, and in the same amount.

The CHAIRMAN. He indicated the same amount?

Mr. HOOKER. Yes; as I remember the conversation.

The CHAIRMAN. How near can you fix the date of this conversation with Mr. Crane?

Mr. HOOKER. Oh, it was a month or two before the Republican national convention; I should think in March or April; perhaps six weeks before.

The CHAIRMAN. The convention was in June some time.

Mr. HOOKER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. About the middle, as I recall it.

Senator POMERENE. The 18th of June, and the Democratic convention was on the 25th.

Mr. HOOKER. It was when La Follette's campaign was at its height.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated the later conversation simply referred to the earlier one?

Mr. HOOKER. I do not think there was anything in the later one that would be of interest to you.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all for the present.

Witness excused.

TESTIMONY OF C. C. TEGETHOFF—Continued.

Mr. C. C. TEGETHOFF resumed the stand and, having been heretofore duly sworn, testified as follows:

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Tegethoff, after you were excused yesterday I requested that you look over your letter book to see whether there were any other letters passing from Mr. Harriman to other members of the national committee and I especially mentioned Mr. Bliss and Mr. Cortelyou. Did you find any?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I did not find any.

Senator POMERENE. Are there any letters or telegrams in your possession, or under your control, other than those you have given, passing between Col. Roosevelt and Mr. Harriman?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Have you in your possession, or under your control, a letter or telegram passing from Col. Roosevelt to Mr. Harriman on the subject of United States Senatorship in California?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you ever see such telegram or letter?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. I did not.

Senator POMERENE. Did you see any communications from Mr. Harriman or Roosevelt with reference to the United States Senatorship in California, in which Mr. Harriman was requested to be careful in looking out for a proper man for the United States Senator from California?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or words to that effect?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Have you heard of any such telegram or letter?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. No, sir; I have not.

Senator POMERENE. At no time?

Mr. TEGETHOFF. At no time.

Senator POMERENE. Information came to me to that effect, and that is why I have asked these questions. That is all.

Witness excused.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM FLINN, CONTRACTOR, PITTSBURGH, PA.

William Flinn, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name in full to the reporter.

Mr. FLINN. William Flinn.

The CHAIRMAN. And your address.

Mr. FLINN. Pittsburgh, Pa.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. FLINN. Contractor.

The CHAIRMAN. You were active in the preconvention campaign in behalf of Col. Roosevelt for the nomination, prior to the Republican national convention, held in Chicago in June, 1912. Have you any records showing the contributions that were made to that campaign?

Mr. FLINN. No. Your letter to me indicated that I was to bring the data here and testify as to my contributions and expenses in that campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you have the data?

Mr. FLINN. I have the data for that; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you it with you?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir; that is, in the election of Roosevelt delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; the preconvention campaign in Pennsylvania.

Mr. FLINN. I have some other expenditures that are not included in that, but that shows my expenditures in behalf of the election of delegates for Col. Roosevelt.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Exhibit F-A."

The paper was marked "Exhibit F-A" and handed to the witness and reads as follows:

EXHIBIT F-A.

Summary of expenditures made by William Flinn, distributed by districts

Allegheny County:

John S. Weller, treasurer.....	\$13, 620. 00
W. L. McCullagh, 10 per cent of \$35,350.....	3, 535. 00
Paul S. Ache.....	3, 089. 33

Allegheny County—Continued.

M. H. Kennedy	\$3,653.40
C. E. Flinn	200.00
H. W. Stratman	100.00
Frank Blernesser	46.40
Auto Tire Co.	45.00
A. W. Powell	750.79
C. C. McGovern	784.90
L. P. Schneider	1,863.25
Press Publishing Co.	33.60
Whitehead & Hoag Co.	199.76
M. E. Cunningham Co.	7.92
S. Delp's Sons	17.50
Pittsburg Leader	352.73
	<hr/> \$28,300.18

Congressional districts:

Ninth, 1 county, W. F. Gorrecht	1,000.00
Eleventh, 1 county, William Tonkin	1,000.00
Thirteenth, 2 counties, F. E. Lewis	1,500.00
Fourteenth, 4 counties, E. R. W. Searle	150.00
Sixteenth, 4 counties—	
William Wilhelm	\$200.00
W. H. Unger	2,250.00
	<hr/> 2,450.00
Seventeenth, 8 counties, A. Nevin Detrich	1,150.00
Eighteenth, 3 counties—	
W. F. Pascoe	\$200.00
A. R. Rupley	2,250.00
	<hr/> 2,450.00
Twenty-first, 4 counties—	
James Mitchell	500.00
A. S. Moulthrop	500.00
	<hr/> 1,000.00
Twenty-second, 2 counties, Berkey H. Boyd	300.00
Twenty-fourth, 3 counties, J. V. Clarke	300.00
Twenty-fifth, 2 counties—	
A. F. Ledebur	\$100.00
P. J. Barber	365.15
Benjamin Jarrett	700.00
Geo. F. Davenport	500.00
L. A. McBrier	250.00
	<hr/> 1,915.15
Twenty-seventh, 4 counties—	
J. G. Mitchell	1,421.69
Dr. H. W. Trulff	725.00
Lex N. Mitchell	200.00
	<hr/> 2,346.69
Twenty-eighth, 5 counties—	
John L. Morrison	1,484.39
W. H. Barr	80.00
J. W. Murray	4.75
	<hr/> 1,569.14
	<hr/> 17,130.98

State of Pennsylvania:

J. P. Considine	17,700.00
H. G. Wasson	3,500.00
W. L. McCullagh, post cards	29,965.00
North American	174.24
W. L. McCullagh (Washington Party)	750.00
	<hr/> 52,089.24

Outside of the State:

Robert La Follette (Walter L. Houser, chairman)	1,000.00
Paul S. Ache, Massachusetts	1,000.00
Wm. E. Glasscock, West Virginia	500.00
W. L. McCullagh, post cards	1,850.00
Frank J. Harris, Boston	91.30
	<hr/> 4,441.30

Miscellaneous:

C. D. & P. Telephone Co.....	\$115. 21	
Western Union Telegraph Co.....	100. 76	
Postal Telegraph-Cable Co.....	17. 34	
Bellevue-Stratford Hotel.....	185. 50	
Pittsburg Silver Peak G. M. Co. (telegrams paid by them).....	3. 67	
		<u>\$422. 48</u>

Total.....	102, 384. 18
Deduct amount expended by J. P. Considine in testing the public sentiment by post cards, included in total of \$17,700 (see state- ment attached).....	3, 000. 00
	<u>99, 384. 18</u>

The CHAIRMAN. What is Exhibit F-A?

Mr. FLINN. It represents the total expenditures made by me in behalf of the election of delegates for Col. Roosevelt in Pennsylvania.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any State organization in behalf of Col. Roosevelt's nomination in Pennsylvania?

Mr. FLINN. There were small organizations. There was no general State organization except that represented by me.

The CHAIRMAN. Does Exhibit A show all the contributions which you made to this campaign?

Mr. FLINN. With this exception. I might explain that this——

The CHAIRMAN. Before that is done I want it identified as an exhibit, as it preserves the continuity of the record. This paper will be marked Exhibit F-B.

The paper referred to is accordingly marked "Exhibit F-B" and is as follows:

EXHIBIT F-B.

H. G. Wasson:

May 11, H. G. Wasson, chairman Republican State committee, S-923	\$500. 00
July 6, H. G. Wasson, chairman Republican State committee, T-145	2, 500. 00
	<u>3, 000. 00</u>

A. Nevin Detrich:

July 20, A. Nevin Detrich, T-227	600. 00
July 24, A. Nevin Detrich, 234	400. 00
Aug. 30, A. Nevin Detrich, 352	500. 00
	<u>1, 500. 00</u>

Thomas L. Hicks:

Aug. 22, Thomas L. Hicks, T-345	1, 000. 00
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Republican national convention—personal expenses:

June 22, Blackstone Hotel, T-115	462. 05
June 19, Blackstone Hotel, 218	40. 00
	<u>503. 05</u>

State convention expenses:

Apr. 26, Pennsylvania R. R. Co., special train and dining car, S-875	915. 00
Apr. 30, Pennsylvania R. R. Co., Pullman accommodations, 876	223. 13
May 1, the Bolton, hotel charges, 883	547. 55
May 2, Fred C. Wilson, hotel charges, 884	189. 00
	<u>1, 874. 70</u>

Republican national convention expenses:

July 1, John H. Dailey, expenses, T-125-----	\$150. 00
July 30, L. P. Schneider, expenses, 249-----	58. 80
	<hr/>
	208. 80
	<hr/>

Progressive national convention expenses:

July 30, B. C. Foster, expenses, T-250-----	25. 00
Aug. 2, L. A. McBrier, expenses, 264-----	60. 00
Aug. 8, Congress Hotel Co., headquarters, etc., 322-----	206. 70
Aug. 28, Harry B. Myers, expenses, 349-----	195. 76
	<hr/>
	487.46
	<hr/>

8, 574. 61

The CHAIRMAN. What is Exhibit F-B?

Mr. FLINN. This is a statement of expenditures since the assembling of the Republican national convention. It shows contributions to the Republican State executive committee of Pennsylvania and to the Progressive State committee of Pennsylvania, and some incidental expenditures such as attending the Progressive national Republican convention, and some small expenditures of money that we neglected to put in the other statements—the contributions outside of the State. That represents all the expenditures that I am responsible for up to date.

The CHAIRMAN. Does Exhibit B cover expenses subsequent to Col. Roosevelt's nomination at the second Chicago convention?

Mr. FLINN. Well, there are a few items in there, I can pick them out; they do not amount to more than a few hundred dollars, that were neglected to go in the other one—only a few hundred dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. What other documents have you bearing on this subject?

Mr. FLINN. Well, I would like to make an explanation to this committee. I have not anything else that I want to file, excepting in the course of my testimony which I give the committee, if you elect to take the documents, I will be willing to give them to you. I do not know whether the committee would like to know what has been the custom in the community I live in regarding the expenditure of money in campaigns in the past, which would seem to me to indicate to the committee whether this expenditure on my part was large or small. I might add——

The CHAIRMAN. Without reference to what the committee might think, the inquiry of the committee covers campaign funds in the presidential campaign of 1904, the congressional campaign of 1904, the presidential campaign of 1908, the congressional campaign of 1908, and the preconvention campaign of 1912. My inquiries were directed more with the taking up, first, the expenses of the preconvention campaign of 1912, and especially in behalf of Col. Roosevelt, as you represented him, I understand, in Pennsylvania. Do you know of any contributions that were made to the preconvention campaign for Col. Roosevelt in the spring of 1912 that do not appear in Exhibit A?

Mr. FLINN. Well, there were contributions made to the committee in my county, the officers of which are here. There were not many, but they can explain that themselves—the number of them. There may have been expenditures, but I know of no contributions. I think it can be said with perfect safety that I contributed 85 or 90

per cent of all the money expended in Pennsylvania for Col. Roosevelt. Now, the thought occurred to me that I would like to say to the committee, briefly, how that money was expended. It was expended under three heads——

The CHAIRMAN. But first I wanted to conclude the inquiry as to whether you know within your knowledge or general repute that there were contributions made for Col. Roosevelt's preconvention campaign aside from what appear in Exhibit A, and if so, who made them and the amounts.

Mr. FLINN. Well, I know of no contributions except those made to the county committee of Allegheny County, and the treasurer is here and he can answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was treasurer?

Mr. FLINN. Senator Weller. I want to add in that connection, so I will not be misunderstood by the committee, that I contributed more money to the political situation than appears on those papers. For instance, in my own county there was a mixed contest for members of the legislature and for Congressman and for delegates to the national convention. I made my contribution to them, and I have asked the treasurer and the chairman of the committee to analyze what part of the expenditures they thought were applicable to the election of national delegates, and their statement to me is the statement—or upon their statement have I made it. I have done the same thing in the case of the city of Philadelphia where I contributed, say, \$17,000——

The CHAIRMAN. Does that \$17,000 appear in Exhibit A?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir. Then there is a deduction made of \$3,000, and the reasons are assigned for the deduction. For instance, in that case when they sought information through postal cards as to what the public feeling was before the campaign opened, and they thought it was not a part of the campaign expenditures. They make that explanation. Now, with that explanation, all of the money that I spent in all—of all kinds and characters—in that Taft-Roosevelt contest is on that sheet, and the explanation is given to me by the members of the Allegheny committee, the chairman and treasurer, who are both here. I want to do justice to the subject and to myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Your first statement shows \$102,348. Then there is a deduction of \$3,000.

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the deduction you have just spoken of?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Attached to that appears to be a summary of receipts marked "13th-12th, \$5,000; April 3, \$5,000; April 9, \$3,000; April 11, \$1,700." Do you know who those sums were received from?

Mr. FLINN. I contributed those sums to that gentleman, and that is his explanation of how he expended them. He has an explanation on the left-hand side of the sheet. He has got the receipts on one side and the expenditures on the other.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right, but what I want to get at is the total contribution, either by yourself or others, within your knowledge.

Mr. FLINN. Well, you have got it there.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it will simplify the record to mark that "Exhibit F-C."

The exhibit is accordingly marked, and is as follows:

EXHIBIT F-C.

RECEIPTS.		DISBURSEMENTS.	
1912.			
Mar. 13-----	\$5,000.00	Philadelphia congressional	
Apr. 3-----	5,000.00	district-----	\$6,500.00
Apr. 9-----	3,000.00	Eighth congressional dis-	
Apr. 11-----	1,700.00	trict-----	1,200.00
		Eleventh congressional dis-	
		trict-----	1,500.00
		Twelfth congressional dis-	
		trict-----	300.00
		Fifteenth congressional dis-	
		trict-----	1,300.00
		Twentieth congressional dis-	
		trict-----	550.00
		Telegraph and telephone ex-	
		penses-----	308.42
		State convention expenses--	450.00
		Publicity and advertising--	800.00
		Traveling expenses, hotel ex-	
		penses, railroad fares, and	
		special trains-----	1,700.19
		Office expenses-----	75.00
		Cash on hand-----	16.39
Total-----		Total-----	
14,700.00		14,700.00	

The CHAIRMAN (showing Exhibit F-C to the witness). That appears to be a statement of receipts of about \$14,000?

Mr. FLINN. \$14,700.

The CHAIRMAN. And disbursements. Does that relate to Philadelphia?

Mr. FLINN. That relates to the congressional districts in the eastern part of the State enumerated on this sheet, not Philadelphia alone.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make any contribution to Col. Roosevelt's preconvention campaign for use elsewhere than in Pennsylvania, and others than those referred to in Exhibit A?

Mr. FLINN. All the contributions that I made of any kind or character to any person or any committee is on that sheet—on the two sheets, rather.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of contributions that were made by other persons to Col. Roosevelt's preconvention campaign?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you associated with the presidential campaign of 1904?

Mr. FLINN. Well, only in a very limited way outside of the State of Pennsylvania. I conducted the campaign in Pennsylvania for Roosevelt, but outside of that my knowledge and my connections, I think, were of a very limited capacity.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions that were made to the Republican national campaign committee in 1904?

Mr. FLINN. Well, none specifically; no, sir. In 1904? Not specifically; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you of 1908?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you of the congressional campaign of 1904?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the congressional campaign of 1908?

Mr. FLINN. Well, I do not know of anything particularly. I have been engaged in our county raising money for these campaigns, but there is no impropriety in it, and I have forgotten about it. I know of nothing to interest the committee at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You understand, of course, that in every national campaign, in addition to the national committee, there is a congressional committee?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And, calling your attention to that fact, do you recall any contributions to the congressional committee, either in 1904 or 1908, either?

Mr. FLINN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you may make such statement as you desire in regard to Exhibit A.

Mr. FLINN. Well, this statement which I have given the committee amounts to \$99,384.18; out of that was expended in Allegheny County \$28,300.18.

This amount of money that I expended there was \$99,384.18. There was expended in the city of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County \$28,300.18, leaving a balance of \$71,084, which is represented by the expenditure of \$29,965, in these postal cards. Does the committee care for that information?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; go on and state the circumstances.

Senator PAYNTER. That is the amount that was expended by Mr. McCullough?

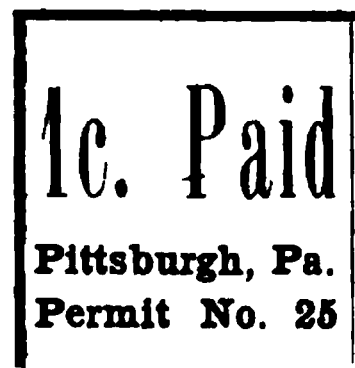
Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir; here is a copy or a sample of the postal card.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Exhibit F-D."

The postal card was marked "Exhibit F-D," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT F-D—(Face).

MAILING CARD



Mr.

BUCKS , *Penna.*

EXHIBIT F-D—(Back).

FOR PRESIDENT, THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

[Picture of Col. Roosevelt and White House appears in original.]

To the Republicans of Pennsylvania:

Are you fit to rule yourselves; or do you want special privilege to rule you—and make you pay for being ruled?

Which rights are most sacred—the rights of man or the rights of money?

Vote your answer at the primaries Saturday, April 13, between 2 and 8 p. m.

DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Byram C. Foster (favors Theodore Roosevelt for President) X.
C. Tyson Kratz (favors Theodore Roosevelt for President) X.

ALTERNATE DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Ralph J. Greider (favors Theodore Roosevelt for President) X.
Adolph Printz (favors Theodore Roosevelt for President) X.

DELEGATES TO STATE CONVENTION.

L. L. White (favors Theodore Roosevelt for President) X.
C. K. Frankenfield (favors Theodore Roosevelt for President) X.
Roy Tracy (favors Theodore Roosevelt for President) X.
H. W. Hallowell (favors Theodore Roosevelt for President) X.
John A. Nixon (favors Theodore Roosevelt for President) X.
The cause for which these candidates stand is the cause for which I stand.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Take this souvenir card as a guide at polls. Never again will your vote count for liberty and human rights as much as now. Beware of fake Roosevelt delegates.

ROOSEVELT COMMITTEE OF PENNSYLVANIA,
WILLIAM FLINN, *Chairman*.

Mr. FLINN. That leaves a balance of \$51,119, which was expended outside of the State in contributions, \$4,431.30.

Senator POMERENE. Outside the State, you mean?

Mr. FLINN. Outside the State of Pennsylvania. The balance unaccounted for when I deducted the postal cards was \$50,000.

There were further deductions on that of money expended outside the State by contributions, etc., of \$4,431.30, leaving an expenditure of \$46,687.70, which represents my expenditures in this contest in 66 counties in Pennsylvania.

I only separated those in order to show this committee that this is a very small expenditure of money.

If the committee will bear with me, I might add in justification of this expenditure of money there were great interests involved besides the election of national delegates. There was the control of that State convention, which was evidenced by the character of the proceedings of the convention and the novelty of a Progressive platform being adopted in that State of a radical character, so that while I have charged all the expenditures of this money to the election of Roosevelt delegates, yet it covered a much wider range than that, and in view of the expenditures of the money, as I have been educated in my community, I think it is a very small expenditure, because the Taft people in Allegheny County spent \$95,000.

Senator POMERENE. Did you say "education"?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir. I was chairman of the city Republican committee for 20 years, so I know something about it.

The Taft people in this contest in our county spent \$95,000, and I think their expenditures of money and ours were spent in absolutely legal lines, and the only criticism that can be passed on the expenditure of that money in our county, which was enormous, is that it was wasteful. One side does it because the other side does it, and it is entirely legal. So that in my view of the situation in our State I think the extraordinary interests attendant upon the particular matter indicate that that was a very small expenditure of money. I would like to say to the committee, if they feel it is within their

province to listen to it—to give a résumé of the expenditure of money in our county in the last few years. I think it ought to be stopped. As I have said before, Senator Oliver knows as much about it as I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, I have stated the scope of the resolution.

Mr. FLINN. All right. I have nothing further.

The CHAIRMAN. Personally, I have no objection to it.

Mr. FLINN. I haven't any desire to inflict it upon the committee. If the committee desires to find out—for instance, in Allegheny County the report made under the corrupt-practices act in our State would show that I contributed more money than is on this sheet. This report is built up from information given to me by the chairman and the treasurer of that committee, who are both here.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, any of these matters that you suggest, if they bear upon the congressional campaign or the presidential campaign, the committee desires to have them.

Mr. FLINN. It is all right, Senator; that does not bear on it.

The CHAIRMAN. As to your municipal campaign, I doubt whether the committee feels that we have jurisdiction. Anything further?

Mr. FLINN. Nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. I desire to call your attention to a statement made in the Senate by Senator Penrose, which is a part of the subject of this inquiry, on August 21, 1912, on page 174 of the hearings, reading as follows:

Mr. William Flinn, of this unsavory combination, which until recently Mr. Roosevelt would have been quick to denounce and repudiate, has made a fortune out of crooked municipal contracts and the corrupt control of municipal councils and State legislatures. Mr. E. A. Van Valkenburg, editor of the North American in Philadelphia, was arrested and indicted for bribery in my first senatorial contest in 1896, and only escaped conviction through the leniency of Senator Quay, and upon the payment of about \$10,000 for costs for lawyers, detectives, and for other expenses of prosecution, which amount was paid by his attorney the day before the trial was set to take place in Pottsville, the county seat of Schuylkill County.

Upon the death of Senator Quay in 1904, Mr. Flinn became a candidate to succeed him in the United States Senate. In Philadelphia, during a discussion of the successorship to Senator Quay, Mr. Flinn offered to Israel W. Durham, a Republican leader in Philadelphia, and to me, \$1,000,000, or even \$2,000,000, to favor his ambition, and the offer was known to others at the time. The offer was declined, and we refused to support his candidacy.

What statement do you desire to make in regard to that?

Mr. FLINN. While sitting here under oath, if Senator Penrose said I offered him either a million dollars or two million dollars, he lied; or that I authorized anybody else to offer it, either that sum or any other sum.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Durham living?

Mr. FLINN. No; he is dead.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any further statement you desire to make in regard to that?

Mr. FLINN. Well, the statement is this: At the time of Senator Quay's death there was a division of sentiment in the western part of Pennsylvania as to who should succeed him. Senator Oliver and Mr. Frank Robbins and myself were mentioned by our friends, and Senator Oliver withdrew, leaving the contest, so far as the representatives in the legislature were concerned from western Pennsylvania, between Mr. Robbins and myself. The crystallization of

the sentiment was in favor of me. I knew that the selection of a successor, which was by appointment up to Gov. Pennypacker, and later by members of the legislature, would be controlled by Senator Penrose and his associates, and my friends insisted that I should make an effort to be selected, which I did to the best of my ability. I was the choice of a very large majority of the members of the house and senate from western Pennsylvania. That had no influence in the selection—rather had no influence in guiding Senator Penrose and Mr. Durham and his associates.

Personally I never talked to Senator Penrose about this matter here; I never talked to Mr. Durham about it. I have some gentlemen present who did talk to Senator Penrose. I didn't go there myself. I have a gentleman present who conducted the correspondence with the Standard Oil Co., signing my name to telegraph dispatches.

The CHAIRMAN. I was going to reach that in a moment.

Mr. FLINN. If you have no objection, I will include that in my statement.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. FLINN. There was no reason why I should object to an appeal to the Standard Oil Co. I did not object to it; I did not guide him in the lines that he was to make the appeal. He had been a former employee of the Standard Oil Co. I believed then, and I believe now, that there were no Senators selected in the State of Pennsylvania for many years that were objected to, and indeed their voice was potential in the matter.

Senator PAYNTER. You mean the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir. I believe it was potential.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you now referring to the telegrams which appear on page 174?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I supposed so.

Mr. FLINN. I had nothing to do with the sending or the receiving of these telegrams. The gentleman who did it is here.

I might add, in addition to that, for the information of the committee, that I have not been in friendly political relations with Senator Penrose and his associates for 17 years. I have been out of touch with them since 1895.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know that the telegram referred to on page 174 was being sent, purporting to be sent by you?

Mr. FLINN. No. This gentleman said he was a friend of mine. He said that he might be of some use to me in influencing the Standard Oil people. He had worked for them for many years, and I told him I was very glad to have his help. As to the method of giving that help, he worked it out himself. I do not know how it was done and do not care.

Senator POMERENE. What is his name?

Mr. FLINN. J. G. Splane.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you personally receive the telegram on page 174, purporting to be signed by John D. Archbold?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first know of these telegrams, as to the express terms of them?

Mr. FLINN. When I read about it in the papers.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, about when?

Mr. FLINN. I have forgotten just when—the date that Penrose gave them out.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean this office?

Mr. FLINN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any further statement you desire to make?

Mr. FLINN. Nothing except in this matter of the senatorship. I would like to have Mr. J. V. Clark called, who represented me in the interviews with Senator Penrose. The other gentleman who was connected with him is dead.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does Mr. Clark reside?

Mr. FLINN. He resides in Washington County, Pa.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know his post-office address?

Mr. FLINN. Washington, Pa. He is here.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, he is present.

Mr. FLINN. Mr. Chairman, before we conclude this matter would you like to ask the officers of the Roosevelt organization of Allegheny County as to why my contribution to them is not as great as it is on this sheet?

The CHAIRMAN. They will be called in regular order.

Mr. FLINN. All right.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Flinn, I think that perhaps unintentionally you have given the wrong impression with regard to the situation connected with the suspension of Senator Quay, and I will ask you a few questions that will perhaps enlighten the committee and yourself.

You speak of the situation, then, as appealing to the members elected to the legislature.

Mr. FLINN. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. Was it not a fact that at that time, immediately preceding Senator Quay's death, the question was not as to appealing to the members of the legislature, but to the governor, who had the appointment?

Mr. FLINN. Yes; both.

Senator OLIVER. No; the members of the legislature had not then been elected.

Mr. FLINN. No; but they——

Senator OLIVER. The appointment was to be made by the governor, was it not?

Mr. FLINN. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. It was supposed that the advice of Senator Penrose and Mr. Durham and other leaders would have great weight with the governor in the making of the appointment?

Mr. FLINN. In their opinion it might be made up on the sentiment of the then members of the legislature.

Senator OLIVER. There were no then members of the legislature that would have any voice in the selection of a Senator, because the members of the legislature had not been elected.

Mr. FLINN. That might be all true, but there was a legislature there that was reasonably certain, a great majority of them, to succeed themselves.

Senator OLIVER. You stated that the preponderance of sentiment among the members of the legislature was in your favor?

Mr. FLINN. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. What warrant have you for saying that?

Mr. FLINN. My memory is very good on that point.

Senator OLIVER. Well, of course, you must have had some basis for it.

Mr. FLINN. Well, conversation with members of the legislature from western Pennsylvania, from our county.

Senator OLIVER. With whom had you conversations?

Mr. FLINN. Different members of the legislature.

Senator OLIVER. You said of the State.

Mr. FLINN. No; I am speaking of western Pennsylvania.

Senator OLIVER. Is it not a fact that the legislature at that time and the legislature that was elected in the succeeding fall, at least outside of Allegheny County, was largely made up of friends of Senator Quay, and that you had been at war politically with Senator Quay for many years?

Mr. FLINN. I was not a candidate for the Senate, and had no part in the contest for members of the legislature. I think that 75 per cent of the members of the legislature who were then in office, from western Pennsylvania and west of the mountains, including our own county, were for me.

Senator OLIVER. Can you name a few of those from other counties?

Mr. FLINN. I just named the man from Washington County—Mr. J. V. Clark.

Senator OLIVER. Was he a member of the legislature at that time?

Mr. FLINN. He was not; but he was in close connection with the members.

Senator OLIVER. He was not a member.

Mr. FLINN. Mercer County, Westmoreland County, Jefferson County—of course, I can not carry these things in my head, which run along for several years now, but I recollect at the time and my memory leads me to believe that 75 per cent of the then senators and representatives were friendly with me.

Senator OLIVER. Is it not a fact that the county committee of Allegheny County was called together and demanded the position for Allegheny County, the second county in the State, indorsing four men for the position, without giving any preference to any of them?

Mr. FLINN. Yes; that was the county committee.

Senator OLIVER. Upon the day after I declined to be a candidate, or to be considered in the matter, you went to Philadelphia, did you not?

Mr. FLINN. Well, maybe a day after; shortly after that.

Senator OLIVER. It was the day after; I can tell you that; or that night. The appointment was made a very few days after that, was it not?

Mr. FLINN. Well, possibly within a week.

Senator OLIVER. Senator Knox was appointed by the governor?

Mr. FLINN. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. You remained in Philadelphia for several days, did you not, actively campaigning for the place?

Mr. FLINN. No; I remained down there with Mr. Fred Edwards and Mr. J. V. Clark. There was not any campaigning to do. The question was what Penrose and Durham would decide to do.

Senator OLIVER. That is what I mean. You were actively campaigning for their favor, were you not?

Mr. FLINN. No.

Senator OLIVER. Well, were there not several others beside Mr. Edwards there? Was not Mr. Leslie there, and was not Mr. Ford there?

Mr. FLINN. There were a great many gentlemen there, but those two particular gentlemen were the gentlemen whom I sent to see Senator Penrose.

Senator OLIVER. You say you did not see Senator Penrose during your stay in Philadelphia at all?

Mr. FLINN. I may have met him, but I had no interview with him regarding this matter. My case was presented to him through these two gentlemen. I might add here, by way of general information, or by way of information to you, that when I received specific information from Mr. Frick that they had settled on Mr. Knox I was through.

Senator OLIVER. Now, Mr. Flinn, you said that in the campaign of 1904 you conducted the campaign in Pennsylvania for Mr. Roosevelt?

Mr. FLINN. 1904?

Senator OLIVER. Yes.

Mr. FLINN. No, no.

Senator OLIVER. That is what you stated.

Mr. FLINN. No. If I stated that, I did it inadvertently.

Senator OLIVER. Well, you did so state.

Mr. FLINN. I did not mean it.

Senator OLIVER. I thought you were thinking of some other campaign.

Mr. FLINN. I meant I conducted the campaign this year in Pennsylvania in Mr. Roosevelt's interest.

Senator OLIVER. We have here two exhibits—one showing the expenditure of \$102,000 and another \$14,700. Does the one include the other?

Mr. FLINN. Pardon me; would not that be \$99,000?

Senator OLIVER. Well, there are \$3,000 deducted for the expenses of sending postal cards, and I just want to ask you if these are separated.

Mr. FLINN. Separated; yes.

Senator OLIVER. Then, one should be added to the other one?

Mr. FLINN. I separated them because they ought not to be added one to the other.

Senator OLIVER. I do not think you understand me. I think you are referring to the \$8,574.

Mr. FLINN. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. That is after-convention expenses?

Mr. FLINN. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. But the \$14,700 and \$102,000, or \$99,000, are separated and distinct from each other, are they?

Mr. FLINN. No.

Senator OLIVER. I just wanted to know.

Mr. FLINN. The \$14,000 are included in the \$99,000.

Senator OLIVER. Well, I was not sure of that, and I wanted to make it clear. Now, this \$102,000 or \$99,000——

Mr. FLINN. Ninety-nine thousand dollars.

Senator OLIVER. You said is the result of segregation of your contributions, made on some theory. What is the total amount of your contributions during the time Col. Roosevelt was a candidate for the Presidency, or for political purposes?

Mr. FLINN. Does the committee want to know how much money I contributed for the purpose of electing members of the legislature and officers of the county organization in our county?

Senator OLIVER. Well, the elections were held on the same primary, on the same day, were they not?

Mr. FLINN. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. Controlled by the same committee?

Mr. FLINN. Not entirely; no.

Senator OLIVER. I do not see how we can get at it without knowing the total amount of your contribution.

Mr. FLINN. The officers of the committee are here to explain why there is a difference between my total contribution and that shown on that sheet.

Senator OLIVER. Of course, it is perfectly legitimate for the officers of the committee to explain that, but I think we ought to know the total amount of your contribution, and then let the explanation be made by the officers of the committee as to the basis upon which the segregation is made.

Mr. FLINN. As we read your resolution, it did not strike my attorney and myself that the resolution required us to produce any such evidence, and we thought it was of no use to the committee, unless it may be for use in factional warfare in our State; but if the committee wants to know, and so decides, I will give it to them.

The CHAIRMAN. If the Senator will pardon me for a moment, it may be important in this light. These men were running at the same primary. Now, the committee and those who may be interested in the subject of contributions might desire to exercise some judgment of their own as to how this should be divided as between Col. Roosevelt's candidacy and these other men.

Mr. FLINN. That is why I brought the officers of the committee along.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but in order to make that division, the committee and the public would have to have the entire contribution, with whatever explanation you or the committee desire to offer. I am rather inclined to think that the Senator's question is a fair one and within the scope of this inquiry.

Mr. FLINN. I did not want to evade the Senator's question.

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. FLINN. But my answer is based on the information these gentlemen have given me; so I thought you might as well ask them and let them tell you. I can only give you what they told me.

Senator OLIVER. I will cite one instance: In the account of Mr. Weller, the treasurer of the general Roosevelt committee in Allegheny County, you are credited with a contribution of \$22,700. Now, in your summary of expenditures, you only charge up as paid to Mr. Weller, \$13,620.

Mr. FLINN. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. Of course, your theory or your contention is that of that \$22,700, the difference between that and \$13,600, should be applied to other features in the campaign; but the committee is the

Roosevelt Republican committee. I really can not see how it can be separated. There is a difference of a little over \$9,000 in that one instance, and I would like to know what the total amount of these contributions was.

Mr. FLINN. I acknowledge that I contributed that money to Roosevelt, but I did not stop with that contribution, and I asked the officers of the committee, in their judgment, to separate it, so that it would be in conformity with your resolution, and then I brought them here along with me, so that they might argue it out with you themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. This, as I understand, is a return of the treasurer, and shows contributions by Mr. Flinn of \$22,700.

Senator POMERENE. Is that given to the county committee?

Mr. FLINN. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Flinn in his statement of expenditures only acknowledges \$13,700. I understand, of course, that he claims only \$13,700 was used for the election of Roosevelt delegates.

Mr. FLINN. The committee understands, I suppose, my opinion of the statement of the officers of the committee, and they have to make up their own minds.

Senator PAYNTER. You know the total amount you contributed to the Roosevelt campaign fund in the last campaign?

Mr. FLINN. I have given it to you. But we do not believe this amount of money was spent exclusively in the interest of Roosevelt. We think there were other candidates, for the legislature and delegates to county organizations, and all that sort of thing. And I leave it to these gentlemen.

Senator PAYNTER. I suggest that Mr. Flinn give the facts and the committee will be the judge of them.

Mr. FLINN. I would sooner you asked these gentlemen here.

Senator OLIVER. These gentlemen can not tell what you contributed for campaign expenses. You are the one to tell that.

Mr. FLINN. I acknowledged I contributed, but not for the election of Roosevelt delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. This purports to be a statement filed under the law, and consequently it is a public document—"William Flinn, \$22,700." That is a fact, is it not?

Mr. FLINN. I contributed that to this committee; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not go on and state the fact? This is a matter, as I understand it, of public record.

Mr. FLINN. I acknowledged contributing that money.

The CHAIRMAN. But it has not yet appeared in the record of the committee. This paper has not been offered, and consequently we are basing an argument here upon something that is not yet in the record. Go on and make your statement.

Mr. FLINN. I can only state I do not believe the amount of money was spent in the election of—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). That is not the question of Senator Oliver. He has asked for a statement of total contributions made by you.

Mr. FLINN. Then I ask the committee if they are interested in anything outside the money expended for the election of Roosevelt delegates?

The CHAIRMAN. It is interested in knowing anything that will bear upon this question. As this is a matter of public record, I can not see any objection under any circumstances of making the statement.

Mr. FLINN. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to be captious at all. This is the way I look at that proposition: I contributed \$22,500, but it was not all expended in the election of national delegates. We tell you how much we think was expended in the election of national delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to the \$22,000, what other contributions were made?

Mr. FLINN. What other contributions were made to whom?

Senator OLIVER. The question I asked Senator Flinn is this: What is the total amount of your contributions for political purposes during the preconvention campaign of Col. Roosevelt? Having that knowledge, Mr. Flinn is at perfect liberty to either explain himself or call his friends to explain the theory upon which he argues that only a part of it should be charged up to the national primary campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly, and in the first instance a statement should be made of total contributions.

Mr. FLINN. Let me ask the committee a question. Is the committee interested in what money I contributed other than what I contributed to further the interest of a candidate for President this year?

The CHAIRMAN. The committee is interested in getting all information that will aid this committee or the public in arriving at a conclusion as to what it costs these different candidates to get their nominations. There necessarily will be a great deal of evidence here that in the last analysis may not be material, but it bears upon this question.

Mr. FLINN. Then I have answered the question of the committee. I think we spent \$13,000 in the election of national delegates, and in that report I contributed nine or ten thousand dollars besides that, but it was not expended in the election of national delegates.

Senator OLIVER. My question has not been answered at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Flinn, the committee is of opinion——

Mr. FLINN (interposing). I am answering that particular question; I will get to the other later.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Oliver asked you for a statement of the total amount of your contribution, and it is the judgment of the committee he is entitled to an answer to that question. Then you and the several committees will have an opportunity, of course, to analyze that statement and show how much should be said to apply to Col. Roosevelt's candidacy.

Mr. FLINN. Mr. Chairman, as I understand, as a witness, you have not yet answered my question, and consequently I must be guided by your answer. I will tell you everything I spent, if you want to know it. I am trying to confine myself to your resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason the committee has not answered your question yet is that the committee has not been put on oath as a witness.

Mr. FLINN. If you will answer this question, which I am going to ask you now, I will be guided by your answer. Does the committee

want to know the entire amount of money I expended for political purposes, of all kinds, this year?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. FLINN. All right, I will answer that. It was not what I started out with.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will take a recess until half past 1 o'clock.

Thereupon, at 12.07 o'clock p. m., the committee took a recess until 1.30 o'clock p. m.

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled at the conclusion of the recess, at 1.30 p. m.

WILLIAM FLINN resumed the stand for further examination.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Oliver, you may proceed.

Senator OLIVER. I had already asked Mr. Flinn a question at the time we took the recess. I would like to ask you, Mr. Flinn, the total amount of your political contributions since the beginning of the present primary campaign, not including those since the Republican national convention?

Mr. FLINN. Well, I have got a statement here, Senator, which includes everything up to date.

Senator OLIVER. Well, there is no objection to your giving that.

Mr. FLINN. I have no objection to giving it if the committee wants it, just as I have built it up on that basis [producing a paper].

Senator OLIVER. Well, that is all right.

Mr. FLINN. I would like to explain——

The CHAIRMAN. There will be an opportunity for that in a moment. This paper will be marked "Exhibit F-E."

The paper was accordingly marked "Exhibit F-E," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT F-E.

Summary of total expenditures—William Flinn, 1912.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY.

Contributions to J. S. Weller, treas.....	\$13,620.00
Cost of post cards, Allegheny Co.....	3,536.00
Sundry expenditures, Allegheny Co.....	11,145.18
Total expenditures in Allegheny County.....	28,300.18
Cost of post cards in State of Penna. outside of Allegheny County..	29,965.00
Expenditures in 66 counties in Penna. outside of Allegheny County..	36,577.70
Total expenditures in Penna. for Roosevelt delegates.....	94,942.88
Total expenditures outside of the State of Penna.....	4,441.80
Total Roosevelt expenditures.....	99,304.18
Contributed to the Allegheny County Republican Party organization expenses	8,821.76
Expenditures of Paul S. Ache.....	17,348.34
Expended by John S. Weller, treas. Roosevelt League.....	9,880.00
Expended by A. W. Powell.....	1,100.00
	135,754.28

Expenditures per Exhibit B:

Republican State organization.....	\$4,000.00	
Personal expenditures attending the Rep. national convention	711.85	
Expenses of Republican State convention.....	1,874.70	
Expenses of Progressive natl. convention.....	487.46	
Contributions to Wash'n Party State con.....	1,500.00	
		<hr/>
		\$8,574.01
 Total expenditures.....		 144,308.29

The CHAIRMAN. What is Exhibit E?

Mr. FLINN. Total expenses of all kinds; total amount of money expended by me during the year 1912, both to the Republican organization in Pennsylvania and the Roosevelt organization, and expenditures outside of the State; total expenditures of all kinds and character made on my part to everybody and anything connected with politics in the year 1912.

Senator OLIVER. It totals \$144,308.29?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir. Mr. Chairman, I would like to file this paper as part of the method of building up that amount [submitting a paper to the chairman].

The CHAIRMAN. The reporter will mark this "Exhibit F-F."

The paper is accordingly marked "Exhibit F-F," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT F-F.

[Ache & Wassell, attorneys at law, Pittsburgh, Pa., Commonwealth Building. Paul Smith Ache, Harry B. Wassell, John B. Eichenauer, Morse J. Keller, W. B. McCrory.]

SEPTEMBER 26, 1912.

Senator WILLIAM FLINN, *Pittsburgh, Pa.*

DEAR SIR: I acknowledge to have received from you during the months of March and April, 1912, the sum of \$19,848.34, which money I expended for political purposes. I received no money from any other source, either directly or indirectly, except as stated here. Of this amount \$8,500 was expended in the nomination of local candidates for public offices; an account of this has been filed by the proper persons. The balance was expended in the election of national delegates and city and county committeemen.

I should judge that \$2,500, approximately, was spent in the election of national delegates and the remainder in the election of ward, city, and county committeemen.

Very truly, yours,

PAUL S. ACHE.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Exhibit F-F?

Mr. FLINN. It is the explanation of money advanced to Mr. Paul S. Ache.

Senator POMERENE. I suggest that that be read, so that we can get some information from it.

Mr. FLINN. Shall I read it?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. I suggest that the statement be read first.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Oliver is now asking some questions——

Mr. FLINN. I have a copy of the statement here, if you want me to read it.

Senator POMERENE. I desire to withdraw my request. I do not want to interfere with Senator Oliver.

Senator OLIVER. I think the statement is simply an amplification of a former statement by Mr. Flinn, bringing in other expenditures, and is very complete and a full answer to the question that I propounded to him. It shows a total expenditure of something over

\$144,000 on his part. I think there is no objection to reading, so far as I am concerned.

Mr. FLINN. I think in justice to the committee——

The CHAIRMAN. Read Exhibit E.

Mr. FLINN. Contributions to John S. Weller, treasurer of the Roosevelt League of Allegheny County, \$13,620; to be expended in postal cards (which I gave the committee this morning) in Allegheny County, \$3,535; and then there are sundry other expenditures which are itemized in the exhibits and given this morning of \$11,145.18, making a total expenditure for Allegheny County of \$28,300.18. Then we sent those postal cards throughout the entire State to a million and a half voters, and that cost us, in addition to the \$3,535 expenses in Allegheny County, \$29,965; and then I expended in the 66 counties in Pennsylvania, outside of Allegheny County, \$36,677.70, making a total expenditure for the Roosevelt campaign in the State of Pennsylvania of \$94,942.88. I contributed in the shape of expenditures, which I explained in detail, and contributions to other States, \$4,441.30, a total expenditure for the Roosevelt interests of \$99,384.18. Then I contributed for the purpose of party organization in Allegheny County \$8,821.76. Then I contributed to Mr. Paul S. Ache, who defines the expenditures in that letter—the letter which I just handed to the committee—\$17,348.34. This, I contend, is outside of the Roosevelt campaign. Then I contributed to John S. Weller, treasurer, \$9,080. Then I contributed to A. W. Powell \$1,100. I contributed to the present Republican organization of Pennsylvania, or its officers, \$4,000, and I expended in personal expenses, railroad fare, and hotel bills, including my family and some friends of mine, in attending at the Republican national convention, \$711.85. Then I paid in expenses of one kind or another, which are in detail on the statement there, in the meeting of the Republican State convention last May, \$1,874.70. I expended in attendance at the Progressive national convention \$487.46, the Progressive national convention that nominated Roosevelt for President. Then I made contribution to the Washington Party of Pennsylvania, which is the Roosevelt organization, of \$1,500, making a total expenditure of \$144,308.29.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, please read Exhibit F.

Mr. FLINN. This is addressed to me:

EXHIBIT F-F.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1912.

Senator WILLIAM FLINN, *Pittsburgh, Pa.*

DEAR SIR: I acknowledge to have received from you, during the months of March and April, 1912, the sum of \$19,848.34, which money I expended for political purposes. I received no money from any other source, either directly or indirectly, except as stated here. Of this amount \$8,500 was expended in the nomination of local candidates for public offices; an account of this has been filed by the proper persons. The balance was expended in the election of national delegates and city and county committeemen.

I should judge that \$2,500, approximately, was spent in the election of national delegates, and the remainder in the election of ward, city, and county committeemen.

Very truly, yours,

PAUL S. ACHE.

Senator OLIVER. This includes all that you spent for political purposes, directly or indirectly, either through yourself or contributed to anybody else?

Mr. FLINN. Up to date.

Senator OLIVER. Up to date; yes. Now, Mr. Flinn, you are a resident of the fourth legislative district in Allegheny County. That legislative district, as I understand, consists of three wards in the city of Pittsburgh, with a total of 33 election districts. Is that not a fact?

Mr. FLINN. It consists of three wards. I could not just name the election districts.

Senator OLIVER. I think I am right about the number of election districts. In the account of Mr. Morton, the treasurer of the Roosevelt Republican League for that district, he certifies to an expenditure of \$8,513, all of which is contributed by Paul S. Ache. Is that included in the statement that you have here as having been contributed by you to Mr. Ache?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Then, in reality, Mr. Morton was wrong in stating that it came from Mr. Ache. It really came from you?

Mr. FLINN. I presume he got the money from Mr. Ache.

Senator OLIVER. Well, it was your money?

Mr. FLINN. Well, I gave that much money to Mr. Paul S. Ache. His letter there indicates the amount of money and as to what he did with it. I was not present when he handed over the money to Mr. Morton.

Senator OLIVER. Well, it was in an election district, and Mr. Ache contributed all of the money that was expended in that district, as I understand.

Mr. FLINN. His statement would indicate it.

Senator PAYNTER. May I ask a question there? Is that in addition to the \$19,000 that you turned over to the same gentleman?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. A part of that?

Mr. FLINN. Part of that.

Senator OLIVER. I may want to ask Mr. Flinn some further questions, Mr. Chairman, but I will surrender now to other members of the committee.

Senator PAYNTER. I believe, Senator, you explained that you had contributed for other political purposes about \$8,000, was it, in addition to the \$13,620 for Allegheny County?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir; I contributed \$9,080, which I built up on the suggestion of the officers of that committee.

Senator PAYNTER. Was that the money turned over to the Roosevelt committee?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. The same committee to which you had turned over the \$13,620?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir; we had a slate there for candidates for Congress and members of the legislature and senators and party organization candidates.

Senator POMERENE. Had what?

Mr. FLINN. What we call slates.

Senator PAYNTER. Did these committeemen run as Progressive committeemen?

Mr. FLINN. Well, they ran on the Roosevelt ticket. They were dubbed "Roosevelt candidates"—known as Roosevelt candidates.

Senator PAYNTER. How could money be used for Roosevelt without being used for these other gentlemen, and how for them without being used for Roosevelt?

Mr. FLINN. Very easily; the expenses of travel and expenses of various kinds which, if the Roosevelt delegates or candidates for national delegates were running alone, it would not have been necessary at all. That matter I am not familiar with in detail, but the chairman and treasurer of that organization are here, and they can explain that to you better than I can.

Senator PAYNTER. Were there organizations in the State other than in Allegheny County raising money and expending it?

Mr. FLINN. There was no organization in the State of any consequence except the organization in Allegheny County. The contest was——

Senator PAYNTER. Was that organization or was the purpose of that to look after the campaign in the entire State of Pennsylvania?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir; I looked after the campaign in the entire State outside of Allegheny County.

Senator PAYNTER. What part of this \$144,000—approximately what part of the \$144,380.29 did you contribute?

Mr. FLINN. Did I contribute?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes.

Mr. FLINN. Contributed it all.

Senator PAYNTER. Oh, you contributed all of this?

Mr. FLINN. Why, yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did anyone else make a contribution to the Roosevelt cause in Pennsylvania?

Mr. FLINN. There were several contributions in our county. He [indicating] has a list of them here. I think several thousand dollars.

Senator PAYNTER. That was in addition to what you gave?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Now, take Philadelphia, for instance. Was there an organization there and money raised there for the purpose of promoting the interests of Col. Roosevelt before that primary?

Mr. FLINN. Well, the organization down there may have raised some money, but it was a very limited amount.

Senator PAYNTER. What would you say was raised there?

Mr. FLINN. Well, I contributed—where is that statement?

The CHAIRMAN. About \$14,000.

Mr. FLINN. That is on file; I think it is \$6,500 that I contributed.

Senator PAYNTER. Was that part of this \$144,000?

Mr. FLINN. All of it; yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. What I am trying to get at is information of what others gave in addition to what you gave.

Mr. FLINN. There were contributions throughout the State, but in very limited amounts. I never inquired.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you any idea of what was contributed in Philadelphia other than what you gave?

Mr. FLINN. I would be surprised if they contributed over 50 per cent of the amount I contributed.

Senator PAYNTER. So you know there was not more than \$10,000 used in Philadelphia?

Mr. FLINN. I do not think so.

Senator PAYNTER. Can you think of any other part of the State or cities where money was contributed, and give us the approximate amounts?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir; I can tell you just the number of counties that I contributed money for in a minute.

Senator PAYNTER. I am not interested now in your stating the amounts which you contributed to the several counties, but I want to find out what sums were given by others, if possible, in addition to what you gave.

Mr. FLINN. I can not answer that question, because, I presume, in half the counties of Pennsylvania I contributed nothing to at all, and they undoubtedly must have raised some money up there, but it was a very limited amount. I covered a great deal of expenditures by the issuing of this postal card, and therefore they must have had some expenditures, but it would be a very limited amount. I might add to the committee that I did not try to get any contributions from anybody. I just did not know exactly what the bill was going to cost, but I was perfectly willing to pay it. I did not ask anybody for any money.

Senator PAYNTER. So you could not tell the committee, then, approximately what was contributed by others in Pennsylvania to promote the Roosevelt cause in Pennsylvania?

Mr. FLINN. I could not tell you, but I think it was.

Senator PAYNTER. Altogether what would you estimate it to be?

Mr. FLINN. I would be surprised if there was in the entire State outside of what I contributed.

Senator PAYNTER. In the course of your testimony you stated that \$90,000 had been raised in Allegheny in the interest of the Taft campaign.

Mr. FLINN. Ninety-five thousand dollars.

Senator PAYNTER. Ninety-five thousand, was it?

Mr. FLINN. That is what the records show.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you any personal knowledge of it?

Mr. FLINN. I have just the knowledge that I get out of the clerk of the court's office. Those contributions are a matter of public record.

Senator PAYNTER. Oh, there is a record of it made there, is there?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. That is easily ascertained, then?

Mr. FLINN. We have a copy of the record here with us.

Senator PAYNTER. I did not know about that. I do not believe that I care to ask the Senator any further questions.

Senator POMERENE. Senator, I was out part of the time in the early part of your examination, and I have had no opportunity to see these statements or to examine them.

Senator PAYNTER. Pardon me just a moment, Senator Pomerene. I have another question I should like to ask.

Senator POMERENE. Certainly.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you any knowledge as to the amounts which were contributed, for instance, in Ohio—the total amounts used in that campaign?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir; I have no knowledge whatever.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you any knowledge as to what was used in Massachusetts for this campaign?

Mr. FLINN. None whatever, except that I contributed \$1,000 there myself.

Senator PAYNTER. I notice in the statement which you filed this morning that you had contributed \$1,000 to Houser in the interest of La Follette.

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir. Pardon me for explaining, but that was before I was a Roosevelt man.

Senator PAYNTER. I was not criticizing you for it. In that statement I noticed that you gave La Follette \$1,000, or Houser \$1,000.

Mr. FLINN. I contributed \$1,000.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you any knowledge at all as to the amounts used in States other than those I have mentioned?

Mr. FLINN. No; I have no opportunity of knowledge. I have no connection with the Roosevelt national organization. I did not ask them for any help and I did not offer any. I thought I had job enough on my own hands.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you contribute any of this money while you were in Chicago attending the Republican convention?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir; none other than the personal expenses I paid there.

Senator PAYNTER. You had nothing to do with looking after the delegates from the South to that convention?

Mr. FLINN. Nothing, except to look them over.

Senator PAYNTER. But you had nothing to do then with trying to get for Col. Roosevelt delegates from the South—from the Southern States?

Mr. FLINN. Well, do you mean nothing of a financial character?

Senator PAYNTER. I mean financially.

Mr. FLINN. None whatever.

Senator PAYNTER. I am not interested in what you did personally.

Mr. FLINN. None whatever.

Senator PAYNTER. Why did you look them over, Senator? You said you looked them over.

Mr. FLINN. I wanted to look over a sad lot. I had a natural curiosity to see how the politics were manipulated.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment, Senator Pomerene, before you proceed. Is there anyone in Pennsylvania who would have a more general knowledge of the money raised throughout the State and disbursed than you?

Mr. FLINN. No; I think I am the best authority you can get.

Senator POMERENE. Senator, in looking at this Exhibit F-E, I note that the total expenditures in Allegheny County were \$28,300.18.

Mr. FLINN. Contributed by me.

Senator POMERENE. How much money was raised and expended by your committee in Allegheny County in addition to the \$28,300.18 contributed by you?

Mr. FLINN. Well, Senator, that can be better answered by the treasurer and the chairman, who are here.

Senator POMERENE. Can't you answer it?

Mr. FLINN. I can answer it by asking them.

Senator POMERENE. All right. I would like to have the information now.

Mr. FLINN (after referring to a paper). The total expenses are \$31,344.18.

Senator POMERENE. Does that include your contribution?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or in addition to your contribution?

Mr. FLINN. No; that includes my contribution.

Senator POMERENE. What was the character of these expenditures?

Mr. FLINN. These expenditures were clerical expenses and rent and care of headquarters and printing cards and some newspaper publications, some meetings, and the payment of watchers.

Senator POMERENE. The payment of what?

Mr. FLINN. Of watchers.

Senator POMERENE. What is a watcher?

Mr. FLINN. A watcher in our country—it is customary in our country to employ from three to five watchers in each polling place, to guard the political interests that you are interested in, and to guide the voter.

Senator POMERENE. To guide him?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. How many voting precincts are there in Allegheny County?

Mr. FLINN. Six hundred and seventy-eight.

Senator POMERENE. Six hundred and seventy-eight?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. How many watchers did you have at each poll?

Mr. FLINN. Well, Senator, if you will pardon me, I will answer that in a minute when I get the data.

Senator POMERENE. Very well.

Mr. FLINN. It is always customary to employ from three to five. It is an old established method out there that has been in vogue for a great many years. And I might digress for a moment to say that we are now approaching another campaign, on November 5, and we have the Republican organization and the Democratic organization and the Roosevelt organization, known as the Washington Party, and they will possibly do the same thing again, and they will likely waste amongst themselves \$30,000. One side does it, because the other does it. It is entirely legal.

Senator POMERENE. You call yourself the Washington Party?

Mr. FLINN. In Pennsylvania; yes, sir. The other chaps preempted the title on us, and we had to get a new one.

Senator POMERENE. What party was this?

Mr. FLINN. The Progressive Party.

Senator POMERENE. Who preempted it?

Mr. FLINN. A lot of people that were not in sympathy with Roosevelt, for the purpose of blocking us.

Senator POMERENE. You mean Republicans?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Those who have heretofore been known as Republicans?

Mr. FLINN. Those who are for Taft.

Senator POMERENE. I am not acquainted with your nomenclature in Pennsylvania.

Mr. FLINN. Well, we have two classes of Republicans out there, Senator, in order to inform you. We have what are known as Taft Republicans and Roosevelt Republicans.

Senator POMERENE. Well, now, have you that information there for me?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir; \$8,620 spent for watchers.

Senator POMERENE. \$8,620?

Mr. FLINN. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. How much were they paid?

Mr. FLINN. \$5 each. I think you could with perfect safety add—Senator Oliver says there are 33 election districts in my legislative district, and you could multiply that by \$15 for the district, and then you would get all the watchers in Allegheny County.

Senator POMERENE. That is, there is an additional expenditure, is there?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir; but not coming under the province of this committee. You were asking the question what the watchers cost in Allegheny County.

Senator OLIVER. If you will allow me right there—it may be apropos—I will state that in the legislative district to which Senator Flinn refers there is an item of \$3,080 paid to 606 watchers in that legislative district.

Senator POMERENE. To how many?

Senator OLIVER. To 606 watchers. The amount paid to watchers, messengers, etc., was \$3,080, which makes an average of \$18 to a district.

Mr. FLINN. That was all brought about by the contest over the election of one member of the legislature.

Senator POMERENE. This was in one legislative district?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Six hundred and six watchers?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir; that is what Senator Oliver says.

Senator PAYNTER. Watchers and messengers.

Senator POMERENE. How many precincts are there, all told, in Allegheny County?

Mr. FLINN. Six hundred and seventy-eight.

Senator POMERENE. Well, then, I misunderstood you a little while ago; 678 precincts?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And you had from three to five watchers at each precinct?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir. The chairman tells me in some of the districts he didn't have any and in some he had more than that number.

Senator POMERENE. How many watchers did you have, all told, then?

Mr. FLINN. The 600 that Senator Oliver mentioned—how many did you have [referring to a gentleman in the audience]? I will have to give it to you later.

Senator POMERENE. How many legislative districts were there?

Mr. FLINN (after getting the information from a gentleman). Twelve districts; 24 members.

Senator POMERENE. How many votes were cast for the Washington Party or Roosevelt delegates?

Mr. FLINN. Fifty-five thousand.

Senator POMERENE. Fifty-five thousand?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And there was expended, I believe you said, all told, \$31,000?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What other counties, outside of Allegheny County, did you contribute to?

Mr. FLINN. I would like to look at the statement I introduced this morning.

Senator POMERENE. I think they are all right here. I asked to have them sent up.

Mr. FLINN. You want the congressional districts?

Senator POMERENE. The counties and the amount that you contributed in each county.

Mr. FLINN. In the ninth congressional district, Lancaster County, \$1,000. In the eleventh congressional district, consisting of Luzerne County, \$1,000. In the thirteenth congressional district, consisting of Lehigh and Berks Counties, \$1,500; and there were incidental expenses in the fourteenth congressional district, consisting of Bradford, Susquehanna, Wayne, and Wyoming Counties, of \$150.

Senator POMERENE. Each county?

Mr. FLINN. No; that was the entire amount.

Senator POMERENE. \$150 for the four counties?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir; that was for the traveling expenses of a man that I sent up there. It was for the payment of his expenses, \$150. There were no contributions to the Roosevelt organization in those four counties from me.

In the sixteenth congressional district, consisting of four counties, Sullivan, Columbia, Montour, and Northumberland, \$2,450. In the twenty-first congressional district, consisting of Clearfield, Center, Cameron, and McKean Counties, \$1,000; in the twenty-second district, consisting of Westmoreland and Butler Counties, I contributed nothing to that organization, but paid for the traveling expenses of a man up there, who went through that county, \$300. In the twenty-fourth congressional district, consisting of Lawrence, Beaver, and Washington Counties, I paid for the traveling expenses of another man, who traveled through those counties, \$300, and made no contribution to the county.

In the twenty-fifth congressional district, consisting of Crawford and Erie Counties, I contributed \$1,915.15.

In the twenty-seventh congressional district, consisting of Armstrong, Clarion, Jefferson, and Indiana Counties, I contributed \$2,346.69, which included some expenses of travel through that country.

In the twenty-eighth congressional district, consisting of Mercer, Venango, Warren, Forest, and Elk Counties, I contributed \$1,569.14, which includes traveling expenses of a man going through those counties.

In the Philadelphia congressional district, where there are six districts, I contributed \$6,500.

In the eighth congressional district, which consists of two counties, Montgomery and Bucks, I contributed \$1,200.

In the eleventh congressional district, in addition to the contribution that I have named, I contributed \$1,500.

In the twelfth congressional district, composed of Schuylkill County, I contributed \$300.

In the fifteenth congressional district, composed of four counties, Potter, Tioga, Clinton, and Lycoming, I contributed \$1,300.

In the twentieth congressional district, composed of Adams and York, two counties, I contributed \$550.

That is all.

Senator POMERENE. Is that all?

Mr. FLINN. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, for the information of the committee, I understand that the Pennsylvania law requires the filing of an account of receipts and expenditures in each county?

Mr. FLINN. Not for national delegates.

Senator POMERENE. For State officers?

Mr. FLINN. Yes; State, county, and legislative officers, and senatorial and congressional candidates.

Senator POMERENE. So that there would be no accounts filed in any of these counties of the expenditures so far as they pertain to the election of delegates to the national convention.

Mr. FLINN. Well, I would not say that absolutely. There may have been some instances where they filed them, but our advice was that they are not required under the law. Then, in addition to that, it is not the contributor who has to file the account, but the man who receives the money. I advised our people throughout Pennsylvania, although some of them did not follow my injunctions, that my counsel advised me that it was not necessary to file an expense account for the election of national delegates. We did it in Allegheny County because it was tangled up with a lot of other officers, but I did not do it myself where I expended the money for these postal cards.

Senator POMERENE. Now, let us take your own account. I want to know a little more about that. All of this money was turned over to your treasurer.

Mr. FLINN. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. That is, the treasurer of the committee of the Washington Party.

Mr. FLINN. Well, there was not any Washington Party then—the Roosevelt League.

Senator POMERENE. The Roosevelt League; very well. And you had the primary for the election of delegates to the national convention and election of your county officers——

Mr. FLINN. No.

Senator POMERENE. On the same day.

Mr. FLINN. No; congressional and senatorial and legislative candidates. No county officers.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have a State convention?

Mr. FLINN. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Were delegates elected to the State convention on the same day?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, the cause of the national delegates, of the delegates to the convention, and of your congressional and legislative candidates, was looked after by this same committee?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And whatever moneys were expended by this committee were expended in behalf of all of them; is that true?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Well, that being so, can you tell the committee by what means you can distinguish and say that so much of this money was expended in behalf of delegates to the national convention and so much for the delegates to the State convention and so much for the candidates to Congress and for the general assembly?

Mr. FLINN. Well, I based my statement on the information given to me by the chairman and treasurer of the committee, who are present.

Senator POMERENE. That does not answer my question. Just read the question.

The question referred to was read by the reporter.

Mr. FLINN. Well, I have answered your question, Senator, with this exception, that we considered the expenditure for State and national delegates together, because the State and convention delegates had to elect the delegates at large, so that we have grouped them together; and I have answered your question when I say to you that my information was given to me by these gentlemen who are sitting here with the books and data at their hands, and who can present that data to you better than I can.

Senator POMERENE. You stated awhile ago that you had about as much expert knowledge on the subject of politics in Pennsylvania as any of these other gentlemen, and it is for that reason that I asked you this question. I want your opinion.

Mr. FLINN. I think I have; but a man may have an expert knowledge on any proposition and not have the detailed knowledge, too.

Senator POMERENE. That is all true; but you can tell me by what modus operandi they came to this conclusion, can you not?

Mr. FLINN. I can not. I would sooner they told you. I brought them here for that purpose.

Senator POMERENE. Then, on one branch of this subject you do not have expert knowledge.

Mr. FLINN. Well, I have not made the inquiry beyond the officers of the committee. If I were in charge of the committee, I would have detailed knowledge.

Senator POMERENE. In answer to a question which was put to you awhile ago, you said that, at a certain time, you had not yet become a follower of Roosevelt, or words to that effect.

Mr. FLINN. Well, at one time I was a contributor to the La Follette campaign fund.

Senator POMERENE. When did you see the new light?

Mr. FLINN. I can not just fix the date, but if Senator Oliver knows the day I was over to call on him, I will say it was the day after that.

Senator POMERENE. What was the cause for your interest in this matter?

Mr. FLINN. The cause for my interest in this matter was that I wanted to change the condition in the State of Pennsylvania. I thought that Roosevelt's popularity in that State would enable us to do so, and the result of that election and of the platform adopted in the Republican State convention justified me in my fondest expectation, and justified me in the expenditure of this money, and I think the results were cheap.

Senator POMERENE. What were these conditions to which you refer?

Mr. FLINN. I will just give you the Republican State platform, and then you can see it.

Senator POMERENE. No; I have no objection to the State platform going in, but that does not answer my question. You have said you desired to change the conditions of Pennsylvania. What are the conditions to which you referred and which you wanted to change?

Mr. FLINN. Well, I wanted in Pennsylvania a stringent primary election law, a stringent election law, and a stringent corrupt-practices act. I wanted a public-utilities bill. I wanted a bill that would regulate the employment of child labor. I wanted a bill that would regulate the employment of women. I wanted legislation that would fix a minimum wage for women. I wanted a personal-liability law. I wanted a law that would destroy the sales of fake securities. I wanted, in addition to that, to try to bring into play the things that Roosevelt stood for, because I believed that in himself he presented a complete plan of government, and it is entirely unnecessary to go into detail as to what he stood for. I thought so then, and am thoroughly convinced of that now, and that is the reason I engaged in this contest with the degree of earnestness that I do.

Senator POMERENE. He knew the things that you wished to bring about?

Mr. FLINN. I might add, in addition to that, that I wanted to provide for the election of United States Senators by popular vote, and those things were provided for in the Republican State platform. I might add to that that a committee was appointed by that State convention to draft these various bills which I have just suggested to you, and that I am a member of that committee, and that we are now drafting those bills. A hundred and eighty of the two hundred and twenty-five or two hundred and thirty of the Republican candidates for the senate and house have pledged themselves for those bills.

Senator POMERENE. In other words, you wanted to get rid of machine politics in Pennsylvania; was that the idea?

Mr. FLINN. Well, I wanted to get this legislation. I had no personal ambitions of any kind; I have not any now; but I have a great interest in the condition of affairs in our State, which I think is not right.

Senator POMERENE. Well, that does not answer my question. Was it your desire to get rid of the machine politics in Pennsylvania?

Mr. FLINN. As it now is; but not to get rid of organization politics, because I believe in them.

Senator POMERENE. Did you desire to get rid of machine politics in Allegheny County?

Mr. FLINN. No.

Senator POMERENE. You wanted to continue the machine there, did you?

Mr. FLINN. Well, they have an organization out there, and I imagine that in any county they have an organization. I have no particular objections to the organization in Allegheny County. They do not make legislation, and all of their candidates for the State senate and members of the house are pledged to vote for this legislation. I have no objection to the organization out there, though I am not a member of it.

Senator POMERENE. Have you not been a member of the machine in Allegheny County?

Mr. FLINN. My history, briefly, is this: I became chairman of the Republican city committee when I was about 31. I went out when I was 51, and I have not attended a meeting of the Republican county or city committee in Allegheny County for 11 years. I have not been actively engaged in politics in that time, except spasmodically I take an interest in the election of the Republican ticket and give assistance in raising contributions; but I have not been in active management of politics or in active control, either in an important capacity or unimportant capacity. I have not been in harmony with the Republican State organization in Pennsylvania for 17 years.

Senator POMERENE. Is this one of the spasmodic times when you take an interest?

Mr. FLINN. I do not take an interest at spasmodic times. I take an interest at important intervals, and I have taken an interest when I elected, but I was not actively engaged in politics.

Senator POMERENE. You have made the statement that spasmodically during the last few years you have taken an interest. Is this one of the instances in which you have taken an interest spasmodically?

Mr. FLINN. This is one of the instances that suited me.

Senator POMERENE. Now, whatever the conditions have been in Pennsylvania, you have been to some extent responsible for them, have you not?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir. As I said to you, I have not been in harmony with the State organization in Pennsylvania for 17 years. When I was a member of the senate, I voted against the present Senator.

Senator POMERENE. When was it you became interested in these progressive measures to which you have referred somewhat in detail?

Mr. FLINN. I have been interested in them for the last 10 or 15 years.

Senator POMERENE. I want to call your attention to a matter. See who is the author of this. I will read it. [Reading:]

EXHIBIT F-G.

Memorandum and agreement between M. S. Quay, of the first part, and J. O. Brown and William Flinn, of the second part. The consideration of this agreement being the mutual political and business advantages which may result therefrom.

First. The said M. S. Quay is to have the benefit of the influence in all matters in State and national politics of the said parties of the second part, the said parties agreeing that they will secure the election of delegates to the State and national convention, who will be guided in all matters by the wishes of the said party of the first part, and will also secure the election of members of the senate from the forty-third, forty-fourth, and forty-fifth senatorial districts, and also secure the election of members of the house of representatives south of the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers in the county of Allegheny, who will be guided by the wishes and request of the said party of the first part during the continuance of this agreement upon all political matters. The different candidates for the various positions mentioned shall be elected by the parties of the second part, and all the positions of State and national appointments made in this territory mentioned shall be satisfactory to and secure the indorsement of the party of the second part, when the appointment is made either by or through the party of the first part, or his friends or political associates.

All legislation affecting the parties of the second part, affecting cities of the second class, shall receive the hearty cooperation and assistance of the party

of the first part, and legislation which may affect their business shall likewise receive the hearty cooperation and help of the party of the first part.

It being distinctly understood that at the approaching national convention to be held at St. Louis the delegates from the twenty-second congressional district shall neither by voice nor vote do other than what is satisfactory to the party of the first part.

The party of the first part agrees to use his influence and secure the support of his friends and political associates to support the Republican county and city ticket when nominated, both in the city of Pittsburgh and Allegheny and the county of Allegheny, and that he will discountenance the factional fighting by his friends and associates for county offices during the continuation of this agreement.

This agreement is not to be binding upon the parties of the second part when a candidate for any office, who shall reside in Allegheny County, and shall only be binding if the party of the first part is a candidate for United States Senator to succeed himself as far as this office is concerned.

In the forty-third senatorial district a new senator shall be elected to succeed Senator Upperman. In the forty-fifth senatorial district the party of the first part shall secure the withdrawal of Dr. A. J. Barchfeld and the parties of the second part shall withdraw as a candidate Senator Steel, and the parties of the second part shall secure the election of some party satisfactory to themselves.

In the twenty-second congressional district the candidates for Congress shall be selected by the party of the second part. The term of this agreement to be for — years from the signing thereof, and shall be binding upon all parties when signed by C. L. Magee.

Are you the author of that agreement?

Mr. FLINN. No. Where did you get it?

Senator POMERENE. I am not on the witness stand.

Mr. FLINN. I do not know. I can not carry those things in my mind. I want to trace it up.

Senator POMERENE. Did you write this agreement?

Mr. FLINN. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Have you heard of it before?

Mr. FLINN. Yes. I can not tell you whether I wrote that agreement or not, but I am perfectly willing to——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). Well, an agreement in substance like that.

Mr. FLINN. I am perfectly willing to relate all I know about the agreement and the incidents leading up to it.

Senator POMERENE. Just answer my question, in the first place. Is that the agreement you wrote?

Mr. FLINN. I understand that I was subpoenaed down here to testify about campaign expenses and my offer to bribe my way into the United States Senate. There is no objection to telling you all about that agreement, but you have brought it up to me all in a moment. I did not know I was imagined to go back 18 years ago.

Senator POMERENE. The committee is not here to be lectured.

Mr. FLINN. I am not going to lecture.

Senator POMERENE. You have testified to the recent conversion to progressive methods, and my question bears upon the genuineness of this conversion.

Mr. FLINN. I do not think it has anything to do with the case, but I am going to answer that for you all right.

Senator POMERENE. Will you answer it?

Mr. FLINN. The incidents leading up to that——

Senator POMERENE. Just one moment.

Mr. FLINN. I am going to answer that in my own way.

Senator POMERENE. No: you will answer it in my way, and then you can make any explanation you wish afterwards.

Did you write this agreement?

Mr. FLINN. In connection with Senator Quay, I did; yes. I do not know whether I wrote the agreement, but I wrote a similar agreement. Whether I wrote that or not, I do not know. I wrote a similar agreement to it.

Senator POMERENE. I hand you here what purports to be a fac simile copy of a part of this agreement, printed under date of March 10, 1896. Is that a fac simile of your handwriting [handing paper to the witness]?

Mr. FLINN. I would think it is; yes.

Senator POMERENE. And that is a part of the agreement which I read to you?

Mr. FLINN. I presume so; yes, I presume so.

Senator POMERENE. At that time you were attempting to parcel out the governmental and political positions of Allegheny County?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. The agreement speaks for itself in that behalf.

When did you change your views with respect to the election of United States Senators?

Mr. FLINN. I am up to this agreement now, and I am going to answer that.

Senator POMERENE. You will answer my question first, and if you have any explanation you want to make you can make it afterwards.

Mr. FLINN. What is your question?

Senator POMERENE. Read the question.

The stenographer read as follows:

When did you change your views with respect to the election of United States Senators?

Mr. FLINN. You mean as to whether they would be elected by the people or not?

Senator POMERENE. That is the question.

Mr. FLINN. I can not just fix the day; but several years, may be 5 or 7 or 10 years.

Senator POMERENE. I will be glad now to have any explanation you want to make of this agreement.

Mr. FLINN. The explanation is this: I was the chairman of the Republican State committee. We had not been in harmony with Senator Quay for many years, excepting at periodical intervals. We had gone through a great contest out there for the election of chairman of the Republican State committee, and our people were opposed to it. We had a contest on for mayor, which occurred about the 21st of February. I may not be right as to a day or two, but about the 21st of February.

What is the date of that agreement?

The agreement referred to was handed to the witness.

Mr. FLINN (continuing). Well, my recollection is that it was on the 2d of February Mr. Brown came to me and said that Senator Quay wanted me to come to Washington, or wanted to see me. So I went down to Washington, and Senator Quay told me that he would not permit us to elect the Republican candidate for mayor in Pittsburgh unless we adjusted the politics to suit him.

He had under his control what was known in Pennsylvania as the Lexow committee of the senate. I think they had the strongest candidate that the Democratic Party and the reform element could put up. I realized that we could not elect that candidate with Senator Quay opposing us, so I said to him, "What do you want?" He said, "I want control of the politics out there; whatever is reasonable I want to do."

So I made up my mind that my business was to elect the Republican candidate for mayor, and I sat down to write this agreement. I put a saving clause in that agreement that it should not be binding unless agreed to by C. L. Magee. I did not sign the agreement, but I put that saving clause in it.

The contention between Senator Quay and myself was this, and it was a pretty safe split, too—it gave me what I wanted, and the thing I was hunting for was time, namely—that I should provide in an agreement that this C. L. Magee, who was then one of the most prominent men in our community, who is my business associate in many things and my intimate associate in my daily life, and my political leader that I was following—that I should put a provision in that agreement that he should not again be allowed to go to a State or national convention.

Senator POMERENE. Who said that?

Mr. FLINN. Senator Quay. He was not satisfied with this thing. We wrote as far as we could agree, and I put this saving clause in because I did not intend to sign this agreement—that it should be agreed to by the man whom he wanted to proscribe—and he would not be satisfied with anything less than some provision which would eliminate C. L. Magee from appearing again as a delegate to a State or national convention.

So he said that he would send an agreement to me. I said, "All right"; that he would have to get this to suit Senator Magee, and I knew that he would not agree to anything that eliminated him.

As I said before, I was chairman of the Republican city committee, and it was my business to get that ticket elected. I could not elect it with Senator Quay in opposition. So some days elapsed, possibly a week or 10 days. He sent me a typewritten copy of an agreement which embodied the proposition that he wanted to embody, and asked me to come to Washington again, which I did, in company with Mr. Brown. We did not accomplish anything. I told him I would not agree to anything that Senator Magee would not agree to.

He had then sent the Lexow committee out to Pittsburgh. I told him I thought the matter could not be adjusted, anyhow, and that the Democratic candidate would be elected. In large cities, such as Pittsburgh, there are a lot of things in connection with police legislation that it is hard to understand and hard to defend. I had taken my hat and coat and was about ready to depart when I said to Senator Quay, "You will succeed in doing another thing you are not figuring on." He said, "What is that?" "Mr. Brown is director of the department of public safety and his wife is dying at the Hotel Walton of cancer. She is a good, religious woman, and you will succeed in having that woman die a miserable death."

He said to Mr. Brown, "Is that the case? Is your wife dying of cancer?" "Yes." "Well, I will not be a party to that at all; if that is the case I will call this Lexow committee off."

So he called that Lexow committee off, and that put me over where I had possibly 30 or 35 days intervening to the election. His proposition was that when the Lexow committee got off he would come to Pittsburgh or I should come to Washington. I can truthfully say that was the most tremendous, that was the hardest political campaign that I had been in during my experience of 20 years in Pittsburgh.

I did not go back to Washington. I put off a meeting with him. I did not sign the agreement. The Republican candidate for mayor was elected by some twelve hundred majority. I took sick, and I went away for 10 or 12 days, and when I came back Senator Quay was a candidate for President. A messenger came to me and said he wanted to see me. I said I was not going to see him. He said, "Well, what about that agreement?" "I am not going to sign it." "What about you running as a delegate to the national convention in his interest?" "I won't run for him; I will run against him." He came back and said, "If you run against me I will publish that agreement with you." "Let him publish it. I will run as a delegate against him." I ran as a delegate in opposition to Senator Quay. I attended the St. Louis convention in 1906, and I was one of five men from Pennsylvania to vote against him.

I never intended to sign this agreement. I intended to, by any method at my command in dealing with him, get this Republican mayor elected. I did not have to have this agreement published. I could have avoided it, but I did not. I ran as a delegate against him. I was elected. I was a member of the Pennsylvania senate, and I voted against Senator Penrose in 1897. I was the chairman of the bolters' organization in 1899 that locked Senator Quay out of the Senate for two years. I was his bitter opponent in the election of 1901 and beat him nine votes that he had made good by getting Democratic votes. I resigned from the chairmanship of the Republican city committee.

I have not had any connection with the politics of Pennsylvania since, excepting until this year. I do not deny that I wrote that agreement in connection with Senator Quay.

I put a provision in there that made it impossible to enforce. I never intended to enforce it. I got the Republican candidate for mayor elected, and I never, from that day to this, ever by act or deed, tried to carry out the provisions of that agreement.

Senator POMERENE. Senator, Senator Quay did not sign this, did he?

Mr. FLINN. Neither did I.

Senator POMERENE. Will you answer my question?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did he sign it?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You left it with him, did you?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You were trying to bring about such a condition of affairs as to enable you to elect the mayor of Pittsburgh?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir.

Mr. POMERENE. Did you not so say a moment ago?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir. I was trying to allay the opposition to Senator Quay.

Senator POMERENE. And in order to allay the opposition to Senator Quay you would write such an agreement as this [indicating]?

Mr. FLINN. Not alone would I write it, but I did write it.

Senator POMERENE. Yes. You recognize that that is about as vicious a proposition as could be made, do you not?

Mr. FLINN. I had to write it viciously to get it by him.

Senator POMERENE. And in order to accomplish your purpose you would do as vicious a thing as that?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You did do it, did you not?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir. I wrote an agreement that I never intended to be binding.

Senator POMERENE. And after you had given this agreement to him and he refused to sign it, or in any event did not sign it, then you came out in your opposition to him in his other political ambitions?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir; you are wrong; you have the wrong construction of that, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. I would be glad to have you correct me. I want to be right.

Mr. FLINN. I put it in this respect: I wrote an agreement that he did not agree to; he did not agree to that agreement. He wrote one that proscribed Senator Magee. The thing I was anxious for was time. I got the time. I elected, under my leadership, the Republican candidate for mayor. I did not have to have that agreement published on me. All I had to do was to vote for Quay. I did not vote for him. I invited the publication of it. I have never regretted it from that day to this, to wit, I would sooner have that agreement published on me than to have voted for Quay as candidate for President.

Senator POMERENE. When did you come to the conclusion that a proposition of this kind was a wrong thing to do?

Mr. FLINN. The day I met Quay at his house.

Senator POMERENE. After it was written?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir; before it was written; when he told me what he had to have. That is, when I came to the conclusion that I could not further engage in it.

Senator POMERENE. Of course, now, you would not engage in any such contract as this?

Mr. FLINN. I would not have engaged in it in this. I would not have signed it then. You know, Senator, out in our State they have had a habit of selling, for years and years, gold bricks. I sold the Senator a gold brick. My whole life since then justifies my assertion.

Senator POMERENE. Did you accomplish your purpose of selling a gold brick?

Mr. FLINN. I did. I got the Republican candidate for mayor elected. I could not have done it without it. I am not going to defend—I am going to say to you that I would not have signed that agreement even though I would have lost that election, but I was occupying an important position. I was filled with zeal for my party and for my friends. I was confronted with an outrageous proposition, which ought not to have been put up to me, and I made up my mind to do the best I could, and I did.

Senator POMERENE. That is, your position is that you would not have signed the agreement even though you would have lost it, but you would write such an agreement?

Mr. FLINN. That is right, and I put a provision in there that made it impossible to sign when I put C. L. Magee's name in it.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all I care to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, you were speaking of——

Senator POMERENE. Oh, there is another matter.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed. I do not want to interrupt you.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have a contract or certificate of some kind for the appointment of your watchers at the polls during the last campaign?

Mr. FLINN. There is an official form used by the county commissioner. They give you all the watchers you want.

Senator POMERENE. Have you a copy of that here?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir. They give you all the certificates you want by asking for them.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You referred to some committee; I could not just catch the name of it, but Senator Quay called off.

Mr. FLINN. The Lexow committee—a committee of the senate—a roving committee that was authorized to inquire into the affairs of municipalities.

The CHAIRMAN. A regular legislative committee?

Mr. FLINN. It was a committee of the senate, only it was a regular legislative committee.

The CHAIRMAN. It was a regular senate committee?

Mr. FLINN. It was a senate committee; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It had the standing of a senate committee?

Mr. FLINN. And they went out there and stayed two or three days and they did nothing. Their proceedings were of a character that did not hurt the Republican candidates. I might add that that is the first time in my life I ever explained that proposition. I am very glad of the opportunity.

Senator POMERENE. We are very glad to give you an opportunity to explain anything that you desire.

Mr. FLINN. I never explained that matter before. I was elected a delegate, though, with that staring me in the face, by some 17,000 majority.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of any purchase of delegates at the Chicago June convention or any efforts that were made, either within your knowledge or by repute?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir; I do not know of anything.

The CHAIRMAN. That is included in our resolution.

Mr. FLINN. I do not know of any at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of anything to which your attention has not been called bearing upon the question of contributions to campaign funds or the use of campaign funds in the efforts to secure the nomination of Roosevelt in the year 1912?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir; I know nothing except what I have related to the committee.

Senator PAYNTER. Senator, this is the first time I have heard of an effort to negotiate the agreement to which reference has been made

and about which you have been testifying, but I am curious to know this fact, whether or not Senator Quay was seeking to bring about any reform in the administration of the city of Pittsburgh or was seeking to get control in politics that he did not enjoy.

Mr. FLINN. The city and county of Allegheny had been for very many years—well, I presume for 10 or 15 years previous to this time our county had been either spasmodically or continuously in opposition to Quay.

Senator PAYNTER. Did he live in Pittsburgh?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir; he lived adjacent to Pittsburgh, and I wanted control of the Republican politics of Allegheny County, and he wanted the control to be of such character that it would be subject to any request he might make of any kind or character.

Senator PAYNTER. Was it your conclusion that you wanted to do it to accomplish political purposes or bring about a reformation in the administration?

Mr. FLINN. For political purposes entirely, to such an extent——

Senator PAYNTER. I do not know what purpose he had in view, of course.

Mr. FLINN. To such an extent in that town that in 1901, under Quay's leadership and several other gentlemen—which my friend Senator Oliver was engaged in—they destroyed the government of Pittsburgh; they passed an act of the assembly to abolish the office of mayor—the man who had been elected by the people, and created the office of recorder, and he held office for 22 months under appointment of the governor, and those factional fights were so bitter out there that it resulted in the thing I now mention to you, the abolishment of the office of mayor of Pittsburgh and the abolition of the office of recorder, who was an appointee of the mayor—an appointee of the governor, who held control for some 22 months.

Senator PAYNTER. Had the regular Republican Party made nominations for mayor at the time of this negotiation?

Mr. FLINN. Oh, yes, sir; I had been chairman of the Republican State committee then for about 14 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you approximate the date of that paper [exhibiting paper]? It is the one the Senator read to you, and from which you have been testifying.

Mr. FLINN. I would imagine it was January 2 or 3 of that year.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what year?

Mr. FLINN. Of 1896.

The CHAIRMAN. I have added to that "January, 1896." You think it was in the month of January?

Mr. FLINN. I know it was the month of January, between the 1st and 5th of January. I am satisfied of that.

Senator OLIVER. Senator Flinn, it is not a matter of great importance, but you stated in substance that after your retirement from the State senate in 1901 you had been out of politics until you engaged in this late campaign for Col. Roosevelt?

Mr. FLINN. Out of active politics. You recollect I resigned as chairman of the Republican State committee at that time.

Senator OLIVER. I am aware of that, but is it not a fact that at very short intervals since that time you have taken quite an active part in local political affairs, have you not? I will try to refresh your recollection.

Mr. FLINN. I do not think it is necessary, Senator. I think I know it all.

Senator OLIVER. You were delegate to State conventions several times since that?

Mr. FLINN. I think once.

Senator OLIVER. I think I can remember more than once.

Mr. FLINN. I recollect once. It was in 1906. I think that is the only time.

Senator OLIVER. I think you were delegate in 1904 and 1905, as well.

Mr. FLINN. No; I think not. I think you are mistaken about that.

Senator OLIVER. You were delegate to the national convention in 1904, were you not?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir; but the thing I call active politics——

Senator OLIVER. Did not you and I make a very strong effort to elect the Republican mayor in 1905?

Mr. FLINN. I am going to explain that in this way: You know, as well as I do, about how active I was in politics, because you and I were closely associated for several years together. I think in 1903 you and I were associated as individuals, not as officers of committees, but as individuals in the election, in an effort to elect a Republican mayor of Pittsburgh, and then in 1905, I think—yes, it was 1905—we were interested in beating the Democratic and Citizens Party there in the election of a sheriff and prothonotary and district attorney. Do you recollect?

Senator OLIVER. I think that was earlier than 1905. That was in 1903.

Mr. FLINN. No.

Senator OLIVER. The second time we tried to elect a mayor?

Mr. FLINN. No; it was in 1905. I recollect the incident very well. You and I were the moving spirits in it, and I often thought over the thing. The combined salaries of the offices were \$72,000, and do you recollect that we spent \$110,000 in our efforts, and the Senator and I generously underwrote whatever the deficiencies were, and, if you will recollect, in 1906 I was interested with him again in raising campaign funds for the election of governor and various county officers of our county, and we had an awful time in getting money, and we paid the deficiency of \$110,000 in that.

Senator OLIVER. No; I do not remember that.

Mr. FLINN. My memory is splendid on it.

Senator OLIVER. Your memory is something like it is on some of these other points that you have testified to-day.

Mr. FLINN. Now, then, from 1906 on, I do not know of any interest that I had in politics, except the years I have mentioned. I was not in any official capacity with the Republican organization at all. I had been in official connection with that organization as an officer for 20 years: I was an active officer all the time. So that I did not figure my connection with politics was of a strenuous nature.

Along from 1906 up to the present year, outside of contributing money to the Republican organization to an election for county and city officers, which I have always done—I contributed very liberally, I think.

I recollect the last time they elected a mayor in Pittsburgh that I gave them \$10,000 as a campaign contribution. In that respect I

plead guilty: but I have not been actively connected with politics, excepting as a contributor, until this year.

So far as my conversion, Senator, to these Progressive ideas is concerned, I do not think there were many Progressives in this country 10 years ago. I think it is of rather recent growth.

Senator POMERENE. I am glad you saw the new light on the road to Roosevelt.

Mr. FLINN. I saw a brighter light there than any I had struck before.

Senator POMERENE. Possibly it may have blinded you somewhat.

Mr. FLINN. Well, I think not. I might add, finally, that I am very keenly interested in these propositions. I have carefully refrained from doing anything of an illegal nature. I know of no political ambition that I have, and I expect, if I retain my health, to continue my interest in the future. I am not averse to contributing money to things I believe in, whether it is a political campaign, or whether it is the building of a hospital, or what it is.

Senator POMERENE. Just another question or two, perhaps to make it plain, in view of conditions we all recognize. At the time of the publication for this agreement, it was Quay's contention that this was a proposition submitted by you? His position was that he had not agreed to it. Isn't that the fact?

Mr. FLINN. Neither had I.

Senator POMERENE. I am asking you whether that was his position.

Mr. FLINN. Well, he published the agreement. I have really forgotten what his position was. He published the agreement and notified me that he would publish it if I would not run as a delegate for him.

Senator POMERENE. Now, another matter. I do not know that we are particularly interested in it, but in view of the fact that it was referred to a while ago, I want to call your attention to this matter. You stated, I believe, that you did not communicate with Mr. Archbold during the time that you were seeking an appointment to the United States Senate?

Mr. FLINN. I did not communicate with him myself.

Senator POMERENE. Well, did you authorize anybody to communicate with him for you?

Mr. FLINN. Well, the gentleman, as I said before, is here.

Senator POMERENE. No, no.

Mr. FLINN. Pardon me. I am going to answer your question.

Senator POMERENE. I insist that you answer my question.

Mr. FLINN. I am going to.

Senator POMERENE. You can make any explanation you want afterwards. I have been entirely liberal with you, but I insist I shall have my way when it comes to answering questions.

Mr. FLINN. I am going to answer it.

Senator POMERENE. Just repeat the question.

The reporter repeated the question, as follows:

Now, another matter. I do not know that we are particularly interested in it, but in view of the fact that it was referred to a while ago, I want to call your attention to this matter. You stated, I believe, that you did not communicate with Mr. Archbold during the time that you were seeking an appointment to the United States Senate?

Mr. FLINN. I did not communicate with him myself.

Senator POMERENE. Well, did you authorize anybody to communicate with him for you?

Senator POMERENE. You can answer that either yes or no and make any explanation afterwards you desire.

Mr. FLINN. Well, I did not. Can I make the explanation?

Senator POMERENE. I have no objection to your making any explanation.

Mr. FLINN. The explanation is this: Mr. Splane, who is present, came to me and said to me: "I know all these Standard Oil people, and I think I can help you with them, and they will be a factor in this proposition." I said: "I will be very glad to have you do so, if you can." He wrote these telegraph dispatches and signed my name to them. I did not define the way or the manner nor the method by which he was to render that help to me. I left it entirely to him.

Senator POMERENE. Did you see these telegrams?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or hear them read?

Mr. FLINN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I notice that these telegrams were in cipher. Did you know that fact?

Mr. FLINN. No.

Senator POMERENE. I read from page 174 of the record. Your telegram reads:

PITTSBURGH, PA., June 7, 1904.

I tried to talk to you over the phone last night, but could not hear you.

Is that true? Did you try to talk with him?

Mr. FLINN. No.

Senator POMERENE. Did you make any effort to talk with him?

Mr. FLINN. No.

Senator POMERENE (reading):

I am making an effort to go to the United States Senate as M. S. Quay's successor.

That is true, is it?

Mr. FLINN. That was true; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE (reading):

As it now stands the appointment will go to Allegheny County, and I expect to get it. The Republican organization of Allegheny County are desirous of my appointment and are working in. Also the Republican organization of the surrounding counties. The decision of the question is up to Senator Boies Penrose, State chairman, and Israel W. Durham. The efforts of a few of my influential friends put forth at once with Penrose and Durham will settle the question. If you will use your influence with them in my behalf I will greatly appreciate it. The decision will probably be reached Wednesday. Can you help me?

WILLIAM FLINN.

Did you authorize that?

Mr. FLINN. I did not authorize it.

Senator POMERENE. Well, you knew it was to be sent.

Mr. FLINN. In this way: I knew that Mr. Splane had been connected with the Standard Oil Co. for years and knew those people, and he said he could help me in that direction, and I did not ask him how or when or how he was going to help me; but I acquiesced in the fact that he should if he could. All those telegrams are in his writing.

Senator POMERENE. A reply to that telegram came to you, did it not?

Mr. FLINN. No; Mr. Splane got it.

Senator POMERENE. What authority would he have to receive from the telegraph office your telegrams?

Mr. FLINN. He got it out of the Standard Oil Co.'s private telegraph office.

Senator POMERENE. Why was this telegram written in cipher?

Mr. FLINN. Well, I do not know, excepting, I presume, they have a method of shortening labor down there. Senator, Mr. Splane can explain that.

Senator POMERENE. Then the telegram which was sent to you was [reading]:

NEW YORK, June, 7, 1904.

Telegram received. Sorry that the posy did not shout friskiness. I expect to jail pop sharply parsed fanning, and until flagon prefix it is lamented for me to have flood hatred reship.

Which translated, as it is here, reads:

Telegram received. Sorry that the phone did not work better. I expect to have talk with Senator Penrose, and until after that it is impossible for me to have any definite view.

JOHN H. D. ARCHBOLD.

You received those telegrams, did you not?

Mr. FLINN. No; Mr. Splane got them.

Senator POMERENE. Did you at any time receive them?

Mr. FLINN. No; Mr. Splane got them.

Senator POMERENE. Did you see those telegrams?

Mr. FLINN. Well, I do not know whether I did or not. I do not know. Mr. Splane took his own methods, and he signed my name to them, and he might have shown me the telegrams, or he may have told me what was in them; I do not know.

One thing I say to you: I did not try to persuade him not to get help from the Standard Oil Co. All the details of this thing, about who wrote the telegrams, and all that sort of thing, I can not recall. I know I did not arrange them.

Senator POMERENE. In any event you had advice as to what was transpiring between your friend and Mr. Archbold?

Mr. FLINN. I was about in the same boat as anybody would be who is seeking a seat in the United States Senate. I think you gentlemen understand that.

Senator POMERENE. That depends upon who the party is.

Mr. FLINN. I did not know anything about the matter.

Mr. Splane recollects that matter better than I do. I did not write those telegrams and I did not receive them, and he and I both agree on that.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

Senator PAYNTER. There is one other thing I would like to ask. Senator, you may explain it. When you had an interview with Senator Quay, I remember this, that you said, in substance, that he would defeat the ticket in Pittsburgh unless what was done? I have that in my mind and I want you to explain that.

Mr. FLINN. He told me that unless we adjusted the politics of that county he would not permit it to elect a Republican candidate for mayor.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all I desire to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be all for the present, Senator.

The witness was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF JOSHUA G. SPLANE.

J. G. Splane, having been duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Splane, give your full name, residence, and business to the official reporter.

Mr. SPLANE. Joshua G. Splane, receiver of the Pittsburgh & Allegheny Telephone Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in Pittsburgh?

Mr. SPLANE. I was born there.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you acquainted with Senator William Flinn?

Mr. SPLANE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to call your attention to some telegrams which appear on page 174 of the hearings of this committee. Do you find the copies?

Mr. SPLANE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What, if anything, do you know about the telegrams referred to, one dated Pittsburgh, Pa., June 7, 1904, purporting to be signed by William Flinn, and the other dated New York, June 7, 1904, purporting to be signed by John D. Archbold?

Mr. SPLANE. After the death of Senator Quay, when the senatorial question was uppermost in the minds of the people of our section, among the gentlemen whom I understood would like to go to the Senate were Senator Oliver and Senator Flinn. I had been associated with Senator Flinn in politics in a small way prior to this time; and, in a business way. I had been in the employ of the Standard Oil Co. for a period of something like 18 years. I started in with them as a boy, and continued there until I took the presidency of the Pittsburgh & Allegheny Telephone Co.

The CHAIRMAN. What capacity were you in, at the time of this telegram?

Mr. SPLANE. I was president of the Pittsburgh & Allegheny Telephone Co. I had left the Standard Oil interests a year before that.

The CHAIRMAN. What relation had you reached with them when you left them?

Mr. SPLANE. I was head of one of their departments, and had been in a more or less quite confidential capacity—that is, especially through the telegraph service. I had charge of that. At the time referred to I conceived the idea that, in connection with Senator Flinn, I might be of some service. It has been over eight years since this thing occurred, and when I got through I dismissed it from my mind, and I have not been mixed up with anything of a political nature since, but I will give you it as best I can recollect it.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. SPLANE. If I remember right, I told the Senator that I wanted to help him, and he told me he had no objection to my doing anything that I could for him along that line. About this time he told

me that Senator Oliver had withdrawn, had declined to be a candidate, and I think that was probably the same day, or a day or so before; I have forgotten just which. I was on very friendly terms with the people in their building, 323 Fourth Avenue, where I have been for many years, and I talked it over with one or more of them, and told them what I had in view; there were several telegrams and some correspondence passed between Mr. Archbold and myself, either directly or instigated by me. The ciphers referred to here were ciphered and deciphered in the Standard Oil office in Pittsburgh—and when I say the Standard Oil office, I mean the Standard Oil interests. They had two separate offices there, one known as the Atlantic Refining Co., which is the refining end of it, and the offices I referred to are the producing interest, the pipe-line interest, and that end of it with which I was connected. They have their own private wires between Pittsburgh and New York, so that ciphering and deciphering of these telegrams was done in their office. I think it was on the evening or the night of June 7—I may be mistaken a day or so—that I went to New York and had an interview with Mr. John D. Archbold the following morning, laying it before him, and asking him if he would not use whatever influence he might have, or that of any of the other officers of the Standard Oil Co., in behalf of Senator Flinn, with Gov. Pennypacker and Senator Penrose. During that morning, I suppose I spent possibly an hour at two or three different times with Mr. Archbold. I also made a call on Mr. Daniel O'Day, whom I knew very well, and I do not remember whether I conversed with anybody else at 26 Broadway or not, but they gave me to understand—that is, Mr. Archbold gave me to understand—that he did not think he was in any position to assist Senator Flinn.

That is about the burden of the whole thing.

I then left New York and went to Philadelphia, where the conferences were, and met Senator Flinn that night.

The CHAIRMAN. In regard to these telegrams, the first one purporting to be signed by Mr. Flinn, do you know who signed that?

Mr. SPLANE. I signed it, I am pretty sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who wrote it?

Mr. SPLANE. I think I wrote it, or probably dictated it. It was probably written on the typewriter, and I signed it.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean at whose direction.

Mr. SPLANE. Under my direction. I felt that there were not any specially friendly relations on the part of the senator toward the Standard Oil Co. at that time, and I did not consult him on every movement I made.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who received the telegram purporting to be signed by John D. Archbold?

Mr. SPLANE. I think that I received that, and it was deciphered. I think, in the office of the South Pennsylvania Oil Co. This has been some years ago, and my recollection, of course, is not very accurate.

The CHAIRMAN. Had that been deciphered when it was delivered to you?

Mr. SPLANE. No; I do not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. How did they come to deliver it to you first?

Mr. SPLANE. I was probably there. I spent the part of one day in those offices, one afternoon, during this correspondence.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it came to their offices and not the general telegraph office?

Mr. SPLANE. Oh, no; it came to their office, over their private wires.

The CHAIRMAN. Over whose wires or which wires was the telegram purporting to be signed by Mr. Flinn sent?

Mr. SPLANE. Pipe-line wires. They have a telegraphic system known as the National Transit System.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you in Philadelphia during that senatorial contest?

Mr. SPLANE. I was there the one evening I speak of, and the following day.

The CHAIRMAN. In Philadelphia?

Mr. SPLANE. Yes; I think the day I spent there was Friday.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you confer with Senator Penrose on that occasion?

Mr. SPLANE. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether Senator Flinn happened to be in town that day?

Mr. SPLANE. He was there.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you with him much of the time?

Mr. SPLANE. The evening I speak of I had dinner with him, and I did not see him until the next morning. I probably saw him several times around the hotel. I do not know that I had any conference with him or had any extended conversation with him, because I was through, as far as anything I could do, and I quit.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you in any way connected with political matters in 1904?

Mr. SPLANE. I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1908?

Mr. SPLANE. I was not connected with politics in 1904, nor for a minute since. I just answered the whole of that one question.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SPLANE. The only political office I ever held was as member of the councils of Pittsburgh. I think my term expired in 1904. I was not a candidate for reelection, and that ended my political career. I have been in active business and not in politics.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know by repute of any contributions made to the political campaigns of 1904 or 1908?

Mr. SPLANE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions by repute having been made this year to the campaigns?

Mr. SPLANE. No, sir; I took no interest in it at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything connected with this statement of Senator Penrose concerning Senator Flinn, found in the document I handed to you, within your knowledge, that you have not testified to?

Mr. SPLANE. No, sir; not anything that I recall.

Senator POMERENE. There is just one matter that I noticed. You were asked the question as to who had signed these telegrams. You said you presume you did, as if there was some lingering doubt in your mind. Have you some doubt about it?

Mr. SPLANE. As I put my answer, Senator, it has been over eight years since this occurred, and when this thing was over I rather dismissed it from my mind and possibly never thought of it until the

matter came up in the Senate here. I tried to get my memory together on the subject.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. SPLANE. I did not have any notations that I could find. I searched every place I could to see if I could find anything to enlighten me. Of course I remember the general tenor. I presume I dictated those telegrams; they were probably written on the typewriter and then put into cipher. I had access to the cipher books, if I wanted to communicate through cipher, through my long years there and friendly connection with those people. I knew Mr. Archbold personally, also H. H. Rogers and Mr. O'Day; and while, at the time I speak of, I was not connected with them in an official capacity, of course my natural friendly feelings went out to them.

Senator POMERENE. I can understand your memory is somewhat dim, but you still say "I presume I dictated them." Have you any distinct recollection now?

Mr. SPLANE. I have just as much as a man could have after that period, as I explained it.

Senator POMERENE. Well, have you any distinct recollection as to who signed those telegrams, or any of them?

Mr. SPLANE. If I dictated them on the typewriter, they were signed. I had no hesitation—

Senator POMERENE. Let us put it in another way, now, so as to understand each other: Have you any distinct recollection now, either that you signed those telegrams or authorized them to be signed?

Mr. SPLANE. I would say yes.

Senator POMERENE. As to which?

Mr. SPLANE. Either way; either signed them or authorized them to be signed.

Senator POMERENE. Do you recollect distinctly now that you dictated these telegrams?

Mr. SPLANE. No; I can not say whether I dictated them or whether they were written in longhand. The chances are that they were written on the typewriter. That is the way things of that kind are usually done. I remember distinctly being in the offices; I remember distinctly of having correspondence with John D. Archbold; I remember distinctly of going to New York and seeing Mr. Archbold; I remember distinctly of meeting him in his office; I remember distinctly of an interview with Mr. O'Day; and I remember distinctly seeking an interview with Mr. H. H. Rogers, but he was engaged, and I did not see him.

Senator POMERENE. Did you see Mr. Archbold before or after you sent these telegrams?

Mr. SPLANE. Oh, after. I followed these up by going down to New York.

Senator POMERENE. Now, let us get back to the other question again. Do you now have a distinct recollection either that you dictated these telegrams or that you wrote them in longhand?

Mr. SPLANE. I have a distinct recollection that I instigated this correspondence—these telegrams.

Senator POMERENE. Did you confer with anybody before you took up this correspondence?

Mr. SPLANE. I presume I had a talk with Senator Flinn.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you presume. Do you recall it?

Mr. SPLANE. I had talked with Senator Flinn, as I have stated there, but how much I told him I don't remember.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

Mr. SPLANE. I know he knew I was going to make efforts to do anything I could for him.

Mr. FLINN. I want to make the suggestion to you, if you will pardon me, Mr. Chairman, if you want any corroborative evidence——

The CHAIRMAN. That can be communicated to the committee later, unless the parties are present.

Mr. FLINN. The man is present; yes. I merely make the suggestion, if you should want any corroboration of the statement that I made, my private secretary is here, and I want to get him home tonight. if you want to corroborate this money expenditure of mine. He is here.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, no; no.

Mr. FLINN. All right.

TESTIMONY OF J. VERNER CLARK, WASHINGTON, PA.

J. Verner Clark, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name, address, and business to the reporter.

Mr. CLARK. J. Verner Clark; Washington, Pa.; treasurer and superintendent of the Citizens' Water Co., of Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. I desire to call your attention to page 174 of the record of the committee. Do you recall the senatorial contest involving an appointment to the successor of Senator Quay?

Mr. CLARK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the candidacy of Senator Flinn?

Mr. CLARK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state whether you were in Philadelphia that summer.

Mr. CLARK. Yes, sir. It was in June—the 8th or 9th, I think. Senator Flinn called me one morning, in Washington, I think on the 7th of June, and asked me if I would go to Philadelphia. I was not the man he wanted to go; it was Mr. Atchison. He was away—and then he asked me if I would go and get some person to go with me. I said yes, I could. He asked me to meet him that evening in Pittsburgh, which I did, with Mr. Templeton, the district attorney, or ex-district attorney, I have forgotten which. We met him in the Duquesne Club, and he talked over the senatorial situation with us.

The Senator did not ask me to go down in his interest, but to go down and talk with Penrose about the conditions in western Pennsylvania. On the morning of the 8th I made an arrangement to meet Senator Penrose, and we talked the situation over. I was in a rather peculiar position. Mr. Robbins was a candidate, who owned big coal interests in the county. I talked to the Senator about his chances. One of the answers made was that he was not considered. Then I took up Senator Flinn, and the Senator did not talk very much about Flinn, but he finally asked me about Mr. Oliver; what our county would do, and he talked a good little bit about the conditions there, about what Mr. Oliver could depend on.

I said that, personally, I would feel very friendly about Senator Oliver; that he had gone to school at Pleasant Hill Seminary, and I had known something of him. The more he talked, the more I was assured that he was going to ask the governor to appoint Mr. Oliver as Senator.

Then, before I started away, he said, "What about Mr. Knox?" And I turned and said to him, "Ask Mr. Templeton that," and he did. Mr. Templeton said, "I think our people would be for him if he were a candidate." He came back at it again, and he said, "What do you think, Mr. Clark?" I said, "He was born down at Brownsville, and we all know of him. He is a man that no person can say anything against."

We finally started away, and he said, "I wish you would come back here about 3 o'clock to-morrow afternoon, and then I think we can talk this matter over and we will know something more about it."

I went to Atlantic City and met Judge Ford and Max Leslie. I said to them, "It looks to me very much like the man that might get the appointment is Mr. Knox, if anything happens to Mr. Oliver."

Leslie said, "I think you are mistaken"; Judge Ford said, "There may be something in it."

The next morning, when I went back to Philadelphia, Mr. Oliver had declined the appointment, and every person was talking about who it would be. I went back at 3 o'clock. The Senator was not there, and I waited until, I think, about 4 o'clock, when he came in. He took me into one of his rooms, and he told me they had had a conference and had concluded they would ask the governor to appoint Mr. Knox as Senator.

After he had told me that, he asked me something about the Washington County people, and I said, "They certainly would be for him," or "would have to be for him." I said, "I would like to ask you one question. I thought yesterday, when we went away, Mr. Oliver was to be appointed." He said, "Well, you are right; but he has declined." Then I said something about Senator Flinn to him, and he said that Mr. Cassatt, of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co., and the big interests of the big counties in the eastern part of the State would not be for Senator Flinn, because he had been irregular in politics. I think that was about all. I may have talked to him about Mr. Robbins a little bit. Mr. Robbins was angry at me, because he thought I had not spoken to the Senator about him.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you in Philadelphia, including your trip to Atlantic City?

Mr. CLARK. Just the two days. I went down to Pittsburgh one night, and was there on——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Do you know where Mr. Flinn was at that time?

Mr. CLARK. I saw Mr. Flinn on, say, Friday.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you see him on Friday?

Mr. CLARK. Talking to Senator Martin in the Arcade Building, I think it was.

The CHAIRMAN. In what town? Where was it?

Mr. CLARK. In Philadelphia. Then, I saw him after I had this talk with Senator Penrose and told him what he had said to me in the Walton Hotel.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see Mr. Durham about there at that time?

Mr. CLARK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further connected with this matter that you recall?

Mr. CLARK. Nothing at all. That is the whole story.

Witness excused.

TESTIMONY OF JOSIAH G. SPLANE—Resumed.

Senator POMERENE. There is one other matter I overlooked. When you were on the stand you said that because of your confidential relations with the Standard Oil Co. you took it upon yourself to conduct this telegraphic communication with Mr. Archbold. That is correct, is it not?

Mr. SPLANE. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. If it was because of your confidential relation with the Standard Oil Co. that you conducted this communication, why was it that you signed Mr. Flinn's name to it instead of yours?

Mr. SPLANE. As Senator Flinn was a much bigger man than I, and his name would carry a great deal more weight than mine would.

Senator POMERENE. But your reason was that this was because of your confidential relations, and not because of the standing of Senator Flinn.

Mr. SPLANE. Well, that was my reason, I judge, from what I remember now. You know eight years is a long time on a thing like this.

Senator POMERENE. I know. And because of your confidential relations with the Standard Oil Co. you chose to deceive them by using the name of Flinn?

Mr. SPLANE. No; I would not say that.

Senator POMERENE. What had your confidential relations with the Standard Oil Co. to do with the preparation and signing of his name to telegrams?

Mr. SPLANE. Well, probably nothing when you put it that way. I will say, then, those relations caused me to go to New York.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

Witness excused.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN S. WELLER, PITTSBURGH, LAWYER.

John S. Weller, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give the reporter your name, address, and business.

Mr. WELLER. John S. Weller; Pittsburgh; business address, 915 Park Building; by occupation a lawyer.

The CHAIRMAN. What relation, if any, did you sustain to the effort to nominate Col. Roosevelt last spring?

Mr. WELLER. I was the treasurer of the Republican Roosevelt League of Western Pennsylvania—I think that was the full title.

The CHAIRMAN. With headquarters where?

Mr. WELLER. Pittsburgh.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a statement of the contributions that were made to that campaign, coming within your knowledge?

Mr. WELLER. I have; those that I received as treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you it there?

Mr. WELLER. This memorandum. There are only a few names. I can read the amounts off.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any statement covering them all?

Mr. WELLER. Yes; this covers all of them, but it is not in form. It needs some explanation as to one or two items.

The CHAIRMAN. You may mark this "Exhibit W-A."

The paper was marked "Exhibit W-A" and handed to the witness, and is as follows:

EXHIBIT W-A.

John S. Weller, treasurer Roosevelt League of Pennsylvania.

RECEIPTS.

1912.

Feb.	13.	Wm. Flinn	-----	\$1, 000. 00
Mar.	2.	Wm. Flinn	-----	1, 000. 00
	2.	Wm. Flinn	-----	1, 000. 00
	26.	Wm. Flinn	-----	2, 000. 00
	28.	Wm. Flinn	-----	2, 000. 00
Apr.	4.	Wm. Flinn	-----	2, 000. 00
	10.	Wm. Flinn	-----	2, 000. 00
	10.	Wm. Flinn	-----	11, 700. 00
				<hr/>
				22, 700 00
				<hr/>
	10.	Geo. H. Flinn	-----	2, 000. 00
	15.	R. R. Quay	-----	1, 000. 00
	15.	J. H. Bruff	-----	1, 000. 00
	15.	S. C. Jamison	-----	1, 000. 00
	15.	W. H. Coleman	-----	1, 000. 00
	15.	A. W. Powell	-----	399. 75
	15.	L. P. Schneider	-----	500. 00
	15.	J. S. Weller	-----	1, 116. 35
	17.	E. F. Kirtland	-----	5. 00
Refund C. D. & P. T. Co., telephone service				69. 14
Refund L. P. Schneider				553. 89
				<hr/>
				31, 344. 13
Expenditures				31, 344. 13

The CHAIRMAN. What does that purport to be?

Mr. WELLER. This purports to be the receipts of money, the names of contributors, the dates of the contributions, and the amounts.

The CHAIRMAN. How much does it purport to represent as having been contributed?

Mr. WELLER. \$31,344.15. From that amount two items should be deducted, a refund from the Central District & Printing Telephone Co. of \$69.14 and a sum of money returned to me by L. P. Schneider of \$553.89.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were those contributions made by, and what were the amounts?

Mr. WELLER. William Flinn contributed \$22,700; George H. Flinn contributed \$2,000; R. R. R. Quay, \$1,000; J. H. Bruff, \$1,000; S. C. Jamison, \$1,000; W. H. Coleman, \$1,000; A. W. Powell, \$399.75; L. P. Schneider, \$500; E. F. Kirtland, \$5. There was a deficiency of \$516.35, which I paid.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions having been made for that purpose other than those appearing on that exhibit?

Mr. FLINN. Nothing except such as has been detailed to the committee this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what expenditure was made of this fund?

Mr. FLINN. The expenditure was made on vouchers drawn on me as treasurer by Senator A. W. Powell. The vouchers in the main contained a detailed statement of the expenditures, and my information is almost entirely confined to the information on the vouchers, although I had been around the headquarters and knew in a general way that the literature and the campaign buttons and such things were obtained.

The CHAIRMAN. Was a statement of this account, receipts, and expenditures filed with any official?

Mr. WELLER. It was; it was filed in the clerk of the court's office—the quarter session of the county of Allegheny, Pa.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom verified?

Mr. WELLER. Verified by me.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a copy of that statement with you?

Mr. WELLER. I did not have it. I have simply here a very roughly kept memoranda showing the check numbers—that is, the voucher numbers. Our checks are what we call vouchers. Each check contains an itemized statement of what the amount covered, and this statement shows the date of signing that check by myself. It might not be the date of the check; the person to whose order it was payable. The item under the corrupt-practices act, and it would embrace, and the number of the voucher—if I did not say that—and the amount of that.

The CHAIRMAN. You might get a copy of the report filed with the clerk and forward it to the committee for the record.

Mr. WELLER. Yes, sir; I will do that. The report embraces some 400 vouchers. Pardon me, I will send with that statement that portion of the corrupt-practices act of Pennsylvania which shows the number of the items, and that will be a key to what the item represents. To send you the vouchers or duplicates would be rather a hard job.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think the committee would care for that.

Senator POMERENE. No; unless there is something special.

Mr. WELLER. All the vouchers have been filed except a few that did not come in at the time of filing them; they were out in the hands of the persons to whom they belonged, but they are likely back by this time.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement you filed is itemized, I take it?

Mr. WELLER. Itemized; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For the present the suggestion that you send a copy of the account filed is recalled.

Senator POMERENE. Let me understand. I did not go over these exhibits that were presented by Senator Flinn. They are not duplicates of the accounts you filed?

Mr. WELLER. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. They are simply a summary, are they?

Mr. WELLER. He accounts for \$22,700, and I account for that in detail in my reports.

Senator POMERENE. The statement filed with us then simply accounts for what he expended?

Mr. WELLER. What he contributed to me as treasurer.

Senator OLIVER. And other contributions to you as well—the other contributions, as well as his.

Mr. WELLER. By other persons; yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. I think, Senator Pomerene, that for Mr. Weller to furnish the detailed account would simply cumber up the record, and it is something that is not necessary for us to have at all. His testimony will give us all the information we need.

Senator POMERENE. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any statement showing the matters for which this money was disbursed?

Mr. WELLER. I think there is a record book here that gives the items, but I would not vouch for that record book. That is a record book that was kept at headquarters, and they kept a record of the vouchers drawn on me. There is a little discrepancy of \$300 or \$400—that is, they show \$300 or \$400 more of vouchers than were accounted for. That is accounted for in this way: That sometimes they would send up vouchers that were duplications, which would come back to me, and I was busy and possibly did not correct it in the other office. It is only a few hundred dollars and would not make any material difference in the result. I can give you that in somewhat detail. Item No. 1, under the corrupt-practices act is “for printing and traveling expenses, personal expenses incident thereto, stationery, advertising, postage, express, freight, telegrams, telephone, and public messenger service.” The total amount of that is shown by this book as \$15,127.08, or nearly one-half of the entire contribution, two-thirds of which is charged arbitrarily to the election of national delegates, and when I say arbitrarily, we, of course, try to separate that.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take that up later.

Mr. WELLER. Second, for dissemination of information to the public this book shows \$137 flat. I can not quite see the difference between that item and some others here. Third, for political meetings, demonstrations, and conventions, and for the pay and transportation of speakers, \$3,332.13. Fourth, for the rent, maintenance, and furnishing of offices, \$2,369.37. Fifth, for the payment of clerks, typewriters, stenographers, janitors, and messengers actually employed, \$2,704.10. The employment of watchers at the meetings and elections, to the number allowed by law, \$8,620.

Senator POMERENE. Right there, if I do not interrupt you, what is that number allowed by law?

Mr. WELLER. I do not know what it is under the primary law.

Senator POMERENE. Never mind, if you have not got it.

Mr. WELLER. I think that has reference to the five watchers which may be employed at the general election, but there is no limit—although I am not certain about that—there is no limit as to the number at the primaries.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you finished the summary?

Mr. WELLER. That shows \$31,989.68. My account is correct and this is wrong, and it is accounted for by some duplications being here.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the first item you spoke of there, you said that had been divided and apportioned between the election of delegates and the election of others?

Mr. WELLER. Yes, sir; that item of \$15,000 includes, for instance, between \$4,000 and \$5,000 expenditure for campaign buttons—Roosevelt buttons. That was all charged to the election of national delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the other items.

Mr. WELLER. As to the other items, I have to make this statement: That in the primary, candidacies of legislators—that is, members of the house and Congressmen, State senators, and local committeemen, which is a very important and interesting matter in our county—dovetail together, come at the same time, and it is very hard for anybody to differentiate between what was actually the portion of rent that should be charged for one candidate or for another. I have always felt that Mr. Roosevelt, instead of us making any expenditure for him, that we should be contributors to Mr. Roosevelt, that the real sentiment in Pennsylvania was, therefore, Mr. Roosevelt, and that the question of controlling the organization and electing members of the legislature with progressive ideas, and all those things, was simply made possible by the sentiment that was favorable to Mr. Roosevelt.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make this same division of other items, or what division did you make?

Mr. WELLER. Now, of the balance of \$10,000, I think that it is fair to charge—and I might not give you a very sound reason for it, except what I have given——

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us what you did?

Mr. WELLER. I charged one-half of that to the election of national delegates, which would leave \$5,000 which should go toward the other purposes which I have named—the dissemination of information; all of it ought to be charged against national delegates, meetings, etc.

The CHAIRMAN. You say it ought to be. I am asking you what you have done there in making up this statement that was furnished this morning?

Mr. WELLER. When I say “ought to,” that is what we have done.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the point.

Mr. WELLER. Dissemination of information, \$137; we charged that entire item to national delegates, meetings, etc.; one-half of it was charged to national delegates; headquarters expenses, one-half; clerk hire, etc., two-thirds; watchers, one-half.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, how are the watchers obtained there; who has authority to designate them finally and officially?

Mr. WELLER. Well, I do not know. They are usually persons who are interested in the organizations in the various wards that want certain persons appointed and then the request goes through some person that takes it to the commissioner's office and gets the voucher or certificate——

The CHAIRMAN. To the commissioner?

Mr. WELLER. The county commissioner.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the county commissioner is the one who issues the certificates?

Mr. WELLER. I beg your pardon; I thought you meant who asks for the appointment.

The CHAIRMAN. No; I was getting at the final official designation of it.

Mr. WELLER. The county commissioners, except there are certain overseers that are appointed by the court. In that contest there were some overseers that were classed as watchers. The court would not appoint overseers unless the organization would agree to pay the expenses, and that was done.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the law fix the salary or the fee of the watchers and overseers?

Mr. WELLER. I do not recall, but there is a custom, I know, of paying \$5 a day.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Oliver says there is not. Now, do you know of any other contributions that were made during the pre-convention campaign of 1912 in the interest of Col. Roosevelt than those you have mentioned?

Mr. WELLER. None; except what you have heard here to-day, and I have heard that at various times contributions were made, and I know that Senator Flinn made them, although I did not see him make them.

The CHAIRMAN. But you had nothing to do with this?

Mr. WELLER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I am getting at. Is there anything within your knowledge and to which your attention has not been directed bearing upon the question of contributions to the preliminary pre-convention campaign of Col. Roosevelt.

Mr. WELLER. I do not recall anything, Senator.

Senator OLIVER. Senator Weller, in addition to your committee, and perhaps to a certain extent subsidiary, there are other legislative district committees during the campaign, are there not?

Mr. WELLER. So I understand it.

Senator OLIVER. Now, to what extent do the expenditures of your committee and the contributions to it include the contributions to and the expenses of the legislative districts?

Mr. WELLER. I do not know, but I think to no extent. Let us see. I made out some vouchers to several organizations there and—yes; there was part of that money spent in the interest of, I think, legislative candidates, and I think accounts have been filed for it. I would say two or three persons of that kind; at least I advised all persons to whom I gave money at that time to make report; that I was making a report.

Senator OLIVER. What I wanted to ascertain is the extent to which money was expended by the legislative district committees additional to what was expended by your central committee?

Mr. WELLER. Well, I do not know what was spent outside of that. I think that \$8,000 covers all that was contributed from the central committee.

Senator OLIVER. Eight thousand dollars?

Mr. WELLER. Eight thousand and some dollars for watchers?

Senator OLIVER. Then, with that exception, practically all that was spent by the legislative district committees would be extra, would have to be added to this \$31,000, as I understand it?

Mr. WELLER. Well, I understand that is accounted for.

Senator OLIVER. Yes; but accounted for possibly by the several committees.

Mr. WELLER. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. But there is no evidence of that here.

Mr. WELLER. I suspect not. I know that some of these items have been reported to the court of sessions.

Senator OLIVER. Now, Mr. Morton, of the fourth legislative district, files an account showing an expenditure of \$8,513. As I understand that was all additional. They took care of that district themselves without any contribution from the central committee?

Mr. WELLER. I understand that was part of the money which was contributed by Paul Ache.

Senator OLIVER. Now, Senator, among the items in the corrupt-practices act, or enumerated in the corrupt-practices act, which constitute all the expenditures that can be legally made for political purposes, there is a provision for watchers. Those watchers must be commissioned by the county commissioner, as I understand, under the act.

Mr. WELLER. For the general election I know there must be. I do not know about the primary. I am not familiar with this pamphlet, which contains the laws of the State. I will see whether it is indexed. [Reading:] "Each candidate shall be entitled to have two watchers at the primaries, as at elections, only one of whom shall be entitled to be within the polling room at one time. Their rights, duties, and methods of appointment shall be the same as at elections."

Senator OLIVER. That is watchers?

Mr. WELLER. Yes, sir. Each candidate is entitled to two, and sometimes we have 10 and 15 and possibly 20 candidates.

Senator OLIVER. Now, during the campaign there was published, and I understand a facsimile certificate issued by the Roosevelt League in some districts, at least for party workers.

Mr. WELLER. I did not see it if there was. I recall that there was something of that kind published, but I do not know that I even read it. [A paper was handed to the witness.]

Mr. WELLER. I know nothing about that.

Senator OLIVER. Would you regard that as a legal expenditure of money?

EXHIBIT W-B.

MAGEE TO PAY FOR VOTES.

Facsimile of Finn-Magee scrip used to pay "workers"—Flinney pretend by which the "two Bills" hope to dodge the corrupt-practices act in herewith exposed.

\$5.00

\$5.00

ROOSEVELT REPUBLICAN HEADQUARTERS

FOURTH LEGISLATIVE DISTRICT

PRIMARY WORKER'S CERTIFICATE

This certifies that—
publican Worker in the title
1912, between the hours of 12

visited as a Roosevelt Re-
held Saturday, April 12,

WITNESS my hand

John
Secretary and Treasurer.

TO BE COUNTERSIGNE

This certifies that
18th, 1912, from 9 am
nue, Pittsburgh

on, Monday evening, April
1 Branch, 6027 Penn Ave-

District Chairman

The above is a photographic reproduction of the scrip being distributed by the Flinn-Magee combine to pay voters. No such person as a "worker" at the primaries is recognized by the law. This fact probably is responsible for the word "Messenger" stamped on the scrip after it had been printed, in the hope of evading the law.

Mr. WELLER. I do not care to pass upon that to-day.

Senator OLIVER. I will read it. It is an order for \$5, signed by W. C. Morton, secretary and treasurer of the Roosevelt Republican headquarters of the fourth legislative district.

\$5.00.

\$5.00.

ROOSEVELT REPUBLICAN HEADQUARTERS.

Fourth Legislative District.

Primary worker's certificate.

This certifies that _____ has this day been appointed as a Roosevelt Republican worker in the interests of the Republican candidates at the primary election held Saturday, April 13, 1912, between the hours of two and eight p. m. Witness my hand and seal this 12th day of April, 1912.

W. C. MORTON,
Secretary and Treasurer.

To be countersigned by chairman of the district.

This certificate will be paid when properly countersigned by the district chairman, Monday evening, April 15th, 1912, from seven to ten p. m., at the Roosevelt Republican headquarters, east end branch, 6020 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

_____, *District Chairman.*

(Indorsed across the face:) "Messenger."

In each corner is printed \$5 in figures.

Mr. WELLER. The fifth item under the corrupt practices act says:

For the payment of clerks, typewriters, stenographers, janitors, and messengers actually employed.

I notice that has over its face a messenger notation.

Senator OLIVER. It is stamped on its face.

Mr. WELLER. I think it would be perfectly legal. It has been in the past in our county. As to the morals of it, I do not pass on that.

Senator OLIVER. In this fourth legislative district they claim credit for a total of \$4,774.85 paid to clerks, stenographers, and messengers, in addition to \$3,080 paid to 606 watchers.

Mr. WELLER. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. I simply asked you that because I presumed as treasurer and legal adviser of the organization you would probably have been consulted in the matter.

Mr. WELLER. No; I was not consulted either as treasurer or as legal adviser. I can only say that from very close association with Senator Flinn I know as a matter of fact that it is the delight of every one of his opponents to defeat him or any candidate that he stands for in his district, and that occasions the expenditure of those amounts of money there. You know about that as well as everybody around Pittsburgh, that there is a personal matter there; not that any person is corrupted, but everybody that can work is employed to work, and every voter that they can get out they get out.

Senator OLIVER. This looks very much as if somebody has been corrupted. I want to say this—

Mr. WELLER. People might be corrupted. I should think that, without charging any of you gentlemen who control politics with it, I think there is corruption there. I feel that, but I do not believe that you are responsible for it.

Senator OLIVER. I want to say right here, Mr. Chairman, that from my personal knowledge of the witness on the stand, he never would advise anything that he thinks is illegal or wrong.

Mr. WELLER. Thank you, Senator. I think the whole system ought to be changed.

Senator OLIVER. I have no more questions to ask.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not think I want to ask more than one question. I believe the witness made that clear anyhow. You just arbitrarily made the apportionment between the candidates for delegate and the candidates for the other offices?

Mr. WELLER. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Because watchers were employed to act in a matter of selecting delegates as well as in the other matter at the polls, the primary?

Mr. WELLER. Yes, sir; and other candidates. It was a sort of dovetailed campaign, you might say, in which certain candidates were taking the advantage of the Roosevelt sentiment for their own personal purposes.

Senator PAYNTER. Because you thought that was pretty strong, the reduction you made as to the amount should be charged to the delegates, because it was so very beneficial to all?

Mr. WELLER. Yes, sir. It would be very hard to explain. It would take some person more expert in such expenditures than I am. I sort of felt that was fair. I rather felt that the sentiment there was for Col. Roosevelt.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all.

Senator POMERENE. Just one question or two. Referring to this certificate to which Senator Oliver referred a moment ago in his questions to you, I note that while it has stamped across it the word "Messenger" in large letters, near the top of the certificate are the words, "Primary Worker's Certificate." Now what were the duties of the primary worker?

Mr. WELLER. I can not say.

Senator POMERENE. Well, what was expected from him in the form of service?

Mr. WELLER. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. But whatever his work was, he was to get \$5 for the day's service?

Mr. WELLER. I do not know that; I had nothing at all to do with this certificate.

Senator POMERENE. I thought you were one of the gentlemen from whom we were to get this information.

Mr. WELLER. I can only give you what information I have, Senator, but I was not in that district; I had nothing to do with that matter. I did not see the watchers' certificates.

Senator POMERENE. It seems to be a blank which would be suitable for any district. It seems to be a blank prepared as follows for the signature of blank, district chairman.

Mr. WELLER. That could be explained in this way, and I think this is the explanation: A number of persons working at the polls, they will insist upon being paid when the polls close, because they know that if a political organization once gets away from them they will not get their money. It is for the purpose of identification.

Senator POMERENE. Not an organization of which you were treasurer?

Mr. WELLER. No: not mine. But I was not paying for that primary-day expenses. But that certificate was likely issued to a worker for the purpose of identification.

Senator POMERENE. There is a signature here, "W. C. Morton," what seems to be a facsimile of Mr. Morton's signature.

Mr. WELLER. I would infer from that that he was the treasurer of the legislative committee. It had nothing to do with the Roosevelt campaign. That seems to have been covered by the legislative act.

Senator OLIVER. He was chairman of the Roosevelt campaign in the fourth legislative district.

Senator POMERENE. I understand that you were treasurer in chief, and that there were subtreasurers as well.

Mr. WELLER. There were other treasurers; other disbursers of money. I was the simon-pure disburser.

Senator POMERENE. Does the account which you have rendered include the moneys which were received and disbursed by these subtreasurers?

Mr. WELLER. Not all. In a few instances, yes.

Senator POMERENE. Not all?

Mr. WELLER. No. I received only \$31,000; a little less than \$31,000.

Senator POMERENE. Do you mean there were moneys expended in addition to \$31,000?

Mr. WELLER. Yes, sir. Senator Flinn has accounted here for the sum of \$100,000 or more.

Senator POMERENE. No, no. Perhaps my question was not clear. When I spoke as I did I had in mind Allegheny County, in which there was expended \$31,000, if I remember the figures correctly.

Mr. WELLER. I do not know. I can not answer that. I know that a portion of this money was paid out to subtreasurers with instructions to account for it. I did not give any to Mr. Morton.

Senator POMERENE. It is due, both to you and to me, that we understand each other.

Mr. WELLER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Do I understand that these subtreasurers in Allegheny County spent money other than what you furnished them?

Mr. WELLER. I think so; yes—some of them.

Senator POMERENE. And do you know from what sources that money came?

Mr. WELLER. The Morton money came from Paul S. Ache. It was part of the contribution which Senator Flinn made to Paul S. Ache of nineteen thousand and some dollars. The Louis Schneider money of \$18,000 was contributed by Senator Flinn. The item which was contributed direct by Senator Flinn to Louis P. Schneider of \$18,000 was used exclusively in the election of national delegates. I gave my receipt, I think, for \$3,000 or \$3,500.

Senator OLIVER. \$3,500, I see.

Mr. WELLER. \$3,500; yes.

Mr. McCullough had charge of the preparation and distribution of the post cards, and I understand Senator Flinn contributed that direct to him. That did not pass through my hands. I was the

treasurer for what was known as the Western Pennsylvania Roosevelt Republican League, and that money did not pass through my hands.

Senator POMERENE. Was it your understanding that this report, which purports to contain the total expenditures amounting to \$144,308.29, as shown by Exhibit F-E, includes the money expended by these subtreasurers in Allegheny County?

Mr. WELLER. Yes; as well as my own.

Senator OLIVER. Well, there were other contributions of other people?

Mr. WELLER. I have accounted for that, the \$10,000. That is all I know about.

Senator OLIVER. So that \$144,000 is only the part that Senator Flinn contributed to the total, in addition to which in Allegheny County there were quite a number of contributions from others than Senator Flinn?

Mr. WELLER. Amounting to about \$10,000. That was all the money that was contributed.

Senator POMERENE. Let me get at your sources of information in this matter.

Mr. WELLER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. From what sources do you get the information which justifies you in saying now that you have accounted for all the moneys which were expended in Allegheny County?

Mr. WELLER. Oh, I did not say that, Senator. I just said the contrary, and illustrated the account of Mr. Schneider and the account of Morton and a number of other accounts.

Senator POMERENE. I think I did misunderstand you in that matter.

Mr. WELLER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, do you know what amount of money was expended by these subtreasurers in addition—that is, in Allegheny County now——

Mr. WELLER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. In addition to that which was furnished by Senator Flinn?

Mr. WELLER. No.

Senator POMERENE. You have no means of knowing it?

Mr. WELLER. No. I can only express my belief that they received no money except what they received from Senator Flinn and the contributions I made, about which I have spoken. I do not think anybody else was interested in making contributions in Allegheny County.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, to see if I understand it correctly. There were legislative district committees, were there not; or were there?

Mr. WELLER. Legislative district committees?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WELLER. Why, in some instances I think that is true. I can not answer that. I have been in Pittsburgh 11 years and I have not gotten onto the politics yet.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any computation as to the amount expended to the number of votes that were cast?

Mr. WELLER. I think that Col. Roosevelt got about 55,000 votes in Allegheny County.

The CHAIRMAN. In Allegheny County?

Mr. WELLER. And Mr. Taft got 22,000. That would indicate, if you want to measure it by dollars, that a Roosevelt vote cost less than \$1 and a Taft vote cost about \$5; but that is not a fair statement, because I do not mean to say that that amount of money was expended for votes.

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. WELLER. But that is an answer to your question, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, there was some evidence this morning with reference to New York, and I was just giving you the same ratio for Pennsylvania.

Mr. WELLER. But, taking the whole State, I do not believe that the expense of each vote was more than 30 to 35 cents. I would regard that as a low political expense account.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

TESTIMONY OF A. W. POWELL, OF PITTSBURGH, PA.

A. W. Powell was called as a witness and, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Kindly give your name, address, and occupation to the reporter.

Mr. POWELL. A. W. Powell; 450 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.; lawyer.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, what relation did you sustain to the pre-convention campaign of Col. Roosevelt in Pennsylvania?

Mr. POWELL. I was chairman of the executive committee of the Roosevelt Republican League of Western Pennsylvania, the same committee of which Senator Weller was the treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you begin the work of that committee, approximately?

Mr. POWELL. The first expenditures were made prior to the 19th of February, 1912. The first voucher upon that account was drawn February 19, 1912. The campaign began about the 5th of February.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a statement of the receipts and disbursements of the campaign?

Mr. POWELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In a tabulated form?

Mr. POWELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Separate from that book?

Mr. POWELL. No, sir. This is the voucher record book. I had prepared a form of voucher containing on the front of it a blank for the filling in of a bill, a blank for a check drawn to the party to whom the payment was to be made, to be signed by Senator Weller, and payable at the Federal National Bank, and that voucher was not valid until countersigned by me upon the back and indorsed by the parties to whom the check was drawn. Upon the other leaf of the back there was a distribution containing the exact wording of the eight items as expressed in the corrupt-practices act of Pennsylvania.

Those items were printing and traveling expenses, and so forth, as No. 1; dissemination of information, as No. 2; meetings, conventions, speakers, and so forth, as No. 3; rent, maintenance of headquarters, and so forth, as No. 4; payments of clerks, stenographers, public messengers, and so forth, as No. 5; political watchers, as No. 6;

transportation of voters to and from the polls, as No. 7; and legal expenses, as No. 8.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that give the summary of the amounts there?

Mr. POWELL. For each item?

The CHAIRMAN. Does that correspond with Senator Weller's?

Mr. POWELL. This account corresponds exactly with Senator Weller's account, with the exception of two hundred and some dollars, for which a duplicate voucher was drawn, and that voucher was never returned. I believe it was for \$208. Here it is, voucher 398, being a duplicate of 308, and it was for \$208. The voucher was mislaid by the people to whom it was sent.

The CHAIRMAN. Unless the committee desires, we will not duplicate that evidence.

Mr. POWELL. No. \$31,344.13, as Senator Weller has testified, is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions made to Col. Roosevelt's preconvention campaign, other than those that have been mentioned here to-day?

Mr. POWELL. Senator, I had nothing to do with contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. I know; but I am asking whether you know of any?

Mr. POWELL. No; I do not know of any. I do not know of contributions to this account, even, except the one of my own.

The CHAIRMAN. Either of your own knowledge or by repute?

Mr. POWELL. No, sir; not to the Roosevelt campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, by the Roosevelt campaign—

Mr. POWELL. I beg your pardon. There was a check that came to me from some man in Beaver County. I think his name was Kirkland, and the check was for \$5. It came in the mail, and I indorsed it on the back, payable to the order of John S. Weller, treasurer, and sent it to him. I do have personal knowledge of that.

The CHAIRMAN. When I said Roosevelt campaign, inasmuch as the matters were somewhat interwoven, I meant for political purposes among the Roosevelt people, whether directly for delegates or for members of the legislature, or for other purposes. Do you know of any?

Mr. POWELL. No; not of my own knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, by repute do you know of any?

Mr. POWELL. Yes; indirect information that a Taft delegate spent \$18,000 in his district, and information that a member of the legislature—

The CHAIRMAN. No; we are not inquiring now as to Taft expenditures.

Mr. POWELL. No; I know of no contributions to the Roosevelt campaign other than the one I mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, if you know of your own knowledge by the statement of those who made contributions to any other campaign, either the Democratic or the Taft campaign, you can state that.

Mr. POWELL. I do not know of my own knowledge. I explained that before. It was just merely hearsay, except what is a matter of record in the filing of accounts.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, those are matters of record.

Mr. POWELL. Senator, while you are waiting for that, if the committee would bear with me, I would like to make some explanations that Mr. Weller did not know about in regard to these subtreasurers and in regard to expenditures of that money.

The CHAIRMAN. You may make the statement.

Mr. POWELL. In the first place, in this account it included all of the Roosevelt buttons that we used in the whole State of Pennsylvania—about a million buttons. Those buttons cost us about \$4 a thousand. There is also included in the account of expressage here the expressage to different points in the State for those buttons and the expense of letters and telegraphic requests for them, and also the expressage of lithographs. We conducted from this committee also, with the Western Newspaper Union and the American Press Association, the running of articles in the newspapers, and conducted a press bureau in connection with the committee, covering the whole State; so that these expenditures are given here as \$31,344.13 expended in Allegheny County. As a matter of fact, the nearest I can estimate, after going over it carefully item by item, is that over \$10,000 of that money was spent outside of Allegheny County; that is, the benefits of it went outside of Allegheny County. There were papers all over the State; the buttons went all over the State, and the lithographs and everything of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. There were some local legislative committees, were there not?

Mr. POWELL. There were; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And except the money that was given to them by your committee have you any knowledge of what they expended?

Mr. POWELL. I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. Or what they received?

Mr. POWELL. I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything connected with the campaign of 1912 to which your attention has not been called that you think of at this time?

Mr. POWELL. I made a computation. There are a million and a half of voters in the State of Pennsylvania. The total expenditures, so far as we could ascertain them, for the Roosevelt campaign in the whole State show that the expenditure per vote was about 6½ cents; that is, by voter reached. Col. Roosevelt had 314,000 votes and Mr. Taft had 180,000. The expenditure per vote received by Col. Roosevelt, so far as we could ascertain the expenditures, was less than 20 cents for the whole State.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else that you think of?

Mr. POWELL. The legislative committees: In the twelfth legislative district in Allegheny County there was a subdistrict treasurer, and that item appears in Senator Weller's account. In the ninth legislative district there was a subtreasurer, and that item appears in Senator Weller's account. In the tenth legislative district there was a subdistrict treasurer, and that item appears in the legislative account. The twelfth legislative district is covered by the account of Louis P. Schneider. The other districts are all within the city of Pittsburgh, and I have not anything to do with the subdistrict treasurers in those places. Those accounts are filed. In regard to the question of watchers, the total, including overseers and watchers, expended would allow us three and a fraction watchers to each dis-

strict in the county. But, as a matter of fact, we had less than that, and half of that amount was charged to the legislative candidate, because the watchers worked in the interest of the whole proposition—the national delegates, State delegates, Congressmen, Senators, Representatives, and the local party officers.

County committeemen: There was a very warm contest for the control of the county committee between the Oliver faction and the Magee-Flinn faction, as they defined it. A very considerable proportion of this amount and a very considerable proportion of the whole expenditure there was expended by candidates for county and city committees.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the law of Pennsylvania committees are elected.

Mr. POWELL. They are elected by districts; yes, sir—by election precincts. None of those officers filed expense accounts, so far as I know; none of the county committeemen or city committeemen.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further?

Mr. POWELL. That is all I can recall now.

Senator POMERENE. You made the statement that there were about one million and a half of voters. You mean by that of all political faiths?

Mr. POWELL. Yes; of all political faiths. This postal card was sent to all voters of all political faiths. Every voter in the State of Pennsylvania received one of these postal cards.

Senator POMERENE. Here is a question I intended to ask of Senator Weller, but you can answer it just as well. He gave the names of some contributors here. I want to ask who they were. George H. Flinn?

Mr. POWELL. That is the son of the senator.

Senator POMERENE. What business is he engaged in?

Mr. POWELL. He is the most active man, I believe, in the contracting firm.

Senator POMERENE. R. R. Quay?

Mr. POWELL. R. R. Quay is the son of ex-Senator Matthew S. Quay, who is dead.

Senator POMERENE. What business is he engaged in?

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Quay is a capitalist, with office in the Farmers' Bank Building, I believe, and is associated—well, I do not know with what particular business—I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Samuel C. Jamison?

Mr. POWELL. Samuel C. Jamison is the coroner of Allegheny County, and was one of the candidates for national delegate on the Roosevelt ticket.

Senator POMERENE. What is his business, outside of sitting on the dead?

Mr. POWELL. Public officers in Allegheny County have no other business. They draw a salary and are not allowed to have any other business.

Senator POMERENE. Who is William Coleman?

Mr. POWELL. William H. Coleman is clerk of the court, and was also a candidate for national delegate.

Senator POMERENE. A. W. Powell is yourself?

Mr. POWELL. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Louis P. Schneider?

Mr. POWELL. He is in the real estate business, and also is the owner of a stall in the market house, in the sale of fish and meat.

Senator POMERENE. What was the amount of his contribution?

Mr. POWELL. \$500, I think. That did not come to me. It went to Senator Weller.

Senator POMERENE. E. F. Kirtland?

Mr. POWELL. I believe that is the name of the man who sent in the money from Beaver County. It came in by check in an envelope.

EXHIBIT P-B.

No. —

PITTSBURGH, PA., —, 1912.

Roosevelt Republican League to — Dr.

Pay to the order of — \$-----

-----dollars.

----- Treasurer.

TO FEDERAL NATIONAL BANK,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Senator.

Mr. Reporter, you will mark this paper "Exhibit P-B."

The paper was marked "Exhibit P-B."

* * * * *

Mr. POWELL. If the committee will permit me to explain about that, I think I can explain about it better than anybody else, about that form.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well; go ahead.

Mr. POWELL. This question was asked of me by the manager of the Dalzell campaign for Congress. He claimed that under our act of 1906 he could employ, in addition to the two watchers—each county is allowed two watchers—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). What was his name?

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Coleman. That he could employ, in addition to the two watchers, a manager. I looked over the act, and so far as I was concerned, I told him that I thought it was very doubtful; that, at any rate, it ought not to be done. There were none of these certificates used, and there was not a cent of the money that went through Senator Weller's hands expended in a proposition of this kind. I want to say that in justice to Senator Weller. The watchers' certificates that we used were all the watchers' certificates which were issued from the county commissioner's office. I imagine the reason these were used is because all parties must use the same form of watchers' certificates issued from the county commissioner's office. Therefore they must be identified in some way, or some local district leader for an Oliver candidate will go about punching the certificates, and he will give them out and say, "You will get those cashed at Roosevelt headquarters." But he wants them to work for him, for the county committee, or something of that kind, and vice versa.

We could not depend upon all of our people and they could not depend upon all of their people.

The watchers' certificates that went out from our headquarters were numbered with a private numbering machine which I had and on

which I scratched the faces of two of the members, so that each watcher's certificate would be identified by that mark. We then used a conductor's punch, and in addition to that had them countersigned by a man. So that we had a triple check on all these watchers' certificates. Even then there were some which came in attempting to have on all of the things that we had put on. They had the conductor's punch the same; they had an attempt at the signatures; and they had them numbered by a numbering machine. They came around after the campaign was over trying to collect the \$5, pretending that they had worked for the campaign.

Senator POMERENE. You do not mean to say you took all those precautions against your Progressives?

Mr. POWELL. Yes, sir; and I would take all those precautions against anybody in Pennsylvania, as well as Adams County, Ohio.

Senator POMERENE. Well, Adams County is along the river, and it gets a little of the flotsam and jetsam from Pittsburgh.

Mr. POWELL. Well, Senator, I have a very great many friends in Ohio, and they tell me Adams County is not an exception in Ohio.

Senator POMERENE. We understand.

Senator OLIVER. I have heard your explanation with regard to these workers' certificates, with "messenger" stamped over them. I want to ask you if you do not think that in a district consisting of only three wards, it is rather liberal to pay out \$4,700, or \$4,774.85, to be exact, for messengers, in addition to \$3,000 and odd for official watchers?

Mr. POWELL. I will answer that that I do, Senator Oliver; and I perfectly agree with Senator Weller in his opinion of that district. I believe that that proposition should be abolished, and it will be abolished if the legislation goes through for which we were fighting in this very campaign. And especially do I think it is particularly liberal when the other people did not file any account at all, and did not seem to spend a cent, and yet won.

Senator OLIVER. There is an account filed for the other people in that district.

Mr. POWELL. I could not find any record of it.

Senator OLIVER. I have it.

Senator PAYNTER. I understood that Senator Flinn said the purpose of having the watchers in part was to lead the voters. Are they harder to lead in that legislative district than any of the voters?

Mr. POWELL. Senator Paynter, they are. One ward of that district is in my senatorial district, and it is composed of the highest class citizens in Allegheny County. They are not hard to lead, but they are hard to get to the polls. They are largely composed of reformers, that you first have to go and get to register, taking them there to see they are registered, and then upon the day to vote you have to have one man to each voter to get him out to vote at all.

Senator POMERENE. As I understood from Senator Flinn, you had a sort of slate. I take it that applied to a district—the candidates for delegates to national and State conventions, and so forth?

Mr. POWELL. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. What was the reason for having on an average of a little over three of these watchers at each polling place? They were watching this same place, evidently.

Mr. POWELL. We were entitled under the law of Pennsylvania to two watchers for each candidate who appeared upon that slate, and the other people were employing five.

We had expended so much money in advertising and in buttons and in the legitimate—what we considered the more legitimate in morals, at least—expenditure of the campaign that we did not have to make, and we employed just what we could afford.

Senator POMERENE. As a matter of fact, while you call them watchers, they were really partisan watchers at the polls to get out the vote?

Mr. POWELL. No; their duty is defined. One stays in the polling place and checks off the polling list; and only one of them may be in the polling place at the same time, and the other may during that time be out around the polling place getting voters in, and I imagine, if these messengers were paid in addition, that they were fellows who were sent to the district to ask John Jones to come out and vote, or something of that kind.

Senator POMERENE. Well, was any of this money used to influence the vote of the watchers?

Mr. POWELL. No, sir; there was not a cent of illegal expenditure in that account. I never made a cent of illegal political expenditure in my life.

Senator POMERENE. I am not charging you with that, and if you so understood my question, I will say that I did not intend to cast any reflections or insinuations.

Mr. POWELL. I know. I simply wanted to make that explanation at that time.

Mr. Powell was thereupon excused.

WILLIAM FLINN, recalled for further examination.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, did you desire to say anything further?

Mr. FLINN. I wanted to answer a question that I was discussing with Senator Pomerene, and I will detain the committee but a few minutes. We have taken off of the official records of the clerk of the court the expenditures made in this election in Allegheny County, the total of which is \$173,291.28, of which amount the Taft people spent \$95,000, and our people spent—there was reported, the MaGee faction—that is the way it is written out, and that is part and parcel of our slate, \$15,290.04, and \$47,451.55, makes an expenditure on the part of the Roosevelt people of \$62,741.59. The Keystone Party expended \$796.72, and there was spent by independents—independent candidates—as candidates who were reported on their own account, \$14,666.09, making a total of \$173,291.28.

Senator POMERENE. In Allegheny County?

Mr. FLINN. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, that is all very interesting, but that does not answer the question that was between you and myself. While Senator Weller was on the stand my question to Senator Weller was as to whether there were moneys expended by these subtreasurers which was not included in this report which you have made, or which has been given in evidence here.

Mr. FLINN. There was only one, and that is the fourth legislative district. Here is the balance of the subtreasurers here. This is a copy of their report.

Senator POMERENE. That is, their report was filed with the prothonotary?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir; with the clerk of the court. This sheet gives a complete list of all expenditures and all reports that were made. It is the record of the clerk of the court.

Senator OLIVER. I want to ask you about that. You stated that the Taft expenditures were \$95,000.

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. How did you arrive at that?

Mr. FLINN. Well, there was spent by the Oliver faction \$66,302.99, and the treasurer of the Taft Club had \$67,283.89, of which he contributed to the treasurer of the Oliver faction, or the anti-Magee faction—

Senator OLIVER. The anti-Flinn-Magee faction?

Mr. FLINN. The anti-Flinn-Magee faction. I am much obliged to you, Senator, for getting that right—\$38,500, leaving unreported \$35,000. We have got that record here about everybody who contributed money to this campaign, if the committee feels like being bothered with it. This gives you the official report of the clerk of the court. If the committee desires, I will leave it with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Mark it "Exhibit Flinn 1-X."

The paper is accordingly marked "Flinn 1-X," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT FLINN 1-X.

Summary—Primary election expenses, Apr. 13, 1912.

Oliver faction, candidates, etc.....	\$66, 302. 99
Taft Club treasurer.....	67, 283. 89
	<hr/>
	133, 586. 88
Less contribution of Taft Club treasurer to treasurer of the anti-Magee-Flinn committee.....	38, 500. 00
	<hr/>
	95, 086. 88
Magee faction, candidates, etc.....	15, 290. 04
Roosevelt faction.....	47, 451. 55
Keystone Party.....	796. 72
Independents	14, 668. 09
	<hr/>
	173, 291. 28

Primary election expenses, April 13, 1912.

Expenses of the Oliver faction of the Republican Party, as filed with the clerk of courts of Allegheny County, Pa.:

Adams, James L., State senate, forty-fifth district.....	\$1, 036. 68
Alter, George E., assembly, twelfth district.....	512. 58
Blackburn, J. D., assembly, eleventh district.....	331. 45
C. M. C. Campbell, assembly, tenth district.....	361. 75
Dalzell, John, Congress, thirtieth district.....	1, 435. 00
Gearhart, S. A., assembly, second district.....	417. 15
Grimes, William D., State senate, forty-third district.....	2, 735. 00
Hershey, J. B., treasurer anti-Magee-Flinn committee, McKeesport, Pa.....	947. 10
Kiser, C. W., treasurer for John Dalzell.....	5, 850. 00
Kiser, C. W., treasurer anti-Magee-Flinn Republican committee.....	44, 500. 00
Lowers, John F., assembly, tenth district.....	530. 00
Lobaugh, J. F., treasurer for William D. Grimes.....	2, 735. 00
Minnemeyer, H. W., jr., anti-Magee-Flinn, fourth legislative district	925. 27

Expenses of the Oliver faction of the Republican Party, etc.—Cont'd.

O'Shell, Thomas, assembly, sixth district.....	\$496. 50
Randolph, William M., treasurer Colored Protective League....	500. 00
Scott, Fred W., Congress, thirty-second district.....	2, 217. 74
Slocum, Albert D., assembly, eleventh district.....	367. 72
Snee, S. J., assembly, eleventh district.....	404. 05

66, 302. 99

Mossman, W. T., treasurer Taft League of Pittsburgh.....	67, 283. 89
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133, 586. 88

Less contribution of the treasurer of the Taft Club to the treasurer of the anti-Magee-Flinn Republican committee.....

38, 500. 00

95, 086. 88

Expenses of the Magee faction of the Republican Party, as filed with the clerk of courts of Allegheny County, Pa.:

Allen, George W., assembly, sixth district.....	512. 88
Barchfeld, A. J., Congress, thirty-second district.....	1, 524. 90
Bigger, William S., assembly, eighth district.....	404. 05
Carter, Thomas, assembly, sixth district.....	351. 10
Geary, Thomas B., assembly, first district.....	193. 50
Grimm, William, treasurer, for John P. Moore.....	431. 23
Isler, Charles N., assembly, sixth district.....	205. 10
Jacob, W. C., treasurer, for Charles J. Magee.....	1, 625. 28
Kaiser, John C., assembly, eighth district.....	396. 85
Letzkus, Ollie M., assembly, sixth district.....	190. 14
Leslie, Homer E., assembly, fifth district.....	136. 25
Lindblad, C. A., treasurer, for James F. Woodward.....	1, 800. 77
Morley, Thomas J., assembly, sixth district.....	52. 00
Muir, David C., Congress, thirty-second district.....	260. 41
Moore, John P., senate, forty-fifth district.....	892. 03
McCaig, William J., assembly, second district.....	156. 25
Neely, Howard, assembly, third district.....	489. 58
Porter, Harry A., assembly, eleventh district.....	525. 89
Porter, Stephen G., Congress, twenty-ninth district.....	659. 87
Phillips, Harry J., assembly, twelfth district.....	459. 74
Richards, George W., assembly, eleventh district.....	441. 80
Stein, A. C., assembly, first district.....	296. 50
Semmens, W. H., assembly, tenth district.....	398. 90
Small, John T., assembly, tenth district.....	329. 91
Steedle, Joseph G., assembly, eleventh district.....	299. 71
Trent, Edmund K., assembly, fourth district.....	99. 50
Woodward, James F., assembly, ninth district.....	1, 805. 00
Young, James H., assembly, twelfth district.....	198. 00

15, 136. 64

Kenna, Edward M., assembly, second district.....	153. 40
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15, 290. 04

Expenses of the Roosevelt faction of the Republican Party as filed with the clerk of courts of Allegheny County, Pa.:

Hill, H., treasurer Roosevelt Republican League, twelfth district.....	1, 124. 56
Lamb, Wm., treasurer Roosevelt Republican League, twenty-first and twenty-fifth wards.....	100. 00
Morton, treasurer, W. C., Roosevelt Republican League, fourth legislative district.....	8, 512. 86
Renzlehausen, H. H., treasurer Roosevelt Republican League, ninth legislative district.....	600. 00
Schneider, L. P., treasurer Roosevelt Republican League, thirty-second congressional district.....	4, 280. 00
Woodside, R. G., treasurer Roosevelt Republican League, tenth legislative district.....	1, 490. 00
Weller, John S., treasurer Roosevelt Republican League.....	31, 344. 13

47, 451. 55

Expenses of the Keystone Party and independent candidates of the Republican Party as filed with the clerk of courts of Allegheny County, Pa.:

Scully, C. D., treasurer, Keystone Party, Allegheny County, Pa. \$796. 72

Independents—

Bell, James S., assembly, seventh district.....	429. 15
Cobbett, John E., assembly, sixth district.....	133. 00
Coffey, John V., assembly, first district.....	324. 00
Coyne, Thomas F., assembly, third district.....	265. 72
Dihm, F. Ulysses, assembly, eighth district.....	88. 50
Douglass, E. B., Congress, thirtieth district.....	10, 335. 13
Glick, Peter, assembly, first district.....	515. 25
Kelly, M. Clyde, Congress, thirtieth district.....	1, 260. 27
Kennedy, David S., assembly, eleventh district.....	267. 00
Mentel, Conrad C., assembly, seventh district.....	91. 55
Miller, George W., jr., assembly, seventh district.....	52. 00
Morgan, Thomas W., assembly, eleventh district.....	88. 00
McKnight, James J., assembly, third district.....	81. 50
McShane, Charles D., senate, forty-third district.....	208. 52
McGrath, Robert J., assembly, sixth district.....	91. 50
Pyle, George L., assembly, tenth district.....	74. 00
Smith, Charles J., assembly, second district.....	66. 00
Tesson, Prosper C., assembly, second district.....	65. 00
Whitfield, T. K., assembly, tenth district.....	219. 75
Weiss, Harry, treasurer, first ward, Sewickley political committee.....	10. 25

14, 666. 09

Mr. FLINN. We have got the contributors to the Taft fund there. We do not care about filing it. There is nothing wrong about it.

Senator POMERENE. We are going to get it.

The CHAIRMAN. You may produce them.

Mr. FLINN. They are in newspaper form.

Mr. Flinn thereupon produced a book containing newspaper exhibits.

Mr. FLINN. I might add in the statement I made this morning, which was finally changed by the exhibit which I finally filed, I made a mistake in the expenditures of \$10,000. I had it \$10,000 more than it really was, but I imagine that the last paper we filed will supplant everything else.

I might add, in addition to that, Mr. Chairman, that if the committee elect, I have the vouchers here for all of this money. I will leave the vouchers with the committee if they want them.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think the committee cares for the vouchers. If later there is any issue on any of them we will call for them. [Referring to book produced by Mr. Flinn.] Do these purport to be copies of reports filed in the clerk's office?

Mr. FLINN. Yes, sir; but we are not anxious to file that unless the committee wants it. That is the report of the clerk of the court. It might explain Senator Oliver's paper.

Senator OLIVER. That is more than I can say of yours.

Mr. FLINN. You have less confidence in me than I have in you.

Senator OLIVER. I mean your paper.

Mr. FLINN. I will leave it with you.

The CHAIRMAN. You may leave the book, and it will be returned to you.

Mr. POWELL. If the committee will bear with me, I offer in evidence one of the blank vouchers on which all expenditures are made.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be marked "Exhibit P-B"?

The blank referred to is as follows:

EXHIBIT P-B.

No. —.

PITTSBURGH, PA., —, 1912.

Roosevelt Republican League to — Dr.

Pay to the order of — \$ — Dollars.

To FEDERAL NATIONAL BANK,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

—, Treasurer.

[Reverse side.]

No. —.

Indorse here.

Distribution :

- 1. For printing and traveling expenses and personal expenses incidental thereto, stationery, advertising, postage, expressage, freight, telegraph, telephone, and public messenger service.....
- 2. For dissemination of information to the public.....
- 3. For political meetings, demonstrations and conventions, and for the pay and transportation of speakers.....
- 4. For the rent, maintenance, and furnishing of offices.....
- 5. For the payment of clerks, typewriters, stenographers, janitors, and messengers actually employed.....
- 6. For the employment of watchers at primary meetings and elections, to the number allowed by law.....
- 7. For the transportation of voters to and from the polls.....
- 8. For legal expenses, bona fide incurred, in connection with any nomination or election.....

Total amount.....

Approved for payment.

Payable at Federal National Bank, corner Fifth Avenue and Smithfield Street, Pittsburgh.

Mr. Flinn was thereupon excused, and the committee took a recess until to-morrow, Wednesday, October 2, 1912, at 10 o'clock a m.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1912.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE.
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Oliver, Paynter, and Pomereene.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Mr. Cannon; you may take the stand.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES G. CANNON.

James G. Cannon, of New York City, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cannon, please give your full name to the reporter.

Mr. CANNON. James G. Cannon.

The CHAIRMAN. Your business?

Mr. CANNON. New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Your business.

Mr. CANNON. President of the Fourth National Bank.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cannon, you knew Mr. Cornelius Bliss during his lifetime?

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And somewhat intimately, I take it?

Mr. CANNON. He was a personal friend of mine.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember in the fall of 1904 having anything to do with the accounts of Mr. Bliss as treasurer of the Republican national campaign committee of that year?

Mr. CANNON. Yes; I audited, at his request, the accounts of disbursements.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the accounts which came under your observation include the contributions?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Simply the disbursements?

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you at any time see what purported to be a list of the contributions for that campaign?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may have observed of late something in reference to a contribution which Mr. Archbold testifies to having made

at Mr. Bliss's solicitation. Have you observed anything of that in the public prints?

Mr. CANNON. I have seen it in the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. Calling your attention to that, did you ever have any conversation with Mr. Bliss touching the subject of that contribution?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever have any conversation with Mr. Bliss touching the subject of contributions in the fall of 1904 at all?

Mr. CANNON. I do not think I ever did; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, of your own knowledge, of any contributions to any national or congressional campaign committee in 1904?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions to any national or congressional campaign committee in 1908?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions to any campaign in the year 1912 in the candidacy of any person seeking a nomination for President?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have, in the fall of 1904 or since then, any conversation with any person who assumed to be in touch with the Republican campaign of 1904?

Mr. CANNON. Just repeat that question again, so that I can get it clear in my mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Repeat the question.

The reporter repeated the question, as follows: "Did you have, in the fall of 1904 or since then, any conversation with any person who assumed to be in touch with the Republican campaign of 1904?"

Mr. CANNON. That is a difficult question to answer; I could not answer that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, any that you recall? I am simply asking whether you recall any conversation.

Mr. CANNON. I do not recall any specific conversation with anybody in regard to these things.

The CHAIRMAN. And especially with reference to contributions?

Mr. CANNON. Yes. I do not recall any specific case of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you at this time in mind any fact or circumstance to which your attention has not been called bearing upon or in any manner relating to campaign contributions, including the campaign of 1904 and subsequent campaigns?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir; I am not familiar with anything of that kind.

Senator OLIVER. In order to make it more clear, Mr. Cannon, as I understand, the accounts submitted to you by Mr. Bliss for audit simply lumped the amounts received?

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. But gave in detail the disbursements, so as to show that he had accounted for everything he had received?

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, you have no record of that?

Mr. CANNON. No record of that.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Cannon, did you have access to or did you look over the names and amounts contributed as appeared on this list that Mr. Bliss had?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir; I never saw any list of Mr. Bliss's at all.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not know whether the amount that is said to have been collected from Mr. Harriman was on that list or not?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir; I never saw the list at all.

Senator PAYNTER. Or the amount mentioned by Mr. Archbold—\$100,000?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Was Mr. Bliss connected with the same bank of which you are president?

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir. I was vice president of the bank at that time and he was one of our directors.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you ever hear Mr. Bliss say anything about the contribution that was made by the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Never heard it mentioned?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not know that I fully understood how you audited these accounts so as to make this statement, and the circumstances under which you did it.

Senator POMERENE. Is there a copy of that statement? Possibly that would refresh Mr. Cannon's recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. No. He says he has not a copy.

Senator POMERENE. There was one introduced in evidence.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Bliss offered this.

Senator OLIVER. The one introduced in evidence was for 1908.

Senator PAYNTER. I thought it was 1904.

Senator OLIVER. There is no copy of it for 1904.

Mr. CANNON. It was 1904.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Bliss, jr., brought a statement here simply containing the figures of Mr. Cannon.

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. That related to the 1904 campaign?

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir. I did that at Mr. Bliss's request.

Senator PAYNTER. That was what I was going to ask you—the circumstance under which you did that.

Mr. CANNON. I did it at Mr. Bliss's request.

Senator PAYNTER. How did you make the statement without examining the accounts?

Mr. CANNON. I examined the disbursements. He submitted to me his bank books showing the balances, and I examined simply the disbursements, checks, and vouchers pertaining to these disbursements.

Senator PAYNTER. Did he keep these accounts as treasurer in the Fourth National Bank?

Mr. CANNON. He kept one of his accounts there.

Senator PAYNTER. One of his accounts? Where was the other kept?

Mr. CANNON. I think there were three or four others. I am not positive as to the other banks.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you any impression about that?

Mr. CANNON. I think one was kept at the Second National Bank and one at the Central Trust Co. I could not testify as to any others.

Senator POMERENE. Let me get those names. The Central National Bank——

Mr. CANNON. No; the Central Trust Co. and the Second National Bank.

Senator PAYNTER. I presume as he collected the money he deposited it and drew checks?

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Against that account?

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you examined the accounts kept in the Fourth National Bank to see if there was any item of \$100,000——

Mr. CANNON (interposing). No; I have not.

Senator PAYNTER (continuing). About the date that it is said that that sum was contributed by the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. CANNON. I have not; no, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Will it be much trouble to furnish the committee with a copy?

Mr. CANNON. I will be very glad, if the books are in existence. It was eight years ago, and those books may have been destroyed.

Senator PAYNTER. Do banks sometimes destroy books?

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir; we do not keep our books after five years. But I would be very glad to furnish the committee with a copy, a full transcript of those books.

The CHAIRMAN. You may look and see if you have them.

Mr. CANNON. If we have them we will send them under one of our own officers, or submit them, as you please.

Senator PAYNTER. Is it the custom of all banks, after a certain time, to destroy books?

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. So you did not examine the items of this account kept by Mr. Bliss?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. And you never heard Mr. Bliss discuss this contribution of the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Cannon, in whose name was this account kept?

Mr. CANNON. You mean at the——

Senator POMERENE. At your bank.

Mr. CANNON. In the name of Mr. Bliss, as treasurer, if I remember rightly.

Senator POMERENE. Just John N. Bliss?

Mr. CANNON. No; Cornelius N. Bliss, treasurer.

Senator POMERENE. I take it when deposits were made he would make out a deposit slip, would he, showing the checks or other memoranda or items?

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir; I suppose so.

Senator POMERENE. And would you have in your possession those deposit slips?

Mr. CANNON. We would have them if they were not destroyed.

Senator POMERENE. If you will be kind enough to include that item in your return to us we shall be obliged.

Mr. CANNON. I shall do so with very great pleasure.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you speak of the Second National Bank and the Central Trust Co. Do you now recall any other banks in which he kept accounts?

Mr. CANNON. No; I do not.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know the number of accounts that he had?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir; I do not.

Senator POMERENE. Whether any accounts, so far as you know, were kept at any other place than in the city of New York?

Mr. CANNON. That I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Now, did I understand you correctly to say that there was simply submitted to you the bank books showing the balance?

Mr. CANNON. The balance; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you now recall how many bank books were submitted?

Mr. CANNON. No; I do not. It is eight years ago, and it is difficult for me to recall that.

Senator POMERENE. Then, I take it that you simply found the total credits as contained in those several bank books?

Mr. CANNON. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And added them together, making your total credits?

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And then you examined the vouchers?

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And the disbursements were in detail?

Mr. CANNON. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Were you at any meeting by financiers or business men in the city of New York at which a question of the campaign of 1912 was being discussed?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or at which ways and means were discussed for financing any of the campaigns?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Either of one party or the other?

Mr. CANNON. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any officer of your company, so far as you know, that is interested in this matter of campaign funds that attended meetings or assisted in raising funds?

Mr. CANNON. No; I do not think so. Our president at that time was J. Edward Simmons. He is now deceased.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

TESTIMONY OF HON. JOSEPH M. DIXON.

Joseph M. Dixon was called as a witness, and, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give your full name, address, and business to the reporter.

Senator DIXON. My name is Joseph M. Dixon. I am a member of the United States Senate, and my home is in Missoula, Mont.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, you had charge, in a general way, of the preconvention campaign of Col. Roosevelt, did you not?

Senator DIXON. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there a regular committee appointed or created?

Senator DIXON. No; there was no regular committee at any time. It was like many other things in politics—it grew. It was generally recognized and understood that I was the manager of the campaign, at the request of Col. Roosevelt and some of his immediate friends, both here in Washington and in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Who acted as treasurer for the——

Senator DIXON. The Roosevelt provisional committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator DIXON. Well, I did not know that there was any treasurer of the committee until some time after we had been in operation; but Mr. Hooker, of New York, I presume, would be called the treasurer. I think he did most of the soliciting for funds to carry on the preconvention campaign for the nomination of Col. Roosevelt.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with soliciting funds?

Senator DIXON. Why, I did not have much time to solicit funds. Every man that I found who was kindly disposed to Col. Roosevelt, I probably suggested to him from time to time that we were desperately hard up for money with which to carry on the publicity part of the campaign. I did not pay much attention to that, though, for I did not have the time to do it. I remember that we advertised in some of the papers for contributions. We advertised in one of the Washington papers, I think one in Philadelphia, and possibly some others. I only knew generally about it. I think I suggested it at a time when we were very hard up for money with which to continue the fight, but I took no special part in that. It kept me pretty busy in other lines.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you obtain any contributions?

Senator DIXON. Yes; I collected some money myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you turn that over to Mr. Hooker?

Senator DIXON. No; I spent it myself.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be outside of Mr. Hooker's account?

Senator DIXON. That would be outside of Mr. Hooker's account.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any statement of how much you collected?

Senator DIXON. Mr. Hooker gave me some money; some I raised myself.

Now, before going into that I would like to know from the committee what the full scope of this inquiry is.

The CHAIRMAN. The scope of this inquiry was, first, the campaign contributions in the Presidential and congressional campaigns of 1904 and 1908, which was subsequently enlarged——

Senator DIXON. Is this to include the Republican and Democratic campaign funds both of 1904 and 1908?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Let me suggest that a copy of the resolution be read.

The CHAIRMAN. I can state it.

Senator DIXON. State it generally; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It was subsequently enlarged to include the pre-convention campaign expenditures and contributions of 1912, and also to include the correspondence between Mr. Archbold and certain gentlemen named in the resolution.

Senator DIXON. Now, this inquiry is to go into the preconvention campaigns of all candidates this year for President?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am inquiring now as to your relation to the Roosevelt campaign and am inquiring of you with reference to what you know of that preconvention campaign.

Senator DIXON. Of course, judging from the testimony so far had, it would seem that this was an inquiry, rather, into the preconvention campaign of Col. Roosevelt alone. Now, as a Member of the Senate and interested in this matter, I would like to have this committee not confine itself to one candidate; I would like to see this subcommittee—and do it now, before the election is here—to go into Mr. Wilson's preconvention campaign——

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Dixon, let me remind you that you were asked certain questions——

Senator DIXON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And it will facilitate the examination to have you answer them.

Senator DIXON. At the same time I want to make this observation: The impression of the country is general, and the impression of the newspapers about the inquiry is, that it has so far been directed toward Col. Roosevelt. I want to see Mr. Wilson's campaign fund investigated; I want to see Gov. Harmon's campaign fund investigated; and Mr. Underwood's campaign fund investigated.

Senator POMERENE. Don't you think it would be a little more appropriate for you to ascertain what has been done before you come here to lecture the committee as to what should be done?

Senator DIXON. I have ascertained very thoroughly what has been done, and I have not seen any inquiry toward anybody except Col. Roosevelt. Now, I want to ask the committee——

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you certain questions, after which other members of the committee will, in their order on the committee, make inquiries.

Senator DIXON. Yes; and I want——

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you now with reference to what contributions you received in the preconvention campaign of 1912.

Senator DIXON. Yes; and I want to go into that very thoroughly.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any record of that?

Senator DIXON. I have no record.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then, from your recollection, will you state what they were?

Senator DIXON. Yes; I will be very happy to do that, and I want to assist this committee, but I do not want to confine this to one single proposition. I want to now volunteer to this committee a suggestion that you subpoena and have present here before this election is over the chairman of Mr. Wilson's campaign; I want Gov. Harmon's manager here; I want Mr. La Follette's manager here; I want Oscar Underwood's manager here; and I want Champ Clark's manager

here to be put on the stand, and not allow this thing to drift along until after the election.

Senator POMERENE. Have you been advised that these witnesses have already been subpoenaed here?

Senator DIXON. I have not been advised, and I have not been advised that they have.

Senator OLIVER. It might be well for you to inquire into that.

Senator DIXON. I have inquired right now of this committee, whether they are going to testify before or after the election. I would like to know the scope of this inquiry, and whether or not this is to be confined to the campaign of one presidential candidate, or whether, in good faith, the committee, before election, is going into all of these matters.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to make this suggestion, Senator Dixon——

Senator DIXON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). That during the month of September, as chairman of this committee, I laid out, in a measure, the tentative work of this committee and published, so far as it was thought advisable, the names of those who had been called and waived the process or who would be called whether they had been or not. If there is any mistake up to the time of the assembling of this committee, it is the fault of the chairman of this committee. We laid out this week's work. We have other weeks' work that will be laid out. This committee reserves the right to anticipate, through the public press, the names of those who have been called or who are to be called, and the committee reserves the right, in its discretion, as it must be evident to everybody that a committee pursuing an investigation must use some discretion, as to anticipating in public the witnesses they expect to call.

Senator DIXON. At the same time, now——

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I want to suggest, Senator, that the question which I asked should be answered.

Senator DIXON. Yes. At the same time, and as a matter of pure spirit of investigation, it is 30 days to election. Here are five or six preconvention presidential candidates. The American people like fair play. It is not a square deal in front of an election——

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Dixon, I want to remind you of one thing——

Senator DIXON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. A suggestion that there has not been fair play here is a reflection upon the one man of this committee who is a friend of Col. Roosevelt.

Senator DIXON. Absolutely not a suggestion of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed with this investigation.

Senator PAYNTER. I would like to hear the question read.

Senator DIXON. I want to continue; then I will answer the question.

Senator PAYNTER. I say you should not be permitted to continue, but you should be expected to answer such questions as are submitted to you.

Senator DIXON. I want to say to the Senator from Kentucky that I am a coordinate member of the United States Senate with you gentlemen, and I want to see all of these preconvention campaigns in-

investigated in detail. I know something about the expenditures of Mr. Harmon; I know much of the expenditures of Mr. Wilson——

Senator PAYNTER. You are assuming now a situation here that there is no occasion for, if I understand the chairman.

Senator DIXON. There is occasion for investigating all of them.

Senator PAYNTER. You are not invited here for the purpose of lecturing this committee.

Senator DIXON. I am not lecturing the committee.

Senator PAYNTER. And, as far as I am concerned, I am not willing to submit to it. Now, I ask that the question be read and you answer it. If you are a Member of the United States Senate you ought to know what your duty is.

Senator DIXON. I know what my duty is, just as well as this committee knows what its duty is, and I have come here to answer fairly any questions; but I want to make my statement not only as to the individual question asked me, but to cover all that I know about this campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Dixon, has it not occurred to you that the chairman can ask only one question at a time?

Senator DIXON. That is the reason I inquired about the scope.

The CHAIRMAN. And that the committee can pursue only one inquiry at a time?

Senator DIXON. That is quite true.

The CHAIRMAN. If you should later be asked this morning as to contributions to Mr. Harmon, or contributions to Mr. Wilson, and you have knowledge of them, that action on the part of the committee would meet that situation, would it not?

Senator DIXON. That is exactly what I was inquiring into.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed, then.

Senator DIXON. That is the understanding that I——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). There is no understanding about what this committee will do further than they have published in the public press.

Senator PAYNTER. I would like to ask the Senator if he has read the second resolution under which this committee is proceeding.

Senator DIXON. I have not, and that is the reason I asked the scope of it.

Senator PAYNTER. By reading that resolution you can easily see it was to investigate not only the expenses as to one candidate, but all candidates.

Senator DIXON. That is exactly what I was inquiring about.

Senator OLIVER. He has had plenty of opportunity to read it.

Senator PAYNTER. Without any attempt to reflect upon the committee——

Senator DIXON. I am not making any reflection upon the committee.

Senator PAYNTER (continuing). By discussing the question of fair play.

Senator DIXON. So far the investigation has been merely directed to one candidate; I want them all investigated before this election.

Senator PAYNTER. You are mistaken in that. It was proven here the other day that a contribution of \$70,000 had been made to La Follette and the same amount made to Mr. Wilson.

Senator DIXON. It was purely incidental.

Senator PAYNTER. And it was proven yesterday the amount that had been contributed in Allegheny County for the Taft people.

Senator DIXON. It was purely incidental to the inquiry. Now, I am ready to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. What contributions did you personally receive——

Senator DIXON (interposing). During the preconvention campaign for Col. Roosevelt.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator DIXON. I received purely voluntarily—I never saw the man before; he walked in one morning. I think it was about the first money I got. He was very much interested in Col. Roosevelt's campaign—a man by the name of William Eno, an uncle of Gifford Pinchot. He gave me \$5,000.

We were maintaining headquarters down here in the Munsey Building, on Pennsylvania Avenue. He gave me a check for \$5,000. I think the first money I received was from Frank Munsey. I do not remember in what amount; possibly \$5,000. I think it was his contribution; I will not be positive.

The CHAIRMAN. We want your best recollection only.

Senator DIXON. Afterwards, I think, George Perkins gave me \$5,000. Mrs. Antoinette Wood, an aunt of Gifford Pinchot, gave me \$2,500. Dan Hanna gave me some money. I think it was sent down in several contributions.

The truth was that when we opened up headquarters the 1st of March, no man dreamed what the expense of the fight was going to be. Everyone realized that with Taft's nomination it meant utter defeat for the Republican Party. I think that realization is still continued.

I think it was about the 1st of March I took charge. We started in printing and sending out literature, opening up correspondence, by telegraph and letter, and every way, to get in touch with the Roosevelt sentiment all over the country. As the campaign progressed and the fighting got hotter and we became more pressed for money, I conferred with Mr. Munsey and Mr. Perkins; I conferred with Dan Hanna; I conferred with Gifford Pinchot, some Members of the Senate, many Members of the House. As we would run out of money I presented the case to our various friends. I remember one man in Philadelphia, after an advertisement printed in the Philadelphia American, sent me a check for \$1,000. I think his name was Montgomery. Mr. Munsey gave me money from time to time, probably a half dozen times. Mr. Perkins gave me money; Dan Hanna sent money.

All told, as I recall it, it approximated something about \$95,000 or \$96,000, of which \$52,000 was spent here in the printing of literature. Now, this will be approximate—I will not remember to the hundred dollars—approximately \$52,000 was spent in the printing of literature, the mailing of literature, the maintenance of headquarters here, the payment of clerks and stenographers, the payment of long-distance telephone and telegraph tolls, which ran as high as \$1,500 a month. You have to do these things largely by telegraph.

That is approximately the amount of money that was raised and approximately the amount of money that was spent. I can not be positive to the dollar, for I did not keep any books. I spent it as

fast as I could, under the tremendous pressure from every quarter, to send out speeches, to send out literature. We were facing the combined opposition of a Federal machine all over the country.

We had to organize everywhere; we had no organization. It had to be built from the ground roots up, and while we were doing this we were not beginning to meet the expenditures of the other candidates in other quarters. We were desperately hard up for funds all through the four months of hard fighting.

Going into it, I remember an elevator man here at the Capitol gave me \$50. I remember Mr. Butler, out here at Chevy Chase, gave me \$500. I think we collected—this would be an approximation—probably, as I recall it roughly, about \$3,000 from those advertisements. We got lots of dollar contributions from Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. Pennsylvania especially sent in money in \$1 and \$5 contributions. Probably a thousand different people—no; not that many—I would say five or six hundred people sent in \$1 and \$5 contributions, and there were some \$25 contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. You attended the convention held in Chicago in June?

Senator DIXON. I was there all the while.

The CHAIRMAN. What, if anything, do you know of the expenses incurred out there?

Senator DIXON. Beyond the headquarters' expenses that were maintained in the Congress Hotel, and the incidental expenses connected with 500 delegates there, I know nothing of any large expenditures of money on the part of the Roosevelt headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you with reference to your knowledge in connection with that organization. What, if anything, do you know of efforts that were made in Chicago to change the vote of delegates by use of funds?

Senator DIXON. I know nothing; only hearsay. There were certainly no attempts made on the part of myself or anybody connected with the Roosevelt headquarters to change any man's vote with money; not one.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you knowledge of any efforts that were absolutely being made?

Senator DIXON. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. Were any subsequently made known to you by repute with which you had anything to do toward acquiescing in or recognizing?

Senator DIXON. Not one.

The CHAIRMAN. After the June convention and prior to the second convention in Chicago, the date of which I do not now recall—

Senator DIXON. The 5th of August.

The CHAIRMAN. The 5th of August, had you anything to do with soliciting or receiving contributions for Col. Roosevelt's campaign?

Senator DIXON. I had not at that time, because there was none. The Chicago local committee, the friends of Col. Roosevelt in Chicago, financed the holding of the national convention, which cost them, as they told me, about \$18,000, as against the Republican national convention, which cost about \$96,000. We did not have the money, and it was purely voluntary by the Chicago people.

The CHAIRMAN. During the preconvention campaign do you know who had charge of the campaign in the various States?

Senator DIXON. For the Roosevelt people?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; of course I am speaking of the Roosevelt campaign.

Senator DIXON. Generally, yes; of course it was like all other hurried-up organizations. There were dozens of men in the various States. In many of the States we had provisional chairmen and in some of the States there were none. In some of the States it was like all uprisings of the people in a righteous cause; it was sometimes purely voluntary. In some of the States, a very few, the regular Republican organizations cooperated. In most of the States it was purely a voluntary proposition. I remember in Massachusetts——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Let me begin with the States in order. To the best of your knowledge, who in Maine would be likely to have knowledge or information concerning contributions?

Senator DIXON. In Maine, I do not know. I had very little to do with the preconvention campaign in Maine.

The CHAIRMAN. In Massachusetts?

Senator DIXON. In Massachusetts, Matthew Hale. Matthew Hale started in enforcing the presidential preference primary in Massachusetts. That is where I got in touch with him originally. He became active in that about the time the Roosevelt propaganda started. My first acquaintance with him, and my first business with him was in trying to force the presidential preference primary through the Massachusetts Legislature. We knew we would not get a delegate in Massachusetts without it, and finally the matter was put through the Massachusetts Legislature, with the result that we took half of the delegates and Mr. Taft half—in fact, we took two-thirds of them, but——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You think, then, that in Massachusetts the man most likely to have knowledge and information——

Senator DIXON (interposing). Would be Matthew Hale.

The CHAIRMAN. In the State of New York?

Senator DIXON. I had nothing to do with the State of New York, except in a——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). In Pennsylvania?

Senator DIXON. In Pennsylvania, the Hon. William Flinn, of Pittsburgh, and Edward A. Van Valkenburg, of the Philadelphia North American, were the two men I conferred with, and the two men that carried the State, who were the major generals in command, to carry the State for Roosevelt in the primaries there.

The CHAIRMAN. In Ohio?

Senator DIXON. In Ohio, Walter Brown, who was chairman of the Republican State committee, although I had practically nothing to do with the Ohio campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. No; but I am trying now to get the names of the men in these States——

Senator DIXON. In Ohio it was Walter Brown.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). Who would be most likely to give the committee the information it desired.

Senator DIXON. Walter Brown.

The CHAIRMAN. In Michigan?

Senator DIXON. In Michigan we had no regularly organized committee. I would not know, in Michigan, who to say. It was the

old convention system. It came by congressional districts. There was no regularly organized Roosevelt movement in Michigan, as I now recall. There were many men up there that were interested in it. I remember Theodore Joslyn, the mayor of Adrian, was interested in the matter. The city clerk at Detroit—his name I do not now recall—was very much interested in it.

The CHAIRMAN. In Indiana?

Senator DIXON. In Indiana, Charles H. Campbell. He lives down near Indianapolis. He does not live in Indianapolis. He is a manufacturer. Some of these newspaper men would know—Jerry Matthews.

A VOICE. Shelbyville.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Campbell died two or three weeks ago, in an automobile accident.

Senator DIXON. That is right; I had forgotten it.

The CHAIRMAN. Illinois?

Senator DIXON. Illinois; there were many leaders of the uprising in Illinois. We carried the State by about 150,000 in the primaries. Chauncey Dewey, Ed Simms—the old district attorney——

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Dewey's address?

Senator DIXON. Chicago. He is now State chairman of the Progressive Party of Illinois, living at the La Salle Hotel, at the Illinois State headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the other gentleman you named?

Senator DIXON. Dewey and Ed Simms—he was one of the leaders there; Alex Revell, the furniture man, of Chicago; Medill McCormick; Ira Copley, one of the Congressmen from the Aurora district; Billy Wilson, one of the Chicago Congressmen——

The CHAIRMAN. I am not speaking so much with reference to those who were active as the one who would be most likely to know about contributions.

Senator DIXON. I think Chauncey Dewey.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, with reference to Wisconsin. Was a campaign made there?

Senator DIXON. We made no campaign in Wisconsin. La Follette and Roosevelt were both counted candidates of the Progressive wing of the Republican Party. We especially kept out of Wisconsin so there would be no division of the vote there and allowed the La Follette—we gave our moral support to the La Follette electors—I mean delegates at the primaries.

The CHAIRMAN. In Missouri was an effort made?

Senator DIXON. Yes; we made a very determined effort in Missouri.

The CHAIRMAN. Who there would be most likely to have information?

Senator DIXON. Gov. Herbert S. Hadley. Gov. Hadley was the man that I corresponded with and talked with. I talked with him in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. You think he is the one who would be most likely to have information concerning contributions?

Senator DIXON. Gov. Hadley would have the information; Gov. Hadley, I would say, would be the man.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make a contest in Kentucky?

Senator DIXON. We made the best we knew how, but the Federal officeholders put us out of commission down there. We carried most of the congressional districts.

The CHAIRMAN. What man in Kentucky would be most likely to know about contributions?

Senator DIXON. Judge O'Rear, the former chief justice of Kentucky. His name is Edward C. O'Rear.

The CHAIRMAN. In Tennessee?

Senator DIXON. Tennessee was organized and into the fight before we took charge. As I recall it, George Taylor, the State treasurer of Tennessee. George Taylor was the man who was, as I understood it, leading the fight there, and he is now State chairman of the Progressive Party of Tennessee.

The CHAIRMAN. In Maryland?

Senator DIXON. In Maryland, Col. Carrington, of Baltimore; Maj. Baldwin; Charles J. Bonaparte, the former Attorney General; Gen. McDonald—I do not know his initials, but he lived at Baltimore; ex-United States Senator Wellington, up here at Cumberland. There was a man by the name of Day over at Saulsbury, on the Eastern Shore, who was, as I recall it, the leader of the fight over there.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make a contest in Delaware?

Senator DIXON. We thought Delaware was foreclosed and we made no contest there.

The CHAIRMAN. In New Jersey?

Senator DIXON. In New Jersey we made a fine one and carried the State overwhelmingly in the primaries. Wherever we had a primary election we swept it everywhere, and wherever the Federal officeholders controlled the election they whipped us.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would be most likely to have all the information as to New Jersey?

Senator DIXON. In New Jersey, ex-Gov. Fort, I think, would have as full a knowledge of anything in New Jersey as anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. In Virginia, did you make a contest there?

Senator DIXON. Nothing to amount to anything. There was some in Virginia. Campbell Slemple was chairman of the Republican State committee. He had been at odds with the Taft administration—he and Alva Martin, the national committeemen at Norfolk—but they got together early in February and got the conventions mortgaged, and foreclosed the mortgage before we had time to start and elected and instructed their delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. In West Virginia.

Senator DIXON. In West Virginia, Gov. Glasscock. We carried West Virginia in the soap-box primaries about four to one and elected every delegate there.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make a contest in North Carolina?

Senator DIXON. Yes; there was hardly a contest to be made. Out of the 1,100 delegates we had over a thousand Roosevelt delegates in North Carolina.

The CHAIRMAN. Who in North Carolina would be most likely to have knowledge of contributions and expenditures?

Senator DIXON. I should say Richmond Pearson, of Asheville, N. C.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his name?

Senator DIXON. Richmond Pearson. He used to be a Congressman from the Asheville district. North Carolina was the one Southern

State with a militant, real Republican Party—117,000 white Republicans; pretty nearly a majority party in that State. The sentiment there was overwhelmingly for Roosevelt. We did not have to make much of a fight. We carried the State unanimously, except for one district, where we had 54 out of the 60 delegates instructed for Roosevelt. Mr. Duncan said there was no need; he told his friends to instruct, and they unloaded a gentleman on us who was supposed to be elected as a Roosevelt delegate, but when he got to Chicago he voted for Taft. He was a Federal officeholder down there.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make a contest in South Carolina?

Senator DIXON. South Carolina had held their conventions—about half of them. In all the Southern States the Taft administration gave orders to hold postmasters' conventions down there early in February and early in March, so there could be no contest. Of course, there was no Republican Party down there. There were some colored delegates from South Carolina. One of them came up to see me; he was elected. Nobody had heard of him, they told me. He said he was for Roosevelt, and I said, "Were you not instructed for Taft?"—they had already been held. He said, "Yes; but I had to promise that to get on the delegation." He went to Chicago and voted for Roosevelt. There were two or three of the district conventions in South Carolina—I can not recall the number—there were two or three of them that had not yet been held when we took charge. A gentleman by the name—well, the national committeeman handled South Carolina. He is right here in the city.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his name?

Senator DIXON. John Capers.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make any contest in Georgia?

Senator DIXON. In Georgia they had already held their conventions. McHarg went to Georgia and ascertained, as he told me, that under the Georgia law the attorney general of Georgia said there could be no legal convention held before the period for closing payment of poll tax. The Democrats had already held their conventions under that theory and the Taft administration with Lige Johnson—this colored gentleman—had held their conventions early in February and had the postmasters meet and elect their delegates, McHarg acting, as I understood, under the information of the Democratic attorney general of Georgia, that there could be no legal convention held before the 9th of April, as I remember the date, when the poll tax was paid. Nobody could participate under the law in the primaries except the poll tax had been paid, and under that theory there was another convention called in Georgia and another set of delegates elected, but the national committee did not entertain their credentials at Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would be most likely to have knowledge on the subject of expenditures in Georgia?

Senator DIXON. As to the Georgia situation, I was not very closely in touch with Georgia. As I now recall it—I will give you that name; he is a young man—Dewar, of Atlanta.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall his initials?

Senator DIXON. I do not, but I can get them for you.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make a contest in Florida?

Senator DIXON. In Florida it was about the same kind of conditions. The Federal officeholders under instructions from Washing-

ton had held early February conventions and there was a call issued in Florida, as I now remember it, under about the same conditions of registration; that they did not think it was legal and there was a call for a masked convention of all the congressional districts held a month or so afterwards. The postmasters' convention had been held and a contesting delegation sent up from there. I think Mr. Anderson, at Jacksonville, a lawyer, would be the man. I had very little to do with Florida, and this is largely from hearsay what I am now giving about Florida and Georgia both.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not recall his initials?

Senator DIXON. I think it is H. L. Anderson, at Jacksonville. He is an attorney and a very well-known man. He is a Kentuckian by birth, but went to Georgia a good many years ago. He is a very prominent lawyer at Jacksonville. I think his initials are H. L. Anderson.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make a contest in Alabama?

Senator DIXON. In Alabama, I do not think we made much, from the committee here. The old Federal judge, whom Roosevelt had appointed down there—the Senate did not confirm him—Oscar R. Hundley. We carried two or three of the Alabama districts, but the national committee unseated our delegates without any—

The CHAIRMAN. Hundley did not spend his time in Alabama, did he?

Senator DIXON. Yes, sir; Hundley was in charge. He lives at Birmingham. He was in New England, but he afterwards went down to Alabama. His name is Judge Oscar R. Hundley, of Birmingham. He can tell you about Alabama.

The CHAIRMAN. Was an effort made to get delegates in Louisiana?

Senator DIXON. There were three sets of delegates elected in Louisiana. The sugar States people took charge of the Taft campaign down there and agreed to deliver the delegates. They elected two sets of their own. Pearl Wight and some of our friends elected another set of delegates, but the truth is there was no Republican Party existing under the statutes of Louisiana. Under the law of Louisiana there was no legal Republican Party in existence. It was a purely voluntary organization. The sugar men elected two sets of delegates—Taft delegates. Pearl Wight held a convention that elected a set of Roosevelt delegates and the national committee—I do not remember which set of the Federal office holders were seated, one or the other. It made no difference.

The CHAIRMAN. Would Mr. Wight be the man to know about Louisiana?

Senator DIXON. Pearl Wight, of New Orleans, would be the man who would tell you all about it. Those Southern States I know very little about.

The CHAIRMAN. Was an effort made to elect delegates in Arkansas?

Senator DIXON. Oh, a very fierce one. They had riots.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would be the man likely to know about expenditures there?

Senator DIXON. The man who would be likely to know about the expenditures of money would be the Hon. Powell Clayton. I think he spent most of the money for the Taft people down in Arkansas. On our side, J. A. Comer, of Little Rock, an attorney. That was where the Taft people held their convention in towns with signs

up, "No longer need stay here after sundown," and kept our delegates out of the town.

The CHAIRMAN. Was an effort made to elect delegates in Texas?

Senator DIXON. Yes, sir. We elected all the delegates in Texas excepting four, but the national committee unseated them.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would be most likely to have that information?

Senator DIXON. The Hon. Cecil Lyons will give you full information. He lives at Dallas, Tex., or Sherman, Tex.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would be most likely to have information on this subject in the State of Washington?

Senator DIXON. Now, Washington—you would have to go to a half a dozen men. As I recall it there was no regular State wide, or there may have been; I do not recall. Washington is divided into the east and west sides. Spokane on the east side, it would be Judge Moore, Senator Poindexter's partner. We carried the State of Washington by about 350 in the convention, but the Taft national committee unseated our delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would be most likely in Oregon to have this information?

Senator DIXON. Oregon—I think Oregon had a primary. We carried Oregon overwhelmingly in the presidential preference primary. I am not sure whether they had a State convention in Oregon or not. I think a State senator by the name of Dan Kelliher, in Portland, would know. I think Dr. Henry W. Coe, of Portland, and Dan Kelliher could tell you about the Oregon primaries. We had no speakers to send there at all, and had to depend just merely on the sentiment of the people. Roosevelt didn't even get there. There was nobody sent, no speaker sent into Oregon; but we carried the primaries by about, I think, 3 to 1 over Taft.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, is there any fact or circumstance in your knowledge bearing upon or relating to campaign contributions in behalf of Col. Roosevelt's candidacy in the spring and summer of 1912, to which your attention has not been called?

Senator DIXON. Yes, I could—I do not know anything specially. After four months of pretty vigorous contest we have carried every single primary State wherever the people themselves had an opportunity, the Republican voters.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator——

Senator DIXON. We carried all wherever the people——

The CHAIRMAN. That is not an answer to the question which I asked you.

Senator DIXON. What special phase?

The CHAIRMAN. I ask you if there is any fact or circumstance within your knowledge relating to or bearing upon the subject of campaign contributions during the preconvention campaign of Col. Roosevelt which has not been called to your attention?

Senator DIXON. Except this: I think pro rata we spent less money with more results than either Mr. Wilson or Mr. Harmon or Champ Clark or Underwood or Taft. We had less money to operate on. The results attained in every case were far out of proportion to the very meager sum that we were able to raise. We carried on during those four months what was equal to a national campaign. We expended as much energy, I think, as ever is done in a national cam-

paign for election. I think there was hardly a State where we went up against the Federal machine with no end of money—in Ohio alone my understanding was that the Taft people spent \$50,000 for a billboard contract. The Wilson people spent far more money than we did in many of the States. The Underwood people spent a great deal of money, as did the Harmon people. I think we had less money in proportion to the work accomplished than any of the preconvention presidential candidates, and I know from pretty fair information the amount of money the other candidates had. It is common rumor that one man gave Mr. Wilson \$48,000 for the preconvention campaign and gave him \$10,000 since this campaign opened.

The CHAIRMAN. At this time I have asked you whether there was anything else.

Senator DIXON. Nothing that I know of specially. I will be very happy to answer any questions from any member of this committee.

Senator OLIVER. Senator Dixon, you are reported in this morning's paper as having used the following language——

Senator DIXON. What paper are you reading from?

Senator OLIVER. I am reading from this morning's New York Sun, and I think it is the same thing that I saw in either one or both of the Washington newspapers. This is part of what you are reported as saying.

Senator DIXON. Read the quotation and I will tell you whether I said it.

Senator OLIVER (reading):

"If they don't call the men I mention," Senator Dixon said last night, "I am going to convict the committee before the people of the cheapest petty larceny political game ever played. I have the facts and the names and am not going to let a cheap bunch of politicians befuddle anybody into believing that the Roosevelt campaigns have been tainted and all the others pure."

Senator DIXON. I do not intend to if I can help it. I do not remember that I used that exact language. I have said all during the past week that it was a queer thing——

Senator OLIVER. I ask you, Senator, simply——

Senator DIXON. I do not remember whether I used that language or not. I may have used worse than that.

Senator OLIVER. Are you aware that that is a very severe arraignment of a man whom, I think, without regard to differences of political opinions, has the respect of everybody who knows him? I refer to the chairman of this committee, Senator Clapp.

Senator DIXON. No man stands higher before this Nation than Senator Clapp, and no man would for one minute be less guilty of that kind of a charge than Senator Clapp.

Senator OLIVER. Are you aware of the fact, which is a fact, that the layout for this week's work of this committee, the summoning of witnesses and the arranging of all the plans, was exclusively in the hands of Senator Clapp, without even a suggestion from any other member of the committee?

Senator DIXON. I know nothing about the arrangement of the committee. I do know this, that in the excited state of public opinion, whatever the purity of a man's purpose may be, that it is not a square deal to devote all of the campaign to investigating Mr. Roosevelt's preconvention and not have Mr. Taft's campaign aired before the

public, and not have the contributions to Governor Wilson's campaign made public.

Senator OLIVER. Senator Dixon——

Senator DIXON. Let me finish my answer.

Senator OLIVER. I asked you a question.

Senator DIXON. I am going to finish my answer.

Senator OLIVER. I would like you to answer the question, and then you can go on and make a stump speech, if you want to.

Senator DIXON. I am not making a stump speech. I know you, Senator Oliver, are bitterly opposed to Roosevelt; I know you are all very bitterly opposed to Roosevelt; I know that four of the five members of this committee are against him, and that three out of the five are supporting Wilson. I say this is a matter of fair play. It is not fair play to have this committee take up the campaign expenses of Roosevelt and not have Mr. Wilson's campaign expenditures and Mr. Taft's campaign expenses, and Mr. Underwood's campaign expenditures and Mr. Clark's expenditures looked into.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Dixon, I want to say a word.

Senator DIXON. That is what I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Your attention has been called to the fact that this has been the act of the chairman, and it is not fair to use the word "committee" in reflecting upon what has been laid out for this week's work.

Senator DIXON. I am not reflecting on what has been laid out for this week's work.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee has shown no disposition to be hostile. They have acted in the utmost good faith, and there is but one man responsible for this week's work.

Senator OLIVER. Now, Senator Dixon, having delivered yourself of your opinions—sentiments—will you be kind enough to answer my question?

Senator DIXON. I will be very happy to. What was your question?

Senator OLIVER. The reporter will read it to you.

(The reporter read the question, as follows:)

Are you aware of the fact, which is a fact, that the layout for this week's work of this committee, the summoning of witnesses, and the arranging of all the plans, was exclusively in the hands of Senator Clapp, without even a suggestion from any other member of the committee?

Senator DIXON. I know nothing about it.

Senator OLIVER. You are very free in your criticism about something that you didn't know anything about.

Senator DIXON. Are you on the stand, Senator Oliver, testifying, or are you making a comment to me?

Senator OLIVER. I am making a comment to you; a very, very just comment it is.

Senator DIXON. What is your comment?

Senator OLIVER. Just what I have said.

Senator DIXON. That I was very free in stating my opinion?

Senator OLIVER. Yes.

Senator DIXON. I am merely reflecting the opinion I got from the newspaper men I have talked with.

Senator OLIVER. On Senator Clapp?

Senator DIXON. Not on Senator Clapp or on anybody else. They say it is not a square deal for the committee to take up the time of the campaign in investigating one candidate and not bring Mr. McCombs here and ask him about Mr. Wilson's expenditures, and not bring Mr. Hilles here and ask him about Mr. Taft's campaign expenditures.

Senator OLIVER. You have just been informed that whatever has been done has been done by Senator Clapp, without even the assistance or suggestion of any other member of the committee. The fact is that Senator Clapp has been here for a month making preparations for this hearing, and the other members of the committee have come here and taken up the work which he has laid out.

Senator DIXON. Let me offer a friendly suggestion to the committee.

Senator OLIVER. The committee is ready to go along in its own way, and, so far as I am concerned, they do not care for any of your friendly suggestions.

Senator DIXON. I will say, Senator Oliver, that your committee acts under the authority of a resolution of the United States Senate, and I would say to this committee to bring Mr. McCombs and Mr. McAdoo and Mr. Hilles here.

Senator OLIVER. I have no doubt they will be brought here.

Senator DIXON. Let us bring Mr. Hilles here before taking up all the time of the campaign. Let us bring Mr. McCombs here. I would like to have Mr. Plant, comptroller of the Southern Railway, brought here, and Thomas F. Ryan, who contributed, I understand, to Mr. Wilson's campaign when he was running for governor—and he contributed very heavily for him since. I would like to have Gov. Harmon's contributions shown, which I understand were a very, very large amount. Let us have all of those here.

Senator PAYNTER. Let me ask you a question. Who has manifested any disposition not to bring those gentlemen here?

Senator DIXON. I want them brought here before the campaign is over.

Senator PAYNTER. I understand, but you are criticizing the committee. Who is manifesting any purpose not to bring them here.

Senator DIXON. But let us bring them here before the campaign is over.

Senator PAYNTER. We have been in session here just three days.

Senator DIXON. All right.

Senator OLIVER. I will proceed.

Senator DIXON. I am merely giving a very friendly suggestion to the committee.

Senator OLIVER. Senator Dixon, now——

Senator DIXON. I would like to have Senator Oliver put on the stand, and see what you spent in Pennsylvania and Pittsburgh. That would be interesting to the country.

Senator OLIVER. Senator Oliver would be very willing to testify in regard to everything he knows about the campaign that is in issue.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. You say you have no account of all the moneys you received or of your expenditures?

Senator DIXON. I kept an account of the expenditures of the Washington office. We had mailing clerks there, mailing literature, and we bought postage and had printing done. No set of books was opened, but I had a memorandum. It was humanly impossible for me, during the hurly-burly of doing most of the work, to do it; but I say to you that about \$52,000 was expended in the printing and distribution of literature, the payment of speakers, and for the headquarters in Washington.

Senator OLIVER. You have already testified to that.

Senator DIXON. Yes; I thought you wanted to——

Senator OLIVER. I just asked you about your keeping of accounts.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. I think I understood you to say that about \$95,000 was received by you.

Senator DIXON. Approximately; in that neighborhood. I gave you the bigger contributions.

Senator OLIVER. I say, about.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. This was independent, was it, of what has been testified to by Mr. Hooker?

Senator DIXON. Absolutely independent of that, except he paid me \$7,500.

Senator OLIVER. Yes.

Senator DIXON. \$7,500. There is one other thing. Emlen Roosevelt gave me \$5,000 for that pre-convention fight. I had forgotten that. Emlen Roosevelt is from New York City and is a cousin of Col. Roosevelt.

Senator OLIVER. So that your expenditures——

Senator DIXON. Was in addition to that testified to by Mr. Hooker.

Senator OLIVER. And as testified to yesterday by Mr. Flinn?

Senator DIXON. Yes. Of course, Flinn has a fight between Penrose and yourself up in Pennsylvania, largely. I will not figure that as a pre-convention expenditure.

Senator OLIVER. Well, we may have some difference of opinion about that, but we will not argue it at present. Was any of your money sent out to different States to assist in the fight in those States?

Senator DIXON. Yes; I sent \$700, I recall, into Nebraska, and we carried the State about 4 to 1 over Taft in the presidential primaries.

Senator OLIVER. Anything else?

Senator DIXON. I do not recall the various amounts.

Senator OLIVER. Well, can you recall the States to which the money was sent?

Senator DIXON. Yes; I sent some money to Washington. I do not recall the special amount. I sent it to three or four different people. In fact one city would write in, and I remember that before the primaries I sent \$300 to some fellow in Tacoma. I do not remember his name. He is some local chairman there. They would wire in that they had a desperate fight on hand, that the Taft men had all the money and all the Federal machines, and they simply had to have the money; and I remember sending \$300 to Tacoma. I remember sending some money to Oregon. All of the States had a little help from time to time.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Hooker testified yesterday that he had sent money in greater or less amounts to the following States: Maryland, Massachusetts, Maine, Vermont, Illinois, Oklahoma, and New York.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. But that he had expended something like \$144,000.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. Then, your \$95,000 in round numbers——

Senator DIXON. Was in addition to that.

Senator OLIVER. Was in addition to that?

Senator DIXON. Yes; that was in place of the \$3,000,000 that was charged in the Senate as being expended by us. There was a story published in some of the newspapers that \$5,000,000 was spent by us.

Senator OLIVER. Did that include anything that was spent in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and California?

Senator DIXON. I think I spent some money in New Jersey. I am pretty sure I did.

Senator OLIVER. About how much?

Senator DIXON. Well, I will put it at twelve hundred or fifteen hundred dollars.

Senator OLIVER. Indiana?

Senator DIXON. I think I sent \$2,000 to Indiana.

Senator OLIVER. Ohio?

Senator DIXON. I spent nothing in Ohio, except for some speakers.

Senator OLIVER. Speaking of Ohio, you suggested Walter Brown as one who would know something of campaign contributions. Would you be offended if I should suggest that Mr. Hanna's name be added?

Senator DIXON. I do not know. Walter Brown was in charge of the Ohio campaign. I think Dan Hanna was helping him to the very best extent of his ability, with his newspaper and in every other way. He was in the fight to a finish.

Senator OLIVER. Did you send any money to West Virginia?

Senator DIXON. I sent some money to West Virginia. I would approximate it as being a couple of thousand dollars.

Senator OLIVER. Might I suggest that Mr. William S. Edwards's name be added?

Senator DIXON. I sent Mr. Edwards no money at all, not as I recall.

Senator OLIVER. Would not he know about contributions to that State?

Senator DIXON. No; Gov. Glasscock was the man I did the business with. I had not met Mr. Edwards until after the Chicago convention.

Senator OLIVER. Did you send any money to Michigan, Missouri, or Tennessee?

Senator DIXON. I sent Gov. Hadley some money. I can not remember the amount. I sent him some money two or three times. He wired me very urgently and I remember that just before the St. Joe primaries he wired me for some money, and also before the St. Louis primaries. I sent nothing to Kansas City, because the sentiment down there was overwhelmingly in favor of Roosevelt. We beat the Taft people about 5,000 to 400 there, as I recall it.

Senator OLIVER. Where?

Senator DIXON. Kansas City; but in St. Louis and St. Joe, the big city primaries, I sent Hadley some money.

Senator OLIVER. As a rule, the amounts you sent to the different States were inconsiderable, as I understand it?

Senator DIXON. About such as I am now detailing to you.

Senator OLIVER. So that substantially all the money that was spent locally throughout the country, outside of these States named by Mr. Hooker, and all of the smaller amounts you sent, was raised by local subscription and from local sources?

Senator DIXON. Well, the reason they demanded money was that the newspapers were largely against us, the men of great wealth were largely against us——

Senator OLIVER. Senator Dixon——

Senator DIXON. And those who usually gave large contributions were against us.

Senator OLIVER. I have no objection to your saying this, but I prefer that you answer my question first.

Senator DIXON. What was the question?

Senator OLIVER. The reporter will read it, and, after you answer it, it will then be perfectly allowable for you to discuss it.

Senator DIXON. I want you to understand the fight we went through and why this money was sent. Read the question and I will illuminate it.

(The question referred to was read by the reporter.)

Senator DIXON. I do not think they were able to raise much money locally.

Senator OLIVER. I say whatever was raised outside of the smaller amounts.

Senator DIXON. Oh, absolutely; there was no other. Hooker and myself handled all of it.

Senator PAYNTER. Before I go into the inquiry, I want to say that I think the Democratic organization can congratulate the Senator upon the argument he has submitted against the Republican organization.

Senator DIXON. Is the Senator from Kentucky testifying now?

Senator PAYNTER. No; but I am sure that they will appreciate it.

Senator DIXON. Oh; the Democrats spent lots more money than we did.

Senator PAYNTER. I am not talking about that.

Senator DIXON. Excuse me. Go ahead. But they have three or four candidates——

Senator PAYNTER. You stated awhile ago, I believe, that somebody on the floor of the Senate or some newspaper had charged that three or five million dollars had been spent.

Senator DIXON. Oh, the Democratic and Taft newspapers used it as being from three to five million. Senator Penrose, on the floor of the Senate, said that they spent three million. I have heard it mentioned in Democratic newspapers that we spent five million.

Senator PAYNTER. So it was generally stated to the country, through the press, that the Progressives had spent from three to five million.

Senator DIXON. Yes; and the Democrats and Taft people were all standing in together in this election against the Progressives, and they are now standing together through the campaign.

Senator PAYNTER. The point of my remark, the purpose I had in view, was to prove by you, if that was true——

Senator DIXON. Oh, no.

Senator PAYNTER. That the country was advised through the newspapers and other sources that from three million to five million had been spent.

Senator DIXON. Yes; they used it indiscriminately, without any regard to the truth.

Senator PAYNTER. You knew it was not the truth?

Senator DIXON. I absolutely knew it was not the truth, and they did, too.

Senator PAYNTER. You think, then, that Senator Clapp treated your organization or Col. Roosevelt unfairly and improperly when he afforded you an opportunity in the very early days of this hearing to explain that matter?

Senator DIXON. I would have been happy to have explained it in September, but the committee had adjourned.

Senator PAYNTER. Don't you think it would be a very just view to take of it, in view of that charge, that Senator Clapp, who is a friend of Roosevelt, afforded your organization an opportunity to explain this matter?

Senator DIXON. Yes; and I want you gentlemen to afford it to the Democratic organization.

Senator PAYNTER. I understand, and you keep repeating that.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. I want to ask you a question now. What member of this committee has manifested any desire to avoid the investigation of that matter?

Senator DIXON. Senator Paynter, you gentlemen——

Senator PAYNTER. Just answer my question.

Senator DIXON. I do not know. I do not know what——

Senator PAYNTER. That answers my question.

Senator DIXON. I know that in this week we are drifting into the early part of October, with four weeks of the campaign, and if this investigation is allowed to drag, the Democrats will never get an opportunity to testify here, and the Taft people will not get an opportunity to testify here. I am asking for pure, practical square-deal politics for this Nation.

Senator PAYNTER. You are assuming what does not exist.

Senator DIXON. I am not assuming anything.

Senator PAYNTER. I want to make a statement. On September 22, 1912, I wrote to Hon. Moses Clapp this letter. Senator Clapp has made a statement here, and I fully approve of what Senator Clapp has done. I want to make that statement in justice to him. [Reading:]

DEAR SIR: I may not get to Washington before the 28th or 29th, owing to the demands on me by some of my personal matters.

I think we should complete the investigation as soon as possible, and I trust you will bring before the committee such persons as you think will give us any information. We can bring others when we desire. My idea is to do all we can each day, and thus complete taking the testimony in a few days.

That is signed by myself.

Senator DIXON. That is very well said. I hope the committee will do it.

Senator PAYNTER. Senator Clapp has made a statement, and I want to repeat that I fully approve of what he did. I have perfect confidence in his integrity and fairness, by reason of my association with him for five years, and I think it was an entirely proper thing for him to afford your organization an opportunity in the earlier stages of this hearing to refute these charges.

Senator DIXON. I would have been happy to have done it on the 1st of September.

Senator PAYNTER. And I think this committee should not be criticized by reason of what Senator Clapp did, because he did that which was eminently fair and proper.

Was the money that Perkins gave you in addition to what Mr. Hooker reported here?

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. How much did he furnish?

Senator DIXON. Approximately \$25,000.

Senator PAYNTER. In addition to what Mr. Hooker reported?

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. How much did Munsey furnish in addition?

Senator DIXON. About the same amount; and Dan Hanna about the same amount.

Senator PAYNTER. That was in addition to what Mr. Hooker reported?

Senator DIXON. Yes. I have said that three or four times.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know Herman Frasch?

Senator DIXON. I never heard tell of him until I read it in the paper.

Senator PAYNTER. I see he contributed.

Senator DIXON. Yes; but not to me or to any fund with which I had any connection.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know anything about his business connections?

Senator DIXON. I never heard tell of him, and do not know who he is.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know whether he is connected with the Sugar Trust or with the Standard Oil?

Senator DIXON. The Sugar Trust is backing Taft, and he certainly could not belong to the Sugar Trust.

Senator PAYNTER. That may be true, but I am asking you whether or not he has any connection with the Sugar Trust or with the Standard Oil Co.

Senator DIXON. It could not be possible, because the Standard Oil and the Sugar Trust are both either for Taft or Wilson, and they are both vicious enemies of Roosevelt and the Progressive Party. Therefore it could not be humanly possible that he could have any connection with either.

Senator PAYNTER. As a matter of fact, you have no knowledge whatever as to whether he has any connection with the Standard Oil Co. or with the Sugar Trust?

Senator DIXON. No; but I know, as a physical fact, that no man connected with the Sugar Trust or with the Standard Oil Co. would help Col. Roosevelt's campaign. They are bitterly opposed to him.

Senator PAYNTER. How can you make that statement, because you say you do not know this man; how can you say he has no connection with them?

Senator DIXON. Because I know that no man of that group of financiers would do it; they are the most vicious enemies of Col. Roosevelt.

Senator PAYNTER. You are stating an opinion and not a fact.

Senator DIXON. No; I am stating what I know to be a fact, what every member of the committee knows to be a fact, and what every newspaper man knows to be a fact—that the Standard Oil Co. and the Sugar Trust are viciously opposed to Roosevelt and the Progressive Party.

Senator PAYNTER. But you say you do not know what this man's connections are in New York.

Senator DIXON. No; but I know he does not belong to that crew.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you tell this committee that he never has had any connection with the Standard Oil Co.?

Senator DIXON. I state to you I never heard tell of him.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all you intend to say—that you never heard of him?

Senator DIXON. I say I never heard tell of him, but that he would be a rare bird indeed if belonging in that flock—in that group of financiers—he would give any money to Roosevelt or the Progressive campaign.

Senator PAYNTER. I wanted information as to whether you knew he had any connection with either the Sugar Trust or the Standard Oil.

Senator DIXON. I am reasoning from the deductive theory now.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know how much money was expended in Ohio in the campaign there by the Progressive Party?

Senator DIXON. I do not.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know it personally; have you ever talked with Brown, of Illinois, or anybody else connected with the organization there, and in the course of conversation have they given information as to what was expended there?

Senator DIXON. I never saw Walter Brown but two or three times in my life. I never made any inquiries.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you ever talk with Hanna about it?

Senator DIXON. I never did. I never asked him about it.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you ever talk to anybody in Ohio?

Senator DIXON. Nobody. I had very positive information that the Taft people spent \$50,000 on billboards in Ohio in the primary campaign. That came to me in a very positive way, from an advertising outfit that wanted us to do the same thing, but I told them we did not have the money.

Senator PAYNTER. Give the name of the advertising firm.

Senator DIXON. I do not remember. It was somebody from Chicago; some letter came into headquarters, and some man called one day at the Washington headquarters.

Senator PAYNTER. And gave you that information?

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. You tell the committee you never talked to anyone as to what was spent in Ohio?

Senator DIXON. No; I do not know what was spent in Ohio and in Pennsylvania, and had nothing to do with it.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you talked with anybody in Illinois who gave you information as to the amount that was expended in the primaries there on behalf of the Progressive Party?

Senator DIXON. Yes; but I would not know who it was. My understanding was that the Illinois primary campaign cost from eighteen to nineteen thousand dollars. That is pure hearsay. I did not expend it. I had nothing to do with it, except I sent Col. Roosevelt in there with special trains.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you ever talked with anyone in Massachusetts?

Senator DIXON. No; I know nothing about the Massachusetts campaign.

Senator PAYNTER. As to the amount of money that was raised there?

Senator DIXON. I heard that the Taft people spent a little over \$200,000. They had the trolley roads, the railroads of New England, the banks, and all the newspapers. I have very positive information that the Taft people spent over \$200,000 in the Massachusetts primaries.

Senator PAYNTER. The gentlemen with whom you talked in Massachusetts did not discuss what the Roosevelt people were spending, but merely what was spent by the Taft people?

Senator DIXON. No; we were so desperately hardup in the early part of the fight that we had nothing to spend.

Senator PAYNTER. Were you desperately hardup before the primary?

Senator DIXON. No; they got pretty angry and there was pretty fierce fighting in the last two or three weeks by the Massachusetts organization.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you ever talk with anybody in Massachusetts as to the amount of money that was expended there in behalf of the Progressives?

Senator DIXON. I never did until I saw the statements in the papers.

Senator PAYNTER. You never have talked with them?

Senator DIXON. No. I did not in Pennsylvania, I did not in Ohio, and I did not in Massachusetts, except that I sent speakers and I sent literature; but the ordinary campaigning, I had nothing whatever to do with.

Senator PAYNTER. When did Perkins make this contribution of \$25,000 to you? Could you give the date of the contribution?

Senator DIXON. No; I could not. Whenever I got desperately hardup I went back.

Senator PAYNTER. You called on Perkins?

Senator DIXON. Yes. All the rest of the plutocrats were backing Taft, except him, and he was about the only place I could go for money.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you delivered a speech in this campaign?

Senator DIXON. I have delivered a few home-made conversational talks to my neighbors.

Senator PAYNTER. I did not know whether you were advertised for an address on this occasion or not.

Senator DIXON. No. I want to help you gentlemen. I want to get to the bottom of it, and I want to help you all I can, if you will let me. I will give you some information. You do not seem anxious to get it.

Senator PAYNTER. If you have any information relating to anything connected with this investigation, I ask you right now to tell it.

Senator DIXON. I am very happy.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not care whom it affects. You will oblige the committee very much.

Senator DIXON. I am very happy. That is the spirit in which I want to go into these investigations.

Senator PAYNTER. That is the spirit of this committee.

Senator DIXON. I compliment you. That is the reason I delivered these first purely friendly remarks, that this thing ought to go into all phases of it. You are approaching it now in a very happy spirit.

I have been informed by a Democrat of standing that Wilson had collected \$48,000 from a man over in Philadelphia, with \$10,000 additional since Mr. Wilson was nominated.

Senator PAYNTER. Give his name.

Senator DIXON. I am just going to. I want to be careful about dragging men's names into this, and that is the reason I want to refer here to a memorandum.

Senator PAYNTER. I see you have a good deal of hesitation about it.

Senator DIXON. No; the committee has more hesitation than I have.

Senator PAYNTER. Oh, no; you are very much mistaken.

Senator DIXON. I wanted Senator Oliver to ask me this question which you are now asking. I would like to suggest to the committee, as a member of the Senate, which body gives you power to sit here, that this committee issue a subpoena for Mr. Josiah Quincy, of Boston, the ex-mayor of Boston; Mr. McAdoo, the vice chairman of the Democratic national committee; Mr. George Harvey, of Harper's Weekly; Col. Henry Watterson; and Mr. McCombs.

You will find from those gentlemen, as I am informed from reliable sources, that a gentleman by the name of Penfield, who lives over at Philadelphia, contributed \$48,000 to Wilson's preconvention campaign and \$10,000 since he has been nominated.

Will the committee accept my suggestion and have these men subpoenaed here?

Senator PAYNTER. I do not think there is the slightest doubt but what they will all be subpoenaed, Senator Dixon.

Senator DIXON. I would like to have Thomas F. Ryan subpoenaed. I am informed on very reliable authority that Thomas F. Ryan contributed \$5,000 through Col. Harvey, of Harper's Weekly, to Mr. Wilson's gubernatorial campaign two years ago. As long as we are going into past expenditures and connecting these great men with them——

Senator PAYNTER. Was that during a congressional campaign?

Senator DIXON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me suggest, Senator Dixon, that this committee has no authority to inquire into any congressional campaign except the congressional campaigns of 1904 and 1908, except as to the

relation which the Standard Oil Co. may have borne to Members of Congress and the Senate since 1900. Nor does our jurisdiction extend to the expenses of the present presidential campaign subsequent to the nominations.

Senator DIXON. Might it not be important as a collateral issue? If some of these gentlemen whom I have recited were subpoenaed here, might not their testimony uncover other things in connection with it—

Senator PAYNTER (interposing). I would suggest you proceed to state to the committee the names of the gentlemen you think can cast some light upon the issues we are charged with investigating.

Senator DIXON. All right. I have been informed, and verily believe, by a prominent Democrat, that Thomas F. Ryan contributed very largely to Mr. Underwood's preconvention campaign; that Senator Bankhead and his son-in-law, Thomas Owen, and his own son, largely handled that. I have been reliably informed by a very prominent Democrat, in whom I have confidence, that Mr. A. H. Plant, comptroller of the Southern Railway Co., here in this city, furnished some of this preconvention campaign fund. I have been informed that Gov. Harmon, of Ohio, who is Senator Pomerene's friend, who was instrumental in his campaign, collected a large amount of money from the big financiers of New York City; that he expended many thousands of dollars in the Ohio campaign. I have been informed that Joseph E. Davis, now western manager at Chicago headquarters for Mr. Wilson, expended about \$35,000 for Mr. Wilson in the preconvention campaign. That a Mr. Orr, of Topeka, Kans., expended several thousands of dollars in that campaign for Mr. Wilson. That Mr. Lynch, of St. Paul, Minn.—what is his first name, Senator Clapp? The Democratic leader?

The CHAIRMAN. Fred B.

Senator DIXON. Fred B. Lynch—this came from Democratic sources to me—expended about \$15,000 in the Minnesota campaign for Mr. Wilson. That Mr. Ed Johnson, of Yankton, S. Dak., expended several thousand dollars for Mr. Wilson in the preconvention campaign there. I am informed that Mr. William F. McKnight, of Grand Rapids, Mich., spent several thousand dollars in the preconvention campaign for Mr. Wilson in that State. I am informed that Mr. McAdoo, the vice chairman of the Democratic national committee, collected, with Mr. McCombs and Josiah Quincy, of Boston, a campaign fund that far exceeded what the Roosevelt people expended in that campaign.

Have any of these gentlemen been subpoenaed to appear before the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, the committee absolutely declines to state what they are doing, except as they state it from day to day through the public press.

Senator DIXON. Excuse me. If it is of interest to the committee—you have asked me about the campaign contributions—I will say to you that I would like to have Mr. Louis Hammerling, of New York City, subpoenaed. He has this foreign bureau—

Senator PAYNTER. I would like to suggest you make out a list of names of people you think could give information touching this matter and give it to the chairman.

Senator DIXON. I want to help the committee.

Senator PAYNTER. I am suggesting how you can do it.

Senator DIXON. I am trying to. I would like to have the committee issue a subpoena for Mr. Louis Hammerling, who is reputed to have purchased the editorial policy of over 200 foreign newspapers for Mr. Taft, with a positive agreement that it should not even print an advertisement for the Roosevelt people if it was offered as a paid advertisement. I am informed he is the advertising manager of the Standard Oil Co. and the American Tobacco Co. On very positive information and belief I am informed that he has been furnished the money to enter into these contracts with these foreign-printed newspapers in the United States. If the committee have any doubt about that part of it, here is a photograph of one of his letters and the contract that went with it, to the owner of one of these foreign newspapers. Will the committee be interested in seeing that? Would that help it?

Senator PAYNTER. I would suggest you give the name of the proprietor of the paper, so he can be summoned.

Senator DIXON. Now, I want to help you to do this. I have told you what we did with this money, how we raised it, and what we did with it. I would like to have Mr. Charles P. Taft subpoenaed by this committee, so as to find out whether or not it is true that he expended \$100,000 four years ago to nominate Mr. William H. Taft in the preconvention campaign.

I want these things investigated now, before the election. As a citizen interested in these things, as a Member of the Senate interested in these things, I ask this. I would like to have Senator Pomerehne put on the stand to testify what he knows about Gov. Harmon's preconvention expenditures. I would like to have Senator Oliver testify what he knows about Mr. Taft's expenditures. I think the Senator from Kentucky might possibly throw some light on some of these Democratic candidates.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, you are absolutely in error there. If you are not more accurate about other things than you are of that, we will not get any information for the record from these men you have mentioned.

Senator DIXON. I would like to read Mr. Hammerling's letter that he sent out to these papers, and the contract that he sent out to be signed, offering this individual paper a thousand dollars. I have very positive information he has bought from one to three hundred papers with an agreement that he should control their editorial policy.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, you have been reminded that our authority does not include the campaign of 1912 subsequent to the nomination of these candidates. If this relates to the preconvention campaign, it is material to this inquiry. If it relates to what is being done now in this campaign, this committee is not authorized, nor is it the proper channel through which to put that.

Senator DIXON. I see Mr. Hammerling's letter offering this paper \$1,000 to let him furnish editorials is dated July 24. I thought it was June 24. I thought it was right at the time of the convention.

If this wholesale purchasing of the means of publicity is going on all over this country at this time, with a gentleman on the stand like that, you might discover some of the sources of the money that was paid out in the preconvention campaigns.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that is true, but you are suggesting a photographic copy of a matter here that is later than the convention. Suggesting the presence of the witness is another thing, of course.

Senator DIXON. I offer this in evidence, Louis Hammerling's photographic signature, to the committee. The Taft people printed a list. They had 242 foreign newspapers——

Senator PAYNTER. What is the date of it?

Senator DIXON. July 24. Would you like me to read it?

Senator PAYNTER. No; we would not, because the chairman has just advised you that this resolution—which is true—does not confer any authority on the committee to investigate anything that has occurred subsequently, and I do not think, under the ruling of the Chair, that it is in good taste in you—although you may be anxious to make a political speech here—to insist upon reading that.

Senator DIXON. Does the Senator from Kentucky, when I make the charge that the newspapers had been bought wholesale with money—money, as we believe, from the American Tobacco Co. and the Standard Oil source; Louis Hammerling bought them by the hundreds—the source of publicity—does the Senate committee of the United States say that it is something that we should not inquire into?

Senator PAYNTER. The Senator from Kentucky says this, following the suggestion of the Chair—which is in accordance with his own view——

Senator DIXON. Does the Senator——

Senator PAYNTER. Wait until I get through. If you have any letters of this kind, or photographs of letters——

Senator DIXON. I have the original of this letter——

Senator PAYNTER. Relating to the campaign before the convention, the committee will be glad to have it. If it was subsequent to that time, as I understand the resolution, we are not charged with that matter, or investigating that matter at all.

Senator DIXON. Will the Senator from Kentucky permit me to say this——

Senator PAYNTER. I suppose I will have to.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Dixon, I want to say this to you: This resolution does not cover the present campaign. Now, if evidence is brought in here upon this campaign, and it is sought to enforce evidence in support or against that, this committee would be powerless to issue process, or to enforce process.

Senator DIXON. I understand that perfectly.

The CHAIRMAN. You are raising an issue here that leaves the committee absolutely powerless to carry out the proposed investigation.

Senator DIXON. Now permit me to suggest this: I see that all of you are lawyers. I used to have a shingle out myself. You are sitting here in the nature of a grand jury. Suppose you are investigating a crime and evidence like this positively came up that a man was doing this thing wholesale.

The CHAIRMAN. In that case——

Senator DIXON. Would not the grand jury call in to see whether or not it might not trace back to some other proposition?

The CHAIRMAN. I have pointed out the distinction between your suggestion to call this man and see what he knows of these things,

within the jurisdiction of the committee, and the suggestion of the putting in evidence here of a photographic copy of something that is evidently, on the face of it, subsequent to the nomination and absolutely beyond the jurisdiction of the committee.

Senator DIXON. That is probably true, but——

The CHAIRMAN. There is the distinction between the two.

Senator DIXON. That is true, but I think a grand jury investigating evidence like that would consider that it very properly and very probably would lead to some other thing in connection with the thing that is to be investigated.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will now take a recess until half-past 1 o'clock.

Accordingly, at 12.15 p m., the committee took a recess until 1.30 o'clock p. m.

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled at 1.30 o'clock p. m.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Is Mr. Sheldon in the room? [After a pause.] If he is not here, we will go on with Senator Dixon. Senator Dixon, you may resume the stand.

TESTIMONY OF HON. JOSEPH M. DIXON—Resumed.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Paynter, I think you were examining Senator Dixon.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not know where I left off, Senator Dixon.

Senator DIXON. Let me correct one statement I made this morning before I forget about it. In testifying about the Penfield contribution to the Wilson campaign. I think you may find, possibly, that it was Mrs. Penfield. instead of Mr. Penfield, who drew the checks; I am not certain. But just bear that in mind.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the Philadelphia party?

Senator DIXON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Senator Dixon, will you make out a list of the witnesses whom you think know something concerning these matters?

Senator DIXON. I will be very happy to.

Senator PAYNTER. You need not stop to do it now, but before you leave here, because it will help the committee.

Senator DIXON. I would especially like the chairmen of these various preconventions and managers of the campaigns, I would like to have Mr. McCombs and Mr. McAdoo——

Senator PAYNTER. I do not mean for you to give them to the reporter now, but hand them to the chairman. That is the proper place to give them, anyway.

Senator DIXON. All right.

Senator PAYNTER. Senator, I believe you have said that Mr. Perkins had contributed about \$25,000 before the convention or during it, at least before the conclusion of the Chicago convention, in addition to what Mr. Hooker reported that he had contributed?

Senator DIXON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. And Mr. Munsey contributed a like amount?

Senator DIXON. Yes, sir. Yes; he and Munsey and Dan Hanna were the three large contributors.

Senator PAYNTER. Who else contributed a large amount?

Senator DIXON. Mr. William Eno gave \$10,000, two \$5,000 contributions. Mr. Pinchot's aunt gave me two \$2,500 contributions, one along in the spring and one toward the latter part, when we were desperately hard up for money.

Senator PAYNTER. Senator, I would be very glad if you would tell the committee——

Senator DIXON (interposing). Mr. Emlen Roosevelt gave me \$5,000. Those are the large ones.

Senator PAYNTER. He appears as one of the contributors in the list made by Mr. Hooker?

Senator DIXON. Yes. I think he gave Hooker some as well as some to me.

Senator PAYNTER. I wish you would give to the committee the dates, as nearly as you can, of the several contributions made by Perkins to you.

Senator DIXON. It would be wholly impossible. I could not approximate that, Senator. It was two or three times.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, I should think a large amount like that you might possibly carry in your mind the amount given at each time.

Senator DIXON. Well, it was not given in one lump sum.

Senator PAYNTER. I understand that.

Senator DIXON. I would say seven or eight times those three gentlemen made contributions.

Senator PAYNTER. How much of it, if any, was given during the Chicago convention?

Senator DIXON. None.

Senator PAYNTER. How much, say, a week or 10 days before that?

Senator DIXON. Now this would be only an approximation. Our expense part of the campaign had been closed up, you know. The New Jersey primaries were the last. That was some time about the 25th of May. I think Ohio was late. The last that these gentlemen gave me was to clean up some accounts that I had. I remember the long-distance telephone and the telegraph bills were to be paid.

Senator PAYNTER. Most of these sums were given before the primaries took place in States in which they occurred?

Senator DIXON. There was no specific time. It commenced at the beginning. I think Mr. Munsey gave me \$3,300; that was the original amount that I got from anybody. I tried to arrange the matter so that one of these men would not have to carry the burden more than the others.

Senator PAYNTER. Was that given at different times?

Senator DIXON. Yes, sir; several different times.

Senator PAYNTER. And the same is true as to Hanna? Did he give his that way?

Senator DIXON. His was the same way.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not recall, but I do not believe you have given the statement as to the expenditures of the sums that were contributed.

Senator DIXON. There was about \$52,000 expended in the Washington office. That was for printing literature. I remember I sent into the State of Nebraska over a hundred thousand pieces of literature. Several of the other States were likewise supplied with literature.

I would flood them with documents. There was about \$52,000, as I remember it, approximately, expended in the Washington headquarters in printing, and so forth.

Senator PAYNTER. You mean all that was for literature and for clerk hire in the office?

Senator DIXON. Oh, no. Most of it.

Senator PAYNTER. You mean it was distributed in the Washington office?

Senator DIXON. No. It was distributed in a general way. At times we would have 30 girls up there mailing stuff. We had many stenographers, naturally. We had a big stock room over there, where we shipped literature by the million pieces. Our telegraph tolls would run up to twelve or fifteen hundred dollars a month. Our long-distance telephone would run up, approximately, I think, to eight or nine hundred dollars a month. To talk with Indianapolis and Boston is a matter that runs up into dollars rapidly. But that \$52,000 was for the maintenance of the Washington office, the printing and distributing of literature, the payment of the pay rolls, and long-distance phones, and various matters of that kind.

Senator PAYNTER. Senator, what connection did Mr. McHarg have with your committee or with you?

Senator DIXON. With me. I got Mr. McHarg myself. He had handled the contests four years before.

Senator PAYNTER. You need not go into the reason for his employment.

Senator DIXON. I want to tell you why I got him. It will take but a brief moment. McHarg knew all about the southern country. He had been through it with Frank Hitchcock in the campaign four years before.

Senator PAYNTER. Senator, I am not questioning the propriety of employing him at all.

Senator DIXON. Not at all. It was perfectly legitimate. I was very glad to get him. It was humanly impossible for me to handle it. He looked after the contests very faithfully and well.

Senator PAYNTER. So he was selected by your committee?

Senator DIXON. He was selected by me personally.

Senator PAYNTER. What States in the South did he visit?

Senator DIXON. You would have to ask him in particular; I do not really remember. He made one southern and western trip; he made a northwestern trip.

Senator PAYNTER. How much time did he spend in the South?

Senator DIXON. Oh, not very much. He hurried through.

Senator PAYNTER. Could you approximate the time that he spent there?

Senator DIXON. I do not think on all those trips he was over 10 days away from the Washington office.

Senator PAYNTER. Was he in the Washington office?

Senator DIXON. Yes, sir. You see, we had contests in Texas; we had them in Washington; we had them in Indiana. I remember one trip he made to Indiana specially to look after the contests.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you send any money to the Southern States?

Senator DIXON. Yes, sir. I sent some money to the Southern States. We had no organization there. We did not have a Federal

officeholder with us. We simply had to build it up from the ground. Not a great deal of money went to the Southern States; probably five hundred to some and maybe a thousand to others. I remember sending to North Carolina, I think, \$1,500. I think there was a thousand dollars sent to Georgia.

Senator PAYNTER. And any to South Carolina?

Senator DIXON. South Carolina probably four hundred or five hundred dollars; I do not recall.

Senator PAYNTER. And to Florida?

Senator DIXON. I think there was some sent to Florida to organize those conventions.

Senator PAYNTER. What conventions do you mean?

Senator DIXON. The conventions to elect these protesting delegates to Chicago; where they thought that under the statutes there had been no legal convention held; and I do not think there had been.

Senator PAYNTER. So that it was to aid in holding the meetings?

Senator DIXON. Pure and simple.

Senator PAYNTER. That was held subsequent to the meetings in which the so-called Taft delegates were elected?

Senator DIXON. Absolutely.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you send any money to Louisiana?

Senator DIXON. I do not recall whether there was any sent to Louisiana or not. I am under the impression there was not.

Senator PAYNTER. You say McHarg had some connection with organizing the convention to which you have just referred?

Senator DIXON. Yes. He went South and conferred with those various local leaders. Some of them came into Washington. He can tell you about that. I turned that over to him. North Carolina I handled myself, because I was born and raised there and knew the situation. I handled North Carolina myself.

Senator PAYNTER. So Mr. McHarg was connected with the committee?

Senator DIXON. Yes; he was connected with me, and he was a very faithful worker.

Senator PAYNTER. And handled the contests at Chicago?

Senator DIXON. Yes; handled the contests at Chicago. Bainbridge Coolidge and George Ricker, of New Jersey, helped, and there was one man from Georgia—a young lawyer—I can not recall his name; he was a young fellow; he helped. Comer, of Arkansas, helped with the contests. Beveridge helped in Indiana.

Senator PAYNTER. Before the national committee?

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. I was not interested in that.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. I was speaking of the expenditures that had been made in the Southern States.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. I believe that is all I have to ask the Senator.

Senator POMERENE. Senator, did you keep any account of the contributions you received—any book account, I mean?

Senator DIXON. I had a memorandum. The bigger accounts I knew. I kept no account of those, because I knew what they were. There were lots of little dollars and five dollars. I had a list of all

of those at one time, but where it is I do not know. It probably approximated three or four thousand dollars.

Senator POMERENE. That is, all these smaller contributions?

Senator DIXON. All the smaller contributions.

Senator POMERENE. And what was the amount of the larger?

Senator DIXON. You heard what I said.

Senator POMERENE. I did hear, but I have not in mind the figures.

Senator DIXON. We intended to keep these three main contributors on a par. It approximated about \$25,000.

Senator POMERENE. I do not care for a repetition of the testimony.

Senator DIXON. I thought you did.

Senator POMERENE. What I had in mind was the sum total.

Senator DIXON. All right. There was \$10,000 from Mr. Eno, \$5,000 from Mrs. Wood, \$5,000 from Emlen Roosevelt, and \$1,000 from a Mr. Montgomery, of Pennsylvania. I do not know his full name. That contribution came in the mail one morning. He said he was interested in this fight. I had never heard of him before that and have never seen or talked to him since. I remember a \$5,000 contribution from Mr. Butler, who lives out here in Chevy Chase. Those are the larger ones. There are no other large ones that I now recall. These estimates were made from time to time, and I would have gotten hold of more if it had been possible to get hold of it.

Senator POMERENE. That would approximate \$29,500, assuming that the smaller contributions amounted to \$3,000.

Senator DIXON. Between \$3,000 and \$5,000, I think, the smaller contributions.

Senator POMERENE. You have spoken of a number of checks which you have received from Perkins and from Hanna, and so forth.

Senator DIXON. No; they were not checks.

Senator POMERENE. Well, whatever they were.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. What were they?

Senator DIXON. They were currency.

Senator POMERENE. Very well.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Was that paid to you personally?

Senator DIXON. Paid to me personally.

Senator POMERENE. Was any part of this included in the expense account which has been furnished here by the treasurer, Mr. Hooker?

Senator DIXON. I don't think so. That was paid to me. He had nothing to do with it.

Senator POMERENE. How much of that money was there, all told?

Senator DIXON. I have already stated.

Senator POMERENE. I know you have given the different amounts, and so forth. I am asking you for the total.

Senator DIXON. I have not figured it up. It was somewhere, as I estimated this morning, around \$95,000 or \$96,000.

Senator POMERENE. You kept no account of it at all?

Senator OLIVER. You said \$99,000, Senator.

Senator DIXON. Whatever it was.

Senator POMERENE. I think it was in the neighborhood of \$95,000 to \$100,000.

Senator DIXON. Somewhere in that neighborhood.

Senator POMERENE. So we understand that you received and disbursed yourself something like \$99,000, no part of which appeared in the expense account which was filed——

Senator DIXON. \$7,500 of that Mr. Hooker gave to me.

Senator POMERENE. Let me finish my question.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. No part of which appears in the expense account filed by Mr. Hooker?

Senator DIXON. Yes; \$7,500.

Senator POMERENE. Were there any other amounts?

Senator DIXON. That is all I now recall.

Senator POMERENE. Now, another matter: You have testified that you had information as to the vast sums of money which were paid by a number of these candidates.

Senator DIXON. Coming from a very eminent Democrat.

Senator POMERENE. We will get to that. We will take, for instance, President Taft first. From whom did you get that information.

Senator DIXON. Oh, from a hundred sources.

Senator POMERENE. Name them, please.

Senator DIXON. Why, if you will give me time. In those States—they levied on the Federal office holders in all the States that would stand for it. In the Southern States they made them put up 10 per cent of their salary.

Senator POMERENE. I believe you said you were a lawyer, and you realize that that is not answering my question.

Senator DIXON. Just give me time, and I will answer it with all the particularity I can.

Senator POMERENE. With your lawyer's ability, you know that the proper thing is to answer the question directly, and if you wish to make an explanation afterwards I will give you the opportunity.

Senator DIXON. Yes; and I will take the opportunity to answer as best I can.

Senator POMERENE. Will you state——

Senator DIXON. I can not answer yes or no.

Senator POMERENE. Who were your informants?

Senator DIXON. My informants as to what Taft spent?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Senator DIXON. Some advertising men, two of them.

Senator POMERENE. Name them.

Senator DIXON. I don't recall their names.

Senator POMERENE. Where were these advertising men from?

Senator DIXON. They came to me here at the Washington office, one of them, and told me about these billboard advertisements that the Taft people had put out in the State of Ohio. I think Walter Brown gave me an estimate that he had understood that the Taft people spent on billboards alone about \$50,000 in the Ohio campaign, and I was in Ohio myself, and I went to Columbus and Cincinnati and saw that every billboard in sight was covered with Taft advertising. I know, as a man who has had something to do with advertising, that that can not be done except at vast expense.

Senator POMERENE. Being a lawyer, do you regard that as an answer to my question?

Senator DIXON. I regard that as an answer to your question.

Senator POMERENE. My question was, Who were your informants?

Senator DIXON. I am just starting to tell you one item.

In Massachusetts, if you will give me time—I can not answer yes or no to a question like that, as to the whole United States.

Senator POMERENE. I think I understand that, if you would give us the names of your informants, you would not be expected to answer it by saying yes or no.

Senator DIXON. You just tell me how you would like to have me answer your questions.

Senator POMERENE. I have asked you who were your informants. Give us the names of your informants as to the amount of the expenses of the Taft campaign.

Senator DIXON. Why, I can not sit here and tell you the men who saw their books. You know that is humanly impossible. That is the reason I want you to summon Mr. Hilles and these gentlemen, to find out in particular.

SENATOR POMERENE. You said you wanted to give us this information, and I have asked you who your informants were.

Senator DIXON. A thousand men and women, all over this country.

Senator POMERENE. Will you name them?

Senator DIXON. I started with Ohio, and you stopped me from giving the information.

Senator POMERENE. No; I beg you pardon.

Senator DIXON. And I went to Massachusetts——

Senator POMERENE. You are trying to give what the information was. I asked you who your informants were.

Senator DIXON. I am saying to you that it was probably from a thousand different sources that I got this information.

Senator POMERENE. Now, will you name them?

Senator DIXON. I am starting to, but I propose to have a few moments' conversation while I am testifying myself.

Senator POMERENE. I think we can get along very much more rapidly by having you answer my questions first.

Senator DIXON. I shall either answer them or will not answer them.

Senator POMERENE. Will you name your informants?

Senator DIXON. Yes; I am going to. In the Massachusetts campaign, where the Taft people have the backing of every steam railroad, practically, every trolley line, nearly all the banks, nearly all the newspapers, and nearly all the big manufacturing concerns in the State of Massachusetts——

Senator POMERENE. Now, Senator——

Senator DIXON. The Massachusetts men who were conducting our campaign——

Senator POMERENE. Just one moment. My question is, who were your informants. Are you going to answer that or not?

Senator DIXON. Now, Senator Pomerene, I will answer this in my own way, as I am trying to do it now. Now, if you want to know these things I am going to tell you. If you are trying to be technical I can not tell you.

Senator POMERENE. I am asking you for the names of your informants. If you want to give the information you got from each one, I have no objection, but it seems to me——

Senator DIXON. I have examined just as many witnesses in court as you have, Senator POMERENE, and I know when the lawyer wants to know the truth and when he wants to be technical. Now, I will give you the truth, if you will be quiet and let me answer the question.

Senator POMERENE. I insist that you shall name the informants.

Senator DIXON. That is what I am trying to do. If you were the attorney for Mr. Taft in this campaign and wanted to forbid me from giving you the information——

Senator POMERENE. I am not trying to close your mouth to any possible information that you can give the committee.

Senator DIXON. All right, then, permit me to testify.

Senator POMERENE. I insist that you shall name the informant, and then you can give the information if you so desire.

Senator DIXON. That is what I am trying to do and what I am going to do. I am giving you the information where you can get it. I can not go in and see the books. I can not subpoena witnesses, but I am going to tell this committee, if they want to hear it, where they can get this information.

I went to Massachusetts early in that primary fight. We had but one newspaper there. I asked them what about finances, and they said they had none. I think they had collected three or four thousand dollars at that time. Matthew Hale and the man who is assistant prosecuting attorney up there, I asked about the other people, and they told me about the meetings that were held.

Senator POMERENE. Who told you?

Senator DIXON. I just said Mr. Matthew Hale and the assistant district attorney at Boston.

Senator POMERENE. Very well.

Senator DIXON. They told me of the various activities of the Taft campaign managers in Massachusetts, and it was on their statement and that of other leaders in Massachusetts that they estimated, in comparison with their own campaign, that the Taft people had spent over \$200,000 in the State of Massachusetts.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you have given your informants as to the Massachusetts expenditures. Who were your informants as to the other expenditures in other sections of the country?

Senator DIXON. Our own leaders. I can not remember the individual names. You know and I know as men who have handled political campaigns, from the activities displayed, the meetings held, the advertising done, that you can make a pretty good estimate of what a State campaign costs.

Senator POMERENE. Your statement was that you had information——

Senator DIXON. Yes; I am giving it to you.

Senator POMERENE. As to vast sums of money. I have asked you to name your informants. Do you understand that?

Senator DIXON. Yes; and I can tell you where you can get it, without going into all the details. Just subpoena the Taft campaign managers here and ask them. They will tell you.

Senator POMERENE. I insist that you shall answer my question. Will you give the names of your informants?

Senator DIXON. I am telling you now where you can get it, if you want it. Now, you can not befuddle this thing with technical questions, and ask me if I saw any money paid.

Senator POMERENE. I did not ask you that. I asked you who your informants were.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Will you tell the committee that?

Senator DIXON. I have told you who they were in Ohio, and I came down for the last two mornings on the street car with you, on the New Jersey line——

Senator POMERENE. What was said on the subject there?

Senator DIXON. You said the Taft people were spending a vast amount of money in Ohio. I remember the conversation specifically one morning, Senator Pomerene.

Senator POMERENE. I remember going home with you one night. I do not recall any talk with you on the subject of the expenditure of money.

Senator DIXON. I remember it very distinctly. I heard it from hundreds of men, all around.

Senator POMERENE. Name any others that you can.

Senator DIXON. Well, now, take the southern campaigns. It came up from all our leaders down there that the administration forces, Jackson, in Georgia—now, I do not remember which one of the Georgians told me the story that he had levied—had sent out a 10 per cent levy upon every postmaster and official in the State of Georgia.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have that talk with Jackson?

Senator DIXON. No; some of the Georgia Roosevelt leaders had.

Senator POMERENE. Who were the Georgia leaders that told you this?

Senator DIXON. I do not know as they told it to me, but the information came to me from various sources.

Senator POMERENE. Who told you about it?

Senator DIXON. I don't remember who told me about it.

Senator POMERENE. Take up some other States.

Senator DIXON. That kind of information came from every State in the Union.

Senator POMERENE. Who told you about these vast expenditures in any other State than those you have named?

Senator DIXON. I was told by some one that the Sugar Trust in the State of Michigan financed the Taft campaign there.

Senator POMERENE. Who was your informant?

Senator DIXON. I can not recall the man. It might have been Frank Knox. I don't remember; some of our people. That was the information that came to our headquarters, and when the convention was held, I know that the proprietor of the sugar factory allowed a man in the basement with 50 of his men to keep our delegates out of the hall.

Now, I was told in New York—you can find this out; it was common rumor there—that delegates on the Taft ticket in New York City, some of them at least, were assessed \$5,000 apiece.

Senator POMERENE. Do you mean to tell the committee that your reliable information is based on rumor?

Senator DIXON. Oh, you know, Senator Pomerene, and I know, that in estimating the activities in a political campaign, unless you have the power to subpoena witnesses—I can not swear to the exact

amount, you can not. But you know, as a practical politician, that you can give a very good guess at the amount of money being expended in a State campaign from the meetings held, the advertising done, the halls rented, the bands hired, which all goes to show how much this campaign is approximately costing.

Senator POMERENE. Will you state who your informants are as to the expenditures in New York City and in New York State?

Senator DIXON. I could not tell you the men. I have heard it from various men in New York City.

Senator POMERENE. Will you name your informants as to any further information you have touching the expenditures in the Taft campaign?

Senator DIXON. I can not go and give you the men who wrote the checks; I did not see it done. You knew that when you asked me that question.

Senator POMERENE. Did I ask you that question?

Senator DIXON. The committee should find out these things.

Senator POMERENE. We are trying to find out. You have made a good many assertions here, dealing in generalities, and I want details.

Senator DIXON. I have given you the names of men to subpoena here to get the details. I did not handle the money.

Senator POMERENE. Can you name anyone else from whom you got specific information touching the amounts of the Taft expenditures?

Senator DIXON. Yes; I heard Mr. Flinn tell as to the great expenditures of money in Pittsburgh.

Senator POMERENE. That is one. Name another.

Senator DIXON. Oh, I don't remember. I can not go into the details. It was generally discussed among men who were active in the campaign.

Senator POMERENE. Can you name anyone else?

Senator DIXON. I might if I had time to sit down and cogitate about it.

Senator POMERENE. Can you recall anyone else now?

Senator DIXON. I am giving you information. You are assuming the attitude of Mr. Taft's attorney. I am telling you where you can get these things, Senator Pomerene. Subpoena these men; subpoena Mr. Hilles; subpoena Charley Taft. Ask him.

Senator POMERENE. Let me suggest——

Senator DIXON (interposing). Subpoena Charley Taft.

Senator POMERENE (continuing). That your legal knowledge ought to suggest to you the propriety, when you are on the witness stand, of your acting as a witness and not as an attorney.

Senator DIXON. Yes; and I am acting here as a witness. I am acting here as a Member of the Senate, just as much interested in this as you; and I do not propose to have a Senate committee assume a technical attitude when I am here trying to give you information.

Senator POMERENE. Let me suggest to you, Senator, that we are here to get any information we can.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. We have no favors to bestow upon any living man or any party whatsoever.

Senator DIXON. All right. I am trying to help you get the means of information.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I am trying to extract some information, if I can; but I dislike to perform the function of an obstetrician upon a witness in order to deliver it.

Senator DIXON. You are not performing that function on me, not for a minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Dixon, will you step aside for a moment and let Mr. Sheldon take the stand?

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE R. SHELDON—Resumed.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Sheldon, you have already testified before the committee?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Mainly with regard to the expenditures of the Republican national committee during the campaign of 1908?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. When you were treasurer?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. I now want to ask you a few questions with regard to the campaign of 1904. As I understand, you were not officially connected with the committee?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Were you in touch with Mr. Bliss during the 1904 campaign, to any extent; and if so, to what extent?

Mr. SHELDON. I was helping Mr. Bliss in collecting contributions to the campaign fund.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Cannon testified this morning that Mr. Bliss submitted his report to him for audit after the close of that campaign.

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Did you ever see that report?

Mr. SHELDON. I did.

Senator OLIVER. Now, Mr. Sheldon, I would like you to tell the committee what you remember about the contributors to that fund, whatever your memory recalls.

Mr. SHELDON. Of my personal knowledge——

Senator OLIVER (interposing). Who were the main contributors, for instance?

Mr. SHELDON. If you will allow me, Senator. Of my personal knowledge, I know nothing about the large contributors to the campaign of 1904. When I took charge as treasurer of the national committee in 1908 Mr. Bliss handed to me a copy of a list of the important contributors in the campaign of 1904. I looked over that list, and as a large part of that campaign fund had been contributed by corporations, and as I could not under the law accept any contributions from corporations, I put it aside and returned it to Mr. Bliss.

Senator OLIVER. You mention a "large part." About what proportion was contributed by corporations?

Mr. SHELDON. To be perfectly frank, Senator, 73½ per cent was contributed by corporations.

Senator OLIVER. Having made that examination, you certainly remember some of those contributors?

Mr. SHELDON. I do.

Senator OLIVER. I would like to have you state what was contributed by those which attracted your attention.

Mr. SHELDON. You understand, Senator, I have been actively engaged either as a lieutenant or in charge of political campaigns, nationally, in the State of New York and in the city of New York since 1896, and it is very difficult for me to remember or differentiate or to place into one of those campaigns many of the contributors. It would be impossible for me to remember.

Senator OLIVER. Still, I think, Mr. Sheldon, the large ones would naturally remain in your mind. Was there any contribution made by the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. How much?

Mr. SHELDON. A hundred thousand dollars, as appeared on that list. I am stating not what I know; I am stating my recollection as to a list.

Senator OLIVER. As to the list; yes.

Mr. SHELDON. It was not on the list as the Standard Oil Co. It was on the list as John D. Archbold.

Senator OLIVER. What other very large contributions do you remember? Or what other contributions of any amount?

Mr. SHELDON. J. P. Morgan & Co., \$100,000; Henry C. Frick, \$100,000; George J. Gould, \$100,000.

Senator OLIVER. Any others?

Mr. SHELDON. I remember no other. Those probably remain in my memory on account of their size.

Senator PAYNTER. Is that list in existence which was turned over to you?

Mr. SHELDON. I returned it to Mr. Bliss.

Senator PAYNTER. So you have not it in your possession?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I believe, when you were on the stand before, some reference was made to the Harriman contribution, of a sum which he raised, \$250,000. Was it while you were on the stand that that matter was mentioned?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I thought so, but I had not examined the testimony. I think I asked you if you knew anything about it.

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I remember that somebody called my attention to some correspondence that had taken place between you and Col. Roosevelt.

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you detail, in your testimony before, the circumstances out of which that correspondence arose?

Mr. SHELDON. I think I did, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I would be glad if you would repeat it. I do not recall fairly just what you said.

Mr. SHELDON. It was detailed in my letter.

Senator PAYNTER. Was your letter in the testimony?

Mr. SHELDON. I do not remember.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you copies of those letters with you?

Mr. SHELDON. I have not.

Senator PAYNTER. I will be very glad if you will detail the circumstances out of which that correspondence took place.

Mr. SHELDON. Do you want the whole story?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; I would like to have it.

Mr. SHELDON. Very well; you shall have it.

Soon after the election of 1904 the press took up this controversy between Mr. Harriman and President Roosevelt in regard to the question as to whether, at the request of Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Harriman had not raised a large fund for the national committee. And so it went on. It came up every once in a while in the press, charging Col. Roosevelt with having sent for Mr. Harriman to raise a large sum of money for his campaign.

It happened about, I should say, some time in March, when I was going up to the Union League Club——

Senator PAYNTER (interposing). This last March?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir; I think so. I think it was about then. I happened to read in the English Post a reiteration of the statement in regard to how the fund, that particular fund, was raised. As I went into the Union League Club the doorman told me Col. Roosevelt was there, and I went up to see him. After talking over some matters in regard to his position and the situation I said to him, "Here is a reiteration of the old story. Why has not somebody told the truth about it?" He said, "I have always felt rather sore because neither Cortelyou nor Bliss has ever told the story in regard to that fund." I said, "I know all about it, and I will tell it." He said, "Will you do that?" I said, "Certainly, I will do it."

So I wrote him a letter of just what happened.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, could you state the substance of the letter; you have not a copy of it with you?

Mr. SHELDON. I stated it in my last testimony, Senator.

Senator PAYNTER. If that is the case, very well. I had forgotten it.

Mr. SHELDON. That is the whole thing that led up to it, and you have the story in my testimony.

Senator PAYNTER. So you made the suggestion to the colonel that you knew in regard to it?

Mr. SHELDON. I did.

Senator PAYNTER. Gov. Odell has been on the stand since you were and I was not present and had not read his testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. On page 113 of the record you will see a quotation which is a part of the letter, I think. I read from the letter.

Senator PAYNTER. You say, "It never entered into the treasury of the committee which had charge of the presidential election." As I understand the matter, the national committee was under some kind of promise to the State committee to furnish a certain amount of money.

Mr. SHELDON. That I do not know.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not know about that?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not know that Mr. Bliss then furnished that to relieve the committee of the obligation it placed itself under to the State committee, of which Gov. Odell was chairman?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. So Gov. Odell knew about that better than you could possibly know, because you have no knowledge on the subject?

Mr. SHELDON. None whatever.

Senator PAYNTER. When you say in this letter that it never entered the treasury of the committee, you mean that the checks or drafts that were given Mr. Harriman were turned over to the State committee without having gone through the hands of the committee and paid out on vouchers, etc.?

Mr. SHELDON. I mean this, Senator: Mr. Bliss's accounts were balanced—disbursements on one side, receipts on the other and balanced—and below it, "Received from several individuals and paid direct to the chairman of the State committee, \$240,000." That is the reason I say it did not go into the national committee.

Senator PAYNTER. You mean it did not enter into the account kept by Mr. Bliss?

Mr. SHELDON. I am telling you just what the sheets bore in the footnote, "Received from individuals and transmitted direct to the State chairman."

Senator POMERENE. What was that amount?

Mr. SHELDON. It was either \$236,000 or \$240,000.

Senator PAYNTER. Your idea is that justice to Col. Roosevelt required that it should be made to appear, under the impression that you had that that was true, that it was not collected by the national committee, but it was actually collected by the State committee, and therefore it was not collected in any sense for the committee that was interested in conducting the national campaign?

Mr. SHELDON. It was collected at the direct appeal of Benjamin B. Odell, chairman of the State committee.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not know what took place between Mr. Harriman and Mr. Odell?

Mr. SHELDON. I do not.

Senator PAYNTER. Or between Mr. Bliss and Gov. Odell?

Mr. SHELDON. Personally?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; I mean personal knowledge.

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Your statement, then, was based upon the absence principally, I presume; that it did not appear in the account as having been charged to the committee or accredited to the committee in payment to Odell?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. The fact would still remain as to what took place between Odell and Bliss and between Odell and Harriman and between Bliss and Harriman?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all I care to ask.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Sheldon, in what form was this account which was sent to you by Mr. Bliss?

Mr. SHELDON. Sir?

Senator POMERENE. In what form was it—in a book?

Mr. SHELDON. You mean the money?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. SHELDON. No; it was on just two long sheets of paper, with the disbursement on one side and the receipts on the other, but only in lump—the receipts.

Senator POMERENE. Well, as I understood you—possibly I misunderstood you—

Mr. SHELDON. You asked me the accounts, Senator. I had a copy of the list of contributors also.

Senator POMERENE. Was this in book form or was it on separate sheets of paper?

Mr. SHELDON. It was in book form, in a small book.

Senator POMERENE. An ordinary account book?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir; in a small book about that size [indicating]. It simply had perhaps a hundred and fifty names in it: perhaps two hundred; I do not remember.

Senator POMERENE. You are speaking now of the list of contributors?

Mr. SHELDON. I am.

Senator POMERENE. I did not understand that. Now, did that same book contain the expenditures, the account of expenditures?

Mr. SHELDON. Not that same book; no, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And about how many contributors were named therein?

Mr. SHELDON. In that book?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. SHELDON. I should say perhaps 150 to 200.

Senator POMERENE. Those were contributors of larger amounts?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What were the smallest amounts, if you recall, approximately?

Mr. SHELDON. I should say from \$1,000 up.

Senator POMERENE. From \$1,000 up?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you remember the total of those contributions as contained in that book?

Mr. SHELDON. In that book; no, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you have given different names here, four different firms. Do you remember the names of any other firms or persons?

Mr. SHELDON. I do not; I read it here once.

Senator POMERENE. Would you recall any of them if they were to be named?

Mr. SHELDON. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Well, to call your attention to a matter that became a matter of common information afterwards, were there any contributions there from the life insurance companies in New York?

Mr. SHELDON. Senator, I could not say whether I knew it from my own memory or from testimony that I know so much about. It has been given time and time again.

Senator POMERENE. That is, you do not recall whether there was a contribution there from the New York Life, the New York Mutual, or from the Equitable?

Mr. SHELDON. I do not, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Well, do you remember, so that there may be no question between us? You do not say these names were not there; you simply mean to say that you have no personal recollection about it?

Mr. SHELDON. That is what I mean to say.

Senator POMERENE. I so understood. Do you remember any other names of individuals?

Mr. SHELDON. I could not say. No; I do not.

Senator POMERENE. Do you remember the name of Havemeyer?

Mr. SHELDON. I do not.

Senator POMERENE. Or of the Sugar Trust or companies?

Mr. SHELDON. I do not.

Mr. POMERENE. Do you remember the names of any railway corporations appearing there?

Mr. SHELDON. I do not; there were quite a number of them, but what they were I do not remember.

Senator POMERENE. Now, did you have a detailed statement of the expenditures?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. That also was furnished you by Mr. Bliss?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. At the same time?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Was that in a separate book?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir; that was on the other side of the double sheet paper which I spoke of.

Senator POMERENE. Now, do you recollect any of those items of expense?

Mr. SHELDON. They were tabulated under heads—literary bureau, speakers' bureau, executive committee expenses, traveling expenses, special cars, contributions to States—but what they were ad item I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Was there any entry in this account showing a refunder to the Standard Oil Co. or to John D. Archbold of \$100,000?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Nothing of that sort?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, this purported to be a complete statement of expenditures, did it?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And you have no reason to believe that it was not?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You speak of this \$236,000 or \$240,000, and you are a little indefinite as to the amount it took—that is, your memory is not clear about it, I mean to say?

Mr. SHELDON. No; it was either one of the two.

Senator POMERENE. Where was that entered in this account?

Mr. SHELDON. As I told you, on one side of this sheet of paper were the expenditures, we will say, footing up \$1,800,000. Mind you, Senator, the figures I am giving are not——

Senator POMERENE. I understand you.

Mr. SHELDON. You say eighteen hundred thousand dollars; on the other side, receipts, State of New York, State of Pennsylvania, State of this, State of that; total, eighteen hundred thousand dollars, balancing the other account, and below it, the account having been balanced below it, that footnote, "Received from individuals and delivered direct to the chairman of the State of New York, two hundred and thirty-six or two hundred and forty thousand dollars." Perfectly simple.

Senator POMERENE. Now, did that contain the names of the contributors?

Mr. SHELDON. It did not.

Senator POMERENE. Just simply a statement, "Received from individuals."

Mr. SHELDON. That was all.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all I care to ask.

Senator PAYNTER. I desire to ask a question or two. Mr. Sheldon, what was your purpose in writing the letter to Col. Roosevelt? I think I know, but I would like you to state it.

Mr. SHELDON. Col. Roosevelt has been a friend of mine for 30 years, and I did it as a matter of justice to him, as I would do it for you.

Senator PAYNTER. You thought it would appear less objectionable to the country if he made the solicitation for the State committee than for the national committee? Was that the idea in your mind?

Mr. SHELDON. My idea was to absolutely contradict the statement which had been put out to the country that Col. Roosevelt asked these men to contribute.

Senator PAYNTER. That he asked these men to contribute?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir; that he knew anything about it.

Senator PAYNTER. Did the mere fact that it did not appear on that account prove that he had not solicited Harriman for it?

Mr. SHELDON. Not at all.

Senator PAYNTER. It did not?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you not have in your mind, among other things, that it would appear less objectionable to the country if he made the solicitation for the States than for the national committee?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir; I had no such idea in my mind.

Senator PAYNTER. You did not have that in your mind?

Mr. SHELDON. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. If it was paid to the State, as the election for electors and the State election always take place at the same time——

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. And both organizations being loyal to the ticket, there could not be any difference as to the fact, could there, the expenditure of money? It would be for all, necessarily so?

Mr. SHELDON. It might have been. There was no question about Mr. Roosevelt carrying the State of New York, and there was every kind of doubt that Higgins would lose it.

Senator PAYNTER. But I say, as to the fact—if the money was expended for the campaign, necessarily it would have been for the national ticket the same as the State ticket, would it not?

Mr. SHELDON. I think so.

Senator PAYNTER. There would be no reason to dissociate the effect?

Mr. SHELDON. Except it would accentuate the one and therefore carry the other.

Senator PAYNTER. So you did not have in your mind that it was less objectionable for him to solicit for the State campaign than for the national?

Mr. SHELDON. I had nothing in my mind except to tell the facts.

Senator PAYNTER. I quite understand that, and I want to assure you that I do not mean to imply anything else at all.

Mr. SHELDON. I know you do not.

Senator PAYNTER. So you thought it was just to Col. Roosevelt to let the public know that that sum did not appear upon the account which Mr. Bliss had turned over to you?

Mr. SHELDON. Why, Senator, the very check of Mr. Harriman, November 2—when did Mr. Roosevelt see Mr. Harriman?

Senator PAYNTER. I do not care to discuss that with you at all.

Mr. SHELDON. Neither do I.

Senator PAYNTER. I just want to know the facts. I am not making any charges myself at all, but simply trying to elicit information. That is all I desire to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand it, at that time it was being charged that Col. Roosevelt had urged the getting of this contribution, which is now generally known as the Harriman contribution. You believed that he had not. Isn't that the fact?

Mr. SHELDON. That is my belief, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. And the charge being made, and your belief being that he had not, induced you to write a statement of your belief of the matter?

Mr. SHELDON. That is exactly the truth.

Senator PAYNTER. And that belief is based upon the facts which you have given, that he did not appear in this matter?

Mr. SHELDON. That only substantiated other facts, as I have stated.

Senator PAYNTER. I beg your pardon, Mr. Chairman, I thought you were through.

The CHAIRMAN. No. Mr. Sheldon, you stated a moment ago, when I think Senator Oliver was examining you, or possibly when Senator Paynter was examining you, that Gov. Odell urged the getting of this Harriman contribution?

Mr. SHELDON. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. And you knew that at the time you wrote the letter, at the time subsequent to your conference with Col. Roosevelt?

Mr. SHELDON. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. To which you have testified?

Mr. SHELDON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all. I think you can be excused.

The witness was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Dixon, you may resume the stand.

TESTIMONY OF HON. JOSEPH M. DIXON—Resumed.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you have stated already, before adjournment, that you had information of large sums of money received and expended by Mr. Underwood, or on his behalf. From whom did you receive that information?

Senator DIXON. That I can not tell you. I received it from a Democrat who professed to know the situation.

Senator POMERENE. Do you mean by that that you can not give his name?

Senator DIXON. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Where did you receive that information?

Senator DIXON. I received it in the city of Chicago.

Senator POMERENE. How did you happen to know that he was a Democrat, if you do not remember his name?

Senator DIXON. Well, if I was to tell you his name, I guess there would be no difficulty about his political brand. He came up and volunteered it.

Senator POMERENE. Will you give us his name?

Senator DIXON. No; I will not.

Senator POMERENE. Do you decline to give his name?

Senator DIXON. I decline to give his name. I will give you the name of the man who will find out whether it is true or not. Let us not exhaust this thing on technicalities.

Senator POMERENE. We are not exhausting it on technicalities.

Senator DIXON. I suggest this man, that you subpoena Senator Bankhead's——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). You have already been advised that every name you will give to this committee will be subpoenaed if they have not already been subpoenaed.

Senator DIXON (continuing). Senator Bankhead's son-in-law, Tom Owen. It is stated, that Mr. Plant, the comptroller of the Southern Railway, and Mr. Thomas F. Ryan contributed money. I had never heard the story. I do not know whether it is true or not. I can not vouch for it. I am merely giving this for the information of this committee.

Senator POMERENE. Do you still decline to give the name of the Democrat in Chicago?

Senator DIXON. I absolutely do; yes, sir; I do.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Chairman, I think we are entitled to this name, and I ask that he be instructed to give it.

The CHAIRMAN. Why, certainly we are entitled to the name, Senator.

Senator DIXON. All right; I can not give it, because it is between gentlemen. I am giving you the information; you can find out whether or not it is true. I give the information as it came to me.

Senator POMERENE. You have made certain charges here based upon information.

Senator DIXON. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You have made certain charges here based upon information received, and it does seem to me that, as between colleagues in the Senate, we are entitled to have the sources of information upon which you base these very nasty charges.

Senator DIXON. I give you the information as it came to me, and you are the committee to find out whether it is true or not, not me.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment, Senator. I was out for a moment and do not know just what happened. Mr. Reporter, if you will read what transpired before I came in——

(The reporter read the foregoing examination of Senator Dixon by Senator Pomerene.)

The CHAIRMAN. It appears, Senator Dixon, that you have in mind the name, and, that being the case, the chairman of this committee is very clearly of the opinion that you should give it to the committee.

Senator DIXON. I can not give that name to the committee. It is a private conversation between gentlemen. I give you the story as to where you can get the information.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Dixon, let me suggest——

Senator DIXON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That you do not give us the story where we can get the information.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me go on. Supposing that we summon Mr. Plant here and he denies that statement.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, without knowing who can refute his denial, this committee is absolutely powerless, and this committee is entitled not only in this case, but in all the cases of evidence that is tendered it, to be furnished with the knowledge that is in the possession of the man who furnishes the information, to the end not only that they can summon the proposed witness, but that they may have a check on that witness if he fails to give the testimony as it is; and the committee would be absolutely powerless to examine Mr. Plant if Mr. Plant denied it, unless the committee knew the man with whom the committee could confront Mr. Plant.

Senator DIXON. He does not pretend to have seen this money. He did not pretend to have seen the money paid. He merely suggested where the information could be had. It was open rumor in the campaign through the State of Georgia——

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but, Senator Dixon, the statement——

Senator DIXON (interposing). All right. I am trying to give the committee information. I will just withdraw whatever statement I have made about it. I can not divulge that man's name, as it was a personal conversation between him and me. I will withdraw the statement. I will say to you that it was common rumor——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). The statement has been made under oath here.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And I insist that the chairman instruct the witness to give that name.

Senator DIXON. All right. I have said to you that I can not divulge that name.

The CHAIRMAN. We will proceed. The committee will act later on that, of course.

Senator POMERENE. You have also stated that you had information that there were very large sums received and expended on behalf of Gov. Harmon.

Senator DIXON. I have heard that story.

Senator POMERENE. From whom did you receive that information?

Senator DIXON. I heard it from several people; heard newspaper men discuss it.

Senator POMERENE. From whom did you receive that information?

Senator DIXON. I do not recall the specific name.

Senator POMERENE. Can you name a single person from whom you received it?

Senator DIXON. I shall not recall any name.

Senator POMERENE. What do you mean by that?

Senator DIXON. I mean that I shall not recall any name.

Senator POMERENE. You mean you can not?

Senator DIXON. I would suggest—I do not know what Gov. Harmon spent. If you want to know, subpoena his campaign managers.

Senator POMERENE. You have been advised that they are under subpoena and that they will be here.

Senator DIXON. All right, then; you will find it out from them.

Senator POMERENE. You have based certain criticisms of this committee upon certain information that you have had. Now, I ask you to name the persons who informed you as to the receipts and expenditures of Gov. Harmon's campaign.

Senator DIXON. I heard it discussed that Gov. Harmon carried on quite an active propaganda among the foreign newspapers, that his managers did, to convince them that Wilson was not the proper man to be nominated, because he had made remarks about the Poles and Italians. I do not know whether that is true or not.

Senator POMERENE. It so happens I know nothing about it.

Senator DIXON. Then subpoena Gov. Harmon's campaign manager.

Senator POMERENE. I ask you who your informant is?

Senator DIXON. I shall not give you any further informants.

Senator POMERENE. I ask the Chair to instruct the witness to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Why, Senator Dixon, if you have——

Senator DIXON (interposing). I will say it is common rumor.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment——

Senator DIXON (interposing). It is common rumor, and you would take judicial notice of the fact.

The CHAIRMAN. If you know who this man is, it is your duty to give his name to the committee.

Senator DIXON. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. You do not know who any of these informants are?

Senator DIXON. I am telling you who some of them are.

Senator POMERENE. Will you name them?

Senator DIXON. I will say——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). Will you name a single one of these informants?

Senator DIXON. I will tell you that it was common rumor in the preconvention campaign in the spring that Gov. Harmon's agents were very active in Omaha and in Cleveland among foreign newspapers generally, that there was a propaganda carried on in the foreign newspapers assailing Wilson on account of his stand in regard to the Poles and Italians.

Senator POMERENE. You make the charge that there were very large sums of money received and expended.

Senator DIXON. I have every reason to believe——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). Will you name a single one of your informants?

Senator DIXON. I have a very positive opinion that that kind of a political campaign can not be carried on without the expenditure of great quantities of money. If you will subpoena Gov. Harmon's campaign manager or Gov. Harmon, he can give you the information. I can not.

Senator POMERENE. How often do you have to be told that they are under subpoena, and that they will be here?

Senator DIXON. Then that settles it.

Senator POMERENE. I now ask that the witness be instructed to answer this question, with respect to who his informants are.

Senator DIXON. I can not tell you that. It was common rumor——

The CHAIRMAN. He has not yet stated that he has those names in mind.

Senator POMERENE. Oh, yes; he has stated that; that he would not give them; that he would not recall them.

Senator DIXON. I said I did not have any specific names.

Senator POMERENE. I insist upon that instruction being given to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Dixon, if you know these names, the committee instructs you, through its chairman, that it is your duty to give these names to the committee.

Senator DIXON. I say I do not know the specific names at this time. I say it was common rumor, that it was discussed by newspaper men and politicians as a part of the phase of the campaign.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know the name of a single man who gave you that information?

Senator DIXON. I do not recall any specific John Doe at this time who gave that information. I say it was intended that you should take judicial notice of it.

Senator POMERENE. Why did you say a moment ago that you refused to even recall the names of these men?

Senator DIXON. If I said I refused to recall them, I said that—I may have used a phrase of that kind. I said--what I intended to say, as I say now, is that it was current talk among all the politicians.

Senator POMERENE. So the committee is now justified in the conclusion that you can not give the name of a single informant as to the expenditures or receipts of the Harmon campaign?

Senator DIXON. The committee, if it wants to find it out, can subpoena these men.

Senator POMERENE. I insist that this question shall be answered.

Senator DIXON. You will not get any further answer out of this witness. I have tried to tell you in good faith, when you assume a technical attitude, when I give you where you can get the information.

Senator POMERENE. It is not a technical attitude, and I want to say to you if there is anything here to the discredit of Harmon or the conduct of his managers, I am one of the first who want to know it.

Senator DIXON. Has anybody said it was to the discredit of Harmon or his managers?

Senator POMERENE. Your entire examination has been a reflection upon every other man connected with every part of this campaign.

Senator DIXON. In what way has it been a reflection?

Senator POMERENE. To the extent of your remarks.

Senator DIXON. Harmon had a campaign fund; Taft had a campaign fund; Roosevelt had a campaign fund; Wilson had one; Underwood had one; and Clark had one.

Senator POMERENE. Let us go a little further into the matter.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Who was your informant as to the receipts and expenditures of the Woodrow Wilson campaign?

Senator DIXON. I have heard it from various gentlemen. It has been common talk.

Senator POMERENE. Who were your informants?

Senator DIXON. I don't know.

Senator POMERENE. Can you name a single man who informed you?

Senator DIXON. I will not name a single man at this time.

Senator POMERENE. Have you the name of a single man in your memory now that you can name?

Senator DIXON. I have said that I have given you a list of the men who I have heard expended large sums of money in this preliminary fight. I will read them again to you if you would like to hear them.

Senator POMERENE. I remember what you said very distinctly.

Senator DIXON. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Can you give us the name of a single man who gave you the information on this subject?

Senator DIXON. Oh, I have heard it discussed a hundred times.

Senator POMERENE. Can you name a single man?

Senator DIXON. No.

Senator POMERENE. Who told it to you or in your presence once?

Senator DIXON. No.

Senator POMERENE. In this 100 times?

Senator DIXON. I can not name any specific man. You heard them.

Senator POMERENE. Can you do it?

Senator DIXON. You heard them just as frequently as I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Dixon, the Senator is entitled to an answer——

Senator POMERENE. Can you do it?

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a moment. As to whether you can give these names.

Senator DIXON. No; I can not give them. I am telling you the men who can give them.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator PAYNTER. Senator, do you mean by that you do not remember the names?

Senator DIXON. I can not remember them at this time.

Senator PAYNTER. You say you can not?

Senator DIXON. No.

Senator POMERENE. Who were your informants as to the amount of receipts and expenditures of the Champ Clark fund?

Senator DIXON. I have not made any specific allegation as to the Champ Clark fund. I heard less about that among the politicians and among the newspaper men than I did as to some of the others.

Senator POMERENE. You say you have heard less with respect to that fund?

Senator DIXON. But Senator Fred Dubois was his campaign manager.

Senator POMERENE. Yes, sir.

Senator DIXON. He can be subpoenaed, and you can easily find out.

Senator POMERENE. I am asking you to give the name of any man who gave you any information touching the amounts or the character of the receipts and expenditures of the Champ Clark fund.

Senator DIXON. I shall not enter into that. I do not propose to have a member of this subcommittee, whose duty it supposedly is to find out these things, to stand up with a technical question to me. You are the gentlemen to locate these men.

Senator POMERENE. We are trying to get information, and we are trying to get your information from you.

Senator DIXON. Yes. I did not handle the campaigns.

Senator POMERENE. You come here as a representative of one of these parties.

Senator DIXON. And I have told you very frequently——

Senator POMERENE. And from you we are trying to get some information upon which you base your charges against these other campaign funds.

Senator DIXON. All right; subpoena the men who handled that. Do not ask me. I did not handle these campaign funds.

Senator POMERENE. Now, another matter: When you came here this morning did you have any knowledge as to the contents of either Senate resolution No. 79 or Senate resolution No. 386?

Senator DIXON. I had only seen the newspaper accounts.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any information when you came here this morning touching the names or the number of the witnesses, or the character of the witnesses who were subpoenaed, or who were to waive service of summons, to appear before this committee?

Senator DIXON. I know nothing about the committee's subpoenas.

Senator POMERENE. Did you not know that the most of the names which you have given on the stand were among the witnesses who were subpoenaed?

Senator DIXON. I know nothing about your subpoenas.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Senator DIXON. I said this——

Senator POMERENE. Did you——

Senator DIXON. I will finish my answer just now. I will have part in the conversation, as you asked your question. I said this this morning—and I do not propose for you, as a member of the committee, to assume a false attitude about it—I said here are five or six preconvention campaigns to be investigated, and that, as a matter of fairness to the country at large, these chairmen and managers of these campaigns should be put on before this campaign is over, and not take up the entire time of the campaign in going into one single campaign proposition.

Senator POMERENE. Well, up to the time that you gave out your interview, this committee had only been in session two days since the adjournment of the Senate.

Senator DIXON. All right. That is the fault of the committee, not mine.

Senator POMERENE. Well, let us see whether it is: Do you know anything about the work or the previous engagements of the members of this committee?

Senator DIXON. I know that your engagements are about on a par with those of any other man of your standing in life. I do not know

what you do every day. But this kind of conversation with me is purely technical and is trying to defend the committee, and trying to elicit some campaign contributions——

Senator POMERENE. No; we are trying to show that you, as the representative of one of these parties, come in here and deliberately slander the members of this committee without having any information upon which to base those slanderous charges.

Senator DIXON. No; I have not slandered any committee. If this committee assumes such matters to be slanderous, that is a matter of their own; but I have a right to express my opinion on the conduct of this committee, the same as the members of the committee have——

Senator POMERENE. Were you advised——

Senator DIXON. And I shall reserve that right, Senator Pomerene.

Senator POMERENE. You have the right to exercise it.

Senator DIXON. And I expressed it here, and I will express it elsewhere. I will express it on the floor of the Senate, and I do not propose——

Senator POMERENE. Just wait. I will assure you that I do not propose that you shall slander this committee without my resenting it.

Senator DIXON. I am not slandering this committee. If a man is so thin skinned as to think that he has been slandered, it is something beside any testimony that I have given here that makes him feel so. Now, if the committee has any feeling that it has been derelict in its duty, it is on its own motion.

Senator POMERENE. Were you advised that the entire arrangement for the subpoenaing of these witnesses was made by the chairman of this committee, who stands with you in support of the candidate you are supporting?

Senator DIXON. You have heard that stated twice.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Senator DIXON. You have heard the statement made twice. Now, why do you ask me that question?

Senator POMERENE. Well, under the circumstances don't you——

Senator DIXON. Why do you ask me a question that you have heard stated twice?

Senator POMERENE. Simply because you are about the worst witness to get any information from that has appeared before this committee.

Senator DIXON. I have given you my testimony freely and willingly and openly, and I want to give you more testimony, which you apparently do not want.

Senator POMERENE. We want to get information from anybody and everybody that has information to give.

Senator DIXON. I will be very happy to assist you in that.

Senator POMERENE. And we will be glad to have your assistance. We had hoped you would give us some assistance.

Senator DIXON. I have given you more, apparently, than you asked for.

Senator POMERENE. Now, under the circumstances, do you feel that you were justified last night in making the criticism of this committee that you did?

Senator DIXON. What kind of a criticism are you talking about?

Senator POMERENE. Well, Senator Oliver read it to you.

Senator DIXON. I know nothing about it. I never read it and never saw it.

Senator POMERENE. Did you say that, or did you say that in substance?

Senator DIXON. I have no notion of what he read, for I have never seen it.

Senator POMERENE. He read it to you, did he not?

Senator DIXON. He read some sentences out of some paper purporting to be an interview. I don't know what I said. I said very frankly that I wanted this committee—and I say it now to the committee—to bring all of these gentlemen here. That is what I said and what I now repeat to you.

Senator POMERENE. I heard you repeat that.

Senator DIXON. All right.

Senator POMERENE. We expect to have every one of them here.

Senator DIXON. I will be very happy.

Senator POMERENE. But just be patient and give us time to do it.

Senator DIXON. I will be very happy to see it done.

Senator POMERENE. This statement as to receipts and expenditures by yourself; was that filed in any place?

Senator DIXON. There was no place to file it.

Senator POMERENE. Was it made public?

Senator DIXON. I made it public three weeks ago at Chicago. I am the one man that has given a statement.

Senator POMERENE. Did you give at that time an itemized statement?

Senator DIXON. I did not. I did not give an itemized statement. I made a statement to the Associated Press.

Senator POMERENE. I do not know what that was. Will you state now just what that statement was?

Senator DIXON. Just about what I said on the stand this morning. I said I did not handle Ohio——

Senator POMERENE. The substance of the statement that you gave to the public in New York is the substance of your testimony here in that behalf?

Senator DIXON. Of course not as full in detail.

Senator POMERENE. I say the substance.

Senator DIXON. Yes; the substance of it.

Senator POMERENE. Very well.

Senator DIXON. And the only committee that has done it.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

Senator DIXON. Have you seen the statement of Mr. Taft's committee? I will ask you that as a member of the committee.

Senator POMERENE. I am not on the witness stand.

Senator DIXON. Has Gov. Harmon made a statement of his expenditures?

The CHAIRMAN. Are you through?

Senator POMERENE. I am through.

Senator DIXON. I would like to ask you that personally, then, Senator Pomerene.

Senator POMERENE. If you will step outside I will answer that question.

Senator DIXON. It will sound just as good in here as outside.

Senator POMERENE. I thought, Senator, that as a Senator you would demean yourself as a Senator.

Senator DIXON. The senatorial dignity has never impressed me as it has some gentlemen. I am still an American citizen and still try to act as humanely on one occasion as on another, and if I have offended your senatorial dignity here to-day I apologize personally.

Senator POMERENE. You have not offended my senatorial dignity in the least, but I do think there are some things that one gentleman owes to another.

Senator DIXON. So do I.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused.

Senator DIXON. Are there any further questions from me, as I want to leave the city?

The CHAIRMAN. Not now.

TESTIMONY OF HON. JOHN W. WEEKS.

John W. Weeks was called as a witness and, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give the reporter your name and address.

Mr. WEEKS. John W. Weeks, West Newton, Mass.

The CHAIRMAN. You are at present in Congress?

Mr. WEEKS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in Congress?

Mr. WEEKS. Eight years. I am serving my fourth term.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the number of your district?

Mr. WEEKS. The twelfth Massachusetts.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the campaign of 1908?

Mr. WEEKS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the fact that the Republican platform of that year contained a plank with reference to revision of the tariff?

Mr. WEEKS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the fact that Congressmen McKinley and Cannon visited Boston in the fall of 1908?

Mr. WEEKS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to the election?

Mr. WEEKS. In the summer or in the early fall.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the fact of the dinner or banquet, or whatever you might call it, being tendered to them on that occasion?

Mr. WEEKS. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the names of the clubs in Boston?

Mr. WEEKS. Well, the prominent clubs are the Somerset, the University, the Algonquin—

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; the Algonquin. Calling your attention now to that club, do you recall a dinner or a banquet?

Mr. WEEKS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. That was given on the occasion of their visit?

Mr. WEEKS. No; I do not; and I do not think there was one.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall how long Messrs. Cannon and McKinley were in Boston?

Mr. WEEKS. I think they were there a couple of days. I remember it very well. They came from New York on the boat, and my impression is that they were there only two days, or less than two days. I am not quite sure about that.

The CHAIRMAN. State whether or not the matter of the contemplated revision of the tariff, contemplated by the platform of 1908, was a subject of more or less discussion in and about Massachusetts and New England that fall.

Mr. WEEKS. My recollection is that nothing of that sort took place. I do not recall anything connected with a discussion of the tariff during that visit.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not speaking now with reference to that visit. I was leading up to that. I am asking whether or not it was a fact that that fall, among the industries in and about Massachusetts, the contemplated revision was the subject of a good deal of discussion.

Mr. WEEKS. Oh, undoubtedly it was the subject of discussion on the stump and in the press.

The CHAIRMAN. In the press and also among individuals, was it not?

Mr. WEEKS. Quite likely; but I do not recall any instance of such discussion.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not you yourself discuss the contemplated revision with manufacturers that fall? I am not speaking now of public discussion.

Mr. WEEKS. Oh, I undoubtedly did, if I had conversations with them. I think very likely I did. I do not recall any instance of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall that about the time of the visit of these gentlemen and afterwards there was more or less public discussion as to the purpose of their visit to Boston being to obtain contributions for the congressional campaign committee?

Mr. WEEKS. I remember that statement was made in the press, but there was no basis for it, as far as I am acquainted with the facts; none whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you certain that you did not yourself say to certain individuals that they did not get as much money as it was supposed they had got?

Mr. WEEKS. Oh, I could not have said any such thing as that, because I do not know that they got a cent, and I do not recall hearing the subject discussed when they were there in any way or shape. If they got any money, I know nothing whatever about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions being made in the fall of 1908 for either the presidential campaign or the congressional campaign?

Mr. WEEKS. Yes; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Which, or were they to both?

Mr. WEEKS. Both, and the State campaign, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you state the names of parties, if you can recall, who made contributions to the national campaign in 1908?

Mr. WEEKS. Any names of Massachusetts men who contributed to the national campaign were sent to the national committee, with the amount of their contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. But I am asking you if you can recall any.

Mr. WEEKS. I assisted in collecting some money for the national campaign, the congressional campaign, and the State campaign. I think I had to do with the collection of perhaps \$110,000, and that money was turned over to the national committee and the State committee, with the names of the contributors in every case.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the contributors there, from whom you obtained contributions, personally known to you?

Mr. WEEKS. Some of them.

The CHAIRMAN. And their relations to business associations?

Mr. WEEKS. In some cases.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any person connected with any cotton mill make any contribution—I am not asking for the State; that is not within our resolution—to either the national or congressional campaign?

Mr. WEEKS. It is possible that that might be the case, but if it is the name could be obtained from the statement made to the national committee. My recollection is that of the amount of money contributed, not more than \$20,000, as a maximum, came from anybody connected with the three large industries in Massachusetts—cotton, wool, and shoes.

Senator POMERENE. Twenty thousand from each, you mean?

Mr. WEEKS. No; twenty from all three put together.

The CHAIRMAN. In the general discussion that fall of the contemplated tariff revision, is it or is it not a fact that the worsted industry was interested and discussing the possibility of revision more than either the cotton or the boot and shoe industry?

Mr. WEEKS. I do not think so; not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, you know the woolen schedule was preserved in the revision which followed?

Mr. WEEKS. Oh, I know what was done in the Payne-Aldrich bill.

The CHAIRMAN. You know of the meeting at Chicago between the worsted people and the wool people of the West?

Mr. WEEKS. No; I know nothing about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Not even by repute?

Mr. WEEKS. It is possible that I may have seen some newspaper story to that effect.

The CHAIRMAN. But was it not generally discussed in Congress during the pendency of the Payne-Aldrich bill that they had met there and agreed that the woolen schedule should not be touched?

Mr. WEEKS. I assume you want what I know of my own knowledge?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. WEEKS. And not the sort of general discussion you have been having. I know nothing whatever about any such meeting or the results of it.

The CHAIRMAN. It was certainly very thoroughly discussed at the Senate end of the Capitol during that revision, and I had supposed it was the subject of discussion in the House. That is why I asked you about it.

Mr. WEEKS. There may have been something in the House, but I do not know anything about that meeting. If I knew anything, it came from the press.

The CHAIRMAN. You are certain that the statement filed with the national committee includes all the contributions that you know anything about made to the national campaign of 1908?

Mr. WEEKS. In Massachusetts?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WEEKS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you collect any contributions or solicit contributions for the congressional campaign committee?

Mr. WEEKS. Yes. That is, I solicited for all three campaigns and remitted to the treasurers in each case.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall who was treasurer of the congressional campaign committee that year?

Mr. WEEKS. Yes; Mr. Dawes, of Chicago, was the treasurer. I ought to add, in the answer I gave about contributions from these different interests, the shoe and textile interests, that all of the money came from individuals, and not a dollar of it from corporations.

The CHAIRMAN. I supposed that, of course. You are certain that all the contributions that you know anything of made to the congressional campaign committee appear in the statement of the committee?

Mr. WEEKS. No; I do not think the committee ever made a statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then, do you recall any of the contributions made to the congressional committee?

Mr. WEEKS. No; I could not tell from Massachusetts; but there was about ten or twelve thousand dollars, I think, all told; certainly not more than fifteen.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean that you had a hand in collecting.

Mr. WEEKS. Yes; I mean that too. Certainly not more than fifteen thousand; I should say not more than twelve.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you recall by whom those contributions were made?

Mr. WEEKS. No. This \$110,000 to which I have referred came from probably three or four hundred different people. I do not recall now. I might possibly recall some name, but I could not recall the amount of the contribution. Of course you understand that I am here without any knowledge as to what I was to be questioned about, and so I have not charged my mind with these matters.

The CHAIRMAN. It is due to say, for the record, that the committee were expecting later to notify you a few days in advance, but you were here yesterday, and it was thought that while you were here, as you desired to leave, you might go on.

Mr. WEEKS. I am greatly obliged to the committee for giving me this opportunity, because it saves me making another trip here.

The CHAIRMAN. And the statement should be made that you were not advised beforehand that you would be called. I think the further statement is due Mr. Weeks that, with reference to the conversation I asked for, I had anticipated, when you did come, having the name of the gentleman of whom it would be asked whether you had a conversation with him, which, of course, would aid in refreshing your memory.

I make that statement in fairness to the witness.

Of the three to which you referred, could you tell us anything as to which one of the interests probably contributed the most—of the woolen-worsted people, the cotton people, or the boot-and-shoe people?

Mr. WEEKS. Of the \$20,000?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WEEKS. I should think the cotton; that would be my recollection.

Senator PAYNTER. Were the individuals who were connected with these industries to which you have referred officers of these concerns?

Mr. WEEKS. In some cases they were directors; in some cases, stockholders.

Senator PAYNTER. Who made the contributions?

Mr. WEEKS. Yes, sir; who made the contributions.

Senator PAYNTER. Did they have large interests in those industries?

Mr. WEEKS. I do not know about that. In one case, I should say, yes; a large interest. But I do not recall the names. There were a great many of them. I would have no way of knowing the amount of the interest, because all of those textile corporations in Massachusetts are stock companies, and I have had no occasion to look up the stock holdings of any individual.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be all. Of course, later, the committee may desire to ask you to return.

Mr. WEEKS. I shall be very glad to return, if the committee finds it necessary.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The following statement of chairman of People's Party will be made a part of the record:

THE JOLIET NEWS,
Joliet, Ill., September 30, 1912.

HON. MOSES E. CLAPP,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: My delay in reporting the expenditures of the Populist campaign for 1904 has been caused by my inability to find the books.

A letter from the secretary, Charles C. Q. De France, Kalamazoo, Mich., confirms my own recollections that the expenditures for the campaign of 1904 were a trifle over \$3,000. Thomas E. Watson, of Thompson, Ga., candidate for President, the News, and a gentleman from Washington, D. C. (whose name I have forgotten, but I suspect that the later amount also came from Mr. Watson), each contributed about \$100. The fourth largest contribution came from an Illinois farmer named Evans, whose address I have forgotten. He gave us about \$75. All of this \$3,000 was spent for office expenses, stenographers, and stationery. The expenses of the meetings were either paid by Mr. Watson, whenever he spoke, and others were paid by outside contributions.

In the campaign of 1908 Jay W. Forest, vice chairman, 236 First Street, Albany, N. Y., handled the funds, except a little that drifted into my own office—not more than \$200. Otherwise the campaign expenses from the chairman's office, paid by the News Co., were about \$300 more.

JAS. H. FERRISS, *Ex-Chairman.*

STATE OF ILLINOIS, *Will County.*

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 30th day of September, 1912.

ERWIN T. GEIST, *Notary Public.*

Thereupon, at 3.15 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, October 3, 1912, at 10 o'clock a. m.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1912.

**SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.**

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m., pursuant to adjournment, for the further consideration of the resolutions S. 79 and 386.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Oliver, Paynter, and Pomerene.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Morgan, will you please take the stand?

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN, BANKER, NEW YORK, N. Y.

JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name in full.

Mr. MORGAN. John Pierpont Morgan.

The CHAIRMAN. And your address.

Mr. MORGAN. 219 Madison Avenue, New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Your business.

Mr. MORGAN. Banker.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morgan, on the 2d of September there appeared in the New York Times the following statement, made by Mr. Charles E. Russell, in which he is quoted as having said:

I now charge that Theodore Roosevelt, from the White House, demanded that J. Pierpont Morgan raise \$100,000 more for his campaign against Parker in 1904.

Then he is quoted as having said:

Wayne MacVeagh was in the office of J. Pierpont Morgan on a social call during the month of October, 1904. He and Mr. MacVeagh were engaged in conversation when a timid secretary interrupted them to tell Mr. Morgan that some one wanted to talk to him on the telephone. Mr. Morgan replied with profane emphasis that he did not wish to be disturbed.

"But," ventured the secretary, "this call is from Washington."

At this point Mr. Morgan got up and went into the telephone booth. The conversation lasted about half an hour. Meanwhile Mr. MacVeagh kept hearing expressions so vigorous that they spilled out of the booth. At last Mr. Morgan got up, slammed the door of the booth, and came stamping across the room, his face purple with rage. As soon as he could get his voice, he shouted to Mr. MacVeagh:

"What do you think that blank-blank maniac in the White House wants me to do? Raise \$100,000 more for his campaign, after all we did for him."

Mr. MacVeagh asked Mr. Morgan what he was going to do about it, and Mr. Morgan replied:

"I suppose it will have to be done."

Do you recall an incident of that kind?

Mr. MORGAN. Nothing whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall having a visit with Mr. MacVeagh during the campaign of 1904?

Mr. MORGAN. That is possible.

The CHAIRMAN. I say, do you recall it?

Mr. MORGAN. No, I do not; but certainly that circumstance of the telephone is absolutely made out of whole cloth.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any telephone conversation with the White House during the campaign of 1904?

Mr. MORGAN. I never had any communication whatever, by telephone, by mail, or telegraph with Mr. Roosevelt in my life, that I remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, but with his secretaries at the White House?

Mr. MORGAN. Nor with his secretaries, either.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you contribute to the Republican national campaign of 1904?

Mr. MORGAN. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. How much?

Mr. MORGAN. During the whole period?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORGAN. In October I contributed \$100,000 and on the 1st of November \$50,000 additional.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make any other contributions during that campaign that you have mentioned, to the Republican national campaign committee?

Mr. MORGAN. I did not, that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Or anyone in behalf of that committee?

Mr. MORGAN. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom did you make the first contribution to; do you remember?

Mr. MORGAN. I assume it was made to Mr. Bliss.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the fact of making it?

Mr. MORGAN. No; I do not, but my records, which I have examined, show that that was made on that date.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you notice whether the records showed to whom it was made?

Mr. MORGAN. No; they did not. The payment was made in money. The records indicate that fact.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom was the second contribution, the contribution of \$50,000 on November 2, made, if you know?

Mr. MORGAN. I don't remember to whom it was paid, but that was paid in the same way—in cash.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall anything of Mr. Harriman soliciting a contribution toward the close of the campaign of 1904?

Mr. MORGAN. No; except what I have heard since, but I don't recall anything. Of course I have heard it in the last month or two constantly.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but do you recall it in connection with his making any solicitation of you?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not think Mr. Harriman ever made any solicitation of me.

The CHAIRMAN. And there is nothing in your records that would show who made the solicitation for the \$100,000 or the \$50,000?

Mr. MORGAN. There is nothing in the record, but I am sure the first one was made by Mr. Bliss.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORGAN. And the second one, I do not know as to who made it, but I think it was—am I to give my surmises?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, reasonable, of course.

Mr. MORGAN. There were quite a number of people. Mr. Bliss was one of them, and Mr. Odell was another.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that Mr. Odell participated in the solicitation for the \$50,000?

Mr. MORGAN. Do you wish my impression?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; of course.

Mr. MORGAN. My impression is that the money was paid through the national committee, but of this a good deal of it went to New York State, through Mr. Odell. That is my conviction of what took place at that time. That was just before election day.

The CHAIRMAN. Speaking now of the \$50,000 contribution?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, the \$50,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any other contributions that were made in 1904 to the Republican national campaign or to anyone in their behalf by any of your associates?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make any contribution in 1904 to a congressional campaign committee?

Mr. MORGAN. No; I do not remember of any in 1904.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you aware, in a general way, that in these campaigns, in addition to the national campaign, there is a congressional campaign committee?

Mr. MORGAN. That I know; yes. Mr. Sherman was chairman of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not recall any contributions to them?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not recall any other contributions in 1904 than those I have mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in 1908, did you make any contributions to the national campaign fund?

Mr. MORGAN. The only one that I know of is \$20,000 that was paid to Mr. Sheldon.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the only one you recall?

Mr. MORGAN. I think that is all there is. The only thing I find on my books is a memorandum for \$10,000. I do not know to whom it was paid, but the only thing I can find about it in any of the books, or in my memory, is that it was paid in cash. That is all I know. I do not remember exactly to whom it was paid, nor do I remember the details of it, nor when nor how.

The CHAIRMAN. How would that account be kept?

Mr. MORGAN. It was not kept at all. I am taking only items I find in cash.

The CHAIRMAN. In your cash account?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; paid in cash; not in checks, I mean, you understand.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, I understand the only record your books would disclose is the fact that there is a cash item in such a year of \$100,000, for instance?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; that is it; the 24th of October. But I have no doubt as to where it went, and I have told you that.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Do you recall having made any contribution to the congressional campaign committee in 1908?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not; I do not remember any. I remember that Mr. Sherman called upon me once, but what it was for, or anything about it, I do not recall. I have been trying, ever since I received your notice, to see if I could remember any, but I do not remember any payment. If I did, I have no track of it at all. If there was any, it was moderate; it was nothing of any magnitude.

The CHAIRMAN. The resolution under which we are acting, as enlarged, covers the preconvention campaign expenses of all of the candidates for 1912. You may state whether you made any contribution to the preconvention campaign of any candidate for the Presidency in 1912.

Mr. MORGAN. I did not; I was not there; I was not in this country at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any of your associates, that you know of?

Mr. MORGAN. None that I know of. My firm did not in any way.

The CHAIRMAN. And no one in your behalf?

Mr. MORGAN. No one on my behalf.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall, in the fall of 1904, anyone in New York calling you up by telephone with reference to making a contribution?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You know of no incident, then, that would be the basis for this statement—

Mr. MORGAN. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Of this telephone matter?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not. I am sure there is no truth in it at all.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Morgan, you stated, I believe, that Mr. Bliss and Gov. Odell were present when the \$50,000 was contributed or was under consideration.

Mr. MORGAN. I do not understand.

Senator PAYNTER. I understood you to say you remembered that Mr. Bliss and Gov. Odell were present when the contribution of \$50,000 was under consideration or was being discussed.

Mr. MORGAN. I think so; yes.

Senator PAYNTER. Can you recall anyone else who was present at the time? Was Mr. Cortelyou, the chairman of the national committee, present?

Mr. MORGAN. I am not certain. Mr. Sheldon may have been there; I do not remember anything about it.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you remember whether the chairman of the national committee, Mr. Cortelyou, was present? Do you remember whether he was present or not at the time of the contribution or the time when it was under consideration?

Mr. MORGAN. No; I do not. It is possible. There were several people present. It was quite an exciting day, you know.

Senator PAYNTER. The 24th of October, I believe?

Mr. MORGAN. No; that was the 1st of November.

Senator PAYNTER. Oh, yes. The other contribution that was. When did you say the \$100,000 was made? You stated the day, but I missed it.

Mr. MORGAN. The 1st of November was the same date as the Harriman contribution. It was a part, I suppose, of the \$250,000.

Senator PAYNTER. I think his check is dated the 2d.

Mr. MORGAN. There was no check paid in my case.

Senator PAYNTER. I know; but I am talking about the Harriman check. So you think that \$50,000 may have been part of the Harriman \$250,000 contribution?

Mr. MORGAN. I have no doubt about it, in my own mind, but I have no evidence of the fact.

Senator PAYNTER. But you feel sure Mr. Harriman was not present—

Mr. MORGAN. He was not there.

Senator PAYNTER. When that \$50,000 was under consideration?

Mr. MORGAN. No.

Senator PAYNTER. Does that \$100,000 represent a personal contribution of yours?

Mr. MORGAN. It was made by the firm.

Senator PAYNTER. The \$50,000 was made in the same way?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; in the same way. Everything of mine goes that way, except little amounts that might be given for different purposes.

Senator PAYNTER. I understand that the \$50,000 was given to the national committee?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. And some, if not all, of it was to go to the State?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; it was the necessities of the State that were the object of the contribution.

Senator PAYNTER. Can you recall whether or not during that conversation it was stated that the Republican national committee was under some kind of promise or obligation to the State committee to furnish it some funds?

Mr. MORGAN. I refused to have anything to do with it unless it was a question of the national committee. Then they could do what they liked with it.

Senator PAYNTER. I understand you made the contribution to the national committee?

Mr. MORGAN. I did.

Senator PAYNTER. Can you recall whether or not Mr. Bliss or Gov. Odell said that this money, though paid to the national committee, would ultimately reach the treasury of the State committee?

Mr. MORGAN. The result, so far as my memory goes at the time, was that I was given to understand this amount was needed for the State. In fact, I think it went so far that the national committee did not want any more, but the State did.

Senator PAYNTER. You are unable to recall whether Mr. Cortelyou was present at that meeting?

Mr. MORGAN. I had a great many interviews with Mr. Cortelyou.

Senator PAYNTER. During the campaign?

Mr. MORGAN. Oh, I do not remember whether or no he was present at that meeting.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Cortelyou, of course, knew about the contribution of \$100,000?

Mr. MORGAN. No; that was Mr. Bliss.

Senator PAYNTER. He was treasurer of the national committee?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes. That was in 1904.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you understand there was any purpose upon the part of Mr. Bliss or the national committee to conceal from the chairman the information that your firm had given \$100,000 to the campaign fund?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not know. My relations with Mr. Bliss were of a very intimate character. Mr. Bliss was a warm personal friend of mine, and at one time was a partner of my father's. Consequently, when they wanted anything they always sent Mr. Bliss to me.

Senator PAYNTER. But you did not understand that Mr. Bliss was trying to conceal from Mr. Cortelyou the contribution which your firm made?

Mr. MORGAN. Oh, no; not at all.

Senator PAYNTER. You gathered no such impression?

Mr. MORGAN. I knew Mr. Bliss, and I did not know Mr. Cortelyou very well.

Senator PAYNTER. But you received no impression of that kind from any conversation you had with Mr. Bliss or Mr. Cortelyou?

Mr. MORGAN. No.

Senator PAYNTER. You said you had several conversations with Mr. Cortelyou. Did you discuss the question of contributions to the Republican campaign?

Mr. MORGAN. Oh, no; not on that subject.

Senator PAYNTER. You did not discuss contributions with Mr. Cortelyou?

Mr. MORGAN. I had only those two transactions, the \$100,000 and the \$50,000.

Senator PAYNTER. But I understood you to say that you had several conversations with Mr. Cortelyou?

Mr. MORGAN. No; I say I have seen Mr. Cortelyou a great many times, then and since.

Senator PAYNTER. I mean pending the campaign, did you have any conversation with Mr. Cortelyou?

Mr. MORGAN. No; I do not remember any conversation with Mr. Cortelyou in relation to subscriptions during 1904, although I may.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Morgan, you had, in 1904, a number of partners or business associates with you in your banking firm, under the name of J. P. Morgan & Co.?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Among these associates was Mr. George W. Perkins?

Mr. MORGAN. He was.

Senator POMERENE. When contributions of the character concerning which you have testified were made, would they be made by you personally or after a conference with the members of the firm?

Mr. MORGAN. Generally after a conference with the members of the firm. But in 1904 it was almost entirely with me. I do not think Mr. Perkins—I do not remember whether—yes, he was there in 1904, but those transactions were with me.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether Mr. Perkins made any contribution to the campaign fund at that time?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not know anything about him.

Senator POMERENE. Did any of your other partners?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not think so; but I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Were there any other contributions made by any of them in the name of the firm, so far as you know?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not believe there was.

Senator POMERENE. Your judgment is there were none?

Mr. MORGAN. My judgment is there were not any.

Senator POMERENE. And that if they contributed anything other than this, it would be an individual matter?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Did your firm contribute to the campaign funds of any other political parties during that fall, of 1904?

Mr. MORGAN. Not that I know of.

Senator POMERENE. You, personally, did not?

Mr. MORGAN. I, personally, did not.

Senator POMERENE. And you have no knowledge of it?

Mr. MORGAN. I have no knowledge of anything being done in that way.

Senator POMERENE. You said a moment ago you had had a number of conversations with Mr. Cortelyou, as I understood, during the campaign?

Mr. MORGAN. Not on campaign subjects. It was afterwards. It had nothing to do with the campaign.

Senator POMERENE. Nothing with reference to the political situation?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not think so. I do not remember ever to have had any on that subject.

Senator POMERENE. After the campaign, did you have any talk with him on that subject?

Mr. MORGAN. On that subject, no; I did in 1907, one or two.

Senator POMERENE. With reference to the campaign funds?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or with reference to the contributions?

Mr. MORGAN. No; with relation to the finances. Those were when he was Secretary of the Treasury.

Senator POMERENE. You mean with reference to the general financial situation?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. During the campaign of 1904, did you have any conferences with other financiers of New York on the subject of the political situation?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not remember them, but I have no doubt I did.

Senator POMERENE. With whom did you talk on that subject?

Mr. MORGAN. That would be a pretty difficult question to answer; probably everyone.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any talk with Mr. Harriman on the subject?

Mr. MORGAN. Very likely.

Senator POMERENE. Did you talk with Mr. C. S. Mellen, the president of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Co.?

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. who?

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Mellen.

Mr. MORGAN. In 1904, it is very likely; I saw him nearly two or three times a week.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any conferences with the presidents or officials of the large insurance companies in New York on this subject?

Mr. MORGAN. On the question of subscriptions, or on the situation?

Senator POMERENE. On the question of the political situation.

Mr. MORGAN. It is very difficult for me, Mr. Senator, to answer that question, because everybody, pretty nearly, that was prominent used to come in, and we would discuss the situation. I can not say whom I did and did not see.

Senator POMERENE. I appreciate that you are a man of large affairs and have many matters to engross your attention.

Mr. MORGAN. But I can not tell you; I suppose I had thousands of them come in during the campaign and talk with me.

Senator POMERENE. Was there any conference at any time during the campaign of 1904 in which you participated touching the subject as to who should be supported by these financial interests for the Presidency?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. When was it first determined that these different interests would subscribe to the Republican campaign fund?

Mr. MORGAN. What interests?

Senator POMERENE. I mean the general financial interests.

Mr. MORGAN. I never had any conference with anybody on that subject.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any talk with Mr. Bliss about other subscriptions which might be had for this fund?

Mr. MORGAN. It is very likely; it is very possible I may.

Senator POMERENE. And you and he, being former friends and associates——

Mr. MORGAN. I may have given him some advice.

Senator POMERENE. Do you recall whether you suggested the names of any probable contributors?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir; I do not; at least I do not remember of doing it. I only spoke of it as a probability that I did—possibility, rather.

Senator POMERENE. At the time that you made this subscription of \$100,000, on October 24, do you know whether Mr. Bliss at or about that time was engaged in raising any special fund?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not think he was; I think that payment of the 24th of October was promised some time before that date.

Senator POMERENE. I see.

Mr. MORGAN. That was the subscription we would make, you know, if we were not interested in the regular course. I would have made it four years before that, and when he came to me to see what we were prepared to do, whenever that was.

Senator POMERENE. Were you much interested in the result of this campaign as a business man?

Mr. MORGAN. In 1904?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. MORGAN. Oh, I was; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And was Mr. Harriman at that time?

Mr. MORGAN. That I do not know; I could not say.

Senator POMERENE. Or Mr. Mellen?

Mr. MORGAN. I suppose he was.

Senator POMERENE. And when you say that you were specially interested I take it that included your firm as well.

Mr. MORGAN. I never heard anything about the insurance companies except through Mr. Perkins, who at that time was a director or trustee.

Senator POMERENE. What was it that you heard in that behalf?

Mr. MORGAN. Oh, I do not know; nothing except that he talked with the insurance companies, and he would repeat how they all felt. There was no concert of action—I suppose you want——

Senator POMERENE. That is part of it.

Mr. MORGAN. There was never any concert of action by me with any of the insurance companies or anybody else at that time.

Senator POMERENE. What did he say to you as to how the insurance companies felt on that subject?

Mr. MORGAN. I could not tell you now. I do not remember.

Senator POMERENE. Do you recall this, that their sympathies ran in the same direction that yours did?

Mr. MORGAN. I am not prepared to say that. I do not think there was any evidence of that.

Senator POMERENE. I used the word "sympathies." Did you understand that their views as to what was desirable were substantially the same as yours?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not think I ever heard of what their views were. It was only the facts that we were dealing in.

Senator POMERENE. What were the facts which Mr. Perkins gave you touching the position of the insurance companies?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not remember, but when I say there was no conference, Mr. Perkins was trustee of the New York Life——

Senator POMERENE. The Equitable, was it?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir; the New York Life, not the Equitable; and, of course, when he came in from the meetings I would say, "Perkins, how do they feel around there to-day?" and he would tell me. I do not remember now the details of that statement.

Senator POMERENE. Well, did you have information during the campaign at any time that there would be a large fund subscribed or promised by the financial interests of New York to the Roosevelt fund?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir; I never heard of it. I do not believe any such thing ever existed.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any talk with Mr. Harriman on the subject of the railroad situation during that campaign and the effect of the political conditions upon the railroads?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not remember any such, but it is not unlikely.

Senator POMERENE. He was at that time actively supporting Mr. Roosevelt, was he?

Mr. MORGAN. I believe so from what I saw in the paper the other day. I do not remember.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Mellen was actively supporting Mr. Roosevelt?

Mr. MORGAN. He was.

Senator POMERENE. And do you know what subscription, if any, he made to the fund?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether there was any subscription made by his railroad company to the fund?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not, but I doubt if there was.

Senator POMERENE. Did Mr. Harriman at any time report to you that he had had a talk with President Roosevelt on the subject of railroad and business conditions?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not remember any, but I do not doubt that he did.

Senator POMERENE. And as to what Mr. Roosevelt's attitude would be toward these business interests in the event of his election?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir; I do not. There is one statement that I would like to make, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. MORGAN. I want it distinctly understood that J. P. Morgan & Co. never made a single subscription to any election with any promise or expectation of anything or return in any way, shape, or manner, and we never made it without we deemed it advantageous for the Government and the people. We never had a communication from any candidate. We never had an application from any candidate for money, and anything that we did, or that was done under my suggestion—and we were all in harmony—was that it was necessary for the good of the country and the business of the people, and it was done, and there was never a commitment or any expectation of any return, and we never got any return either from anybody, if I may be allowed.

Senator POMERENE. That is all right, Mr. Morgan. During this campaign was there at any time any intention on your part to support the Democratic candidate?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not think there was. I never heard. We may have been so at one time. If I had thought it better for the country to have done it, I would have done it.

Senator POMERENE. Did Judge Parker's views on the trust proposition in any way affect your judgment?

Mr. MORGAN. Not at all.

Senator POMERENE. Or that of your business associates, so far as you know?

Mr. MORGAN. Not as far as I know.

Senator POMERENE. I will ask you whether during the campaign you did not have a talk with Mr. Harriman, and that as a result of that conference it was decided that your firm and the other large interests in New York would give their support, financially and otherwise, to the Republican campaign?

Mr. MORGAN. Never; I never had any general understanding, or meeting, or anything of that kind.

Senator POMERENE. Or was the result of any such meeting reported to you?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir; never. Nobody ever questioned that we gave our support to the Republican nomination. In fact I do not think—if you will allow me to say it—I do not think that there was ever any large conferences of interests, so to speak; that is a term of

later date than most I have to do with; I do not think there was any combination of interests that I know of or heard of during——

Senator POMERENE. I did not intend——

Mr. MORGAN. I know; but you asked me as though you thought there might have been a combination in favor of the nomination. I say, never, not to my knowledge.

Senator POMERENE. I did not mean, Mr. Morgan, a large conference. As I understood it, it was a small conference of large interests. Was there any such conference?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not remember of any, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Might there have been without your knowing?

Mr. MORGAN. I think I should have been likely to have known it.

Senator POMERENE. Did you and Mr. Mellen, or you and Mr. Harriman, call upon any of the other financial men of New York in the interest of the campaign fund of the Republican Party during that year?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir; I do not think we did. I never heard of such a thing.

Senator POMERENE. Was there at any time any conference looking to the nomination of a man on the Democratic ticket who would be suitable to the financial interests of New York?

Mr. MORGAN. At what time? I do not understand the point.

Senator POMERENE. The reporter will read the question.

The question was read as follows:

Was there at any time any conference looking to the nomination of a man on the Democratic ticket who would be suitable to the financial interests of New York?

Senator POMERENE. Any conference among the financial interests on the subject?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not remember any.

Senator POMERENE. Was there at any time any amount pledged or promised by the financial interests during that campaign to the Democratic campaign fund?

Mr. MORGAN. From whom?

Senator POMERENE. Well, from yourself or your business associates, so far as you know?

Mr. MORGAN. Not as far as I know; no, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And you say that you know of no general conferences, or no special conferences, even looking to a subscription to the campaign fund?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Were you at the office of the Union Pacific Railroad Co. in New York during the campaign of 1904?

Mr. MORGAN. I never was in that office.

Senator POMERENE. Or Mr. Harriman's office?

Mr. MORGAN. Or Mr. Harriman's, either.

Senator POMERENE. He was interested in the Union Pacific, was he?

Mr. MORGAN. Who, Mr. Harriman?

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Harriman.

Mr. MORGAN. He was president of it.

Senator POMERENE. Did you at any time meet him and Mr. Mellen in conference on this subject at the office of the Union Pacific Railroad Co., or elsewhere in New York, on this subject, as far you know?

Mr. MORGAN. I never did, not that I remember. In fact, I am sure I did not.

Senator POMERENE. How often did you talk with Mr. Harriman during that campaign on the subject of the political situation?

Mr. MORGAN. Very seldom.

Senator POMERENE. About how often, do you recall?

Mr. MORGAN. Oh, I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Several times?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not think so. I do not remember any, except in general conversation when he would come into the office.

Senator POMERENE. Well, during those occasions, did you and he talk it over?

Mr. MORGAN. It is very likely; I do not remember now what took place when he came in.

Senator POMERENE. And did you talk over the subject as to what would be the disposition of the incoming administration toward the railroad and other interests?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir; I do not think so. Very likely we did.

Senator POMERENE. Do you recall anything that was said on that subject?

Mr. MORGAN. Nothing. I do not remember any such conversation. It would be a natural subject, you know, at that time.

Senator POMERENE. During this campaign did you have any talk with anybody representing or purporting to represent the Republican nominee?

Mr. MORGAN. Never; except the national committee. I suppose they represented him.

Senator POMERENE. Yes. You talked with Mr. Cortelyou on the subject?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not remember any particular conversation with Mr. Cortelyou.

Senator POMERENE. Did he call at your office?

Mr. MORGAN. During the campaign?

Senator POMERENE. During the campaign.

Mr. MORGAN. He did.

Senator POMERENE. How frequently?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not think he was there more than two or three times.

Senator POMERENE. He came there to discuss with you the political situation?

Mr. MORGAN. No. I suppose he wanted more money, or something or other of that kind, when he came; I do not remember.

Senator POMERENE. Did he talk with you on the subject of contributions?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not remember, but I think it is very likely he did.

Senator POMERENE. Do you recall anything that was said on the subject between you and Mr. Cortelyou?

Mr. MORGAN. No; I do not.

Senator POMERENE. Were those talks with Mr. Cortelyou before or after you handed to Mr. Bliss the \$100,000?

Mr. MORGAN. I should think probably before.

Senator POMERENE. Now, after you gave the hundred thousand dollars to Mr. Bliss did you have any talk with him between that date and the election touching further contributions?

Mr. MORGAN. I think he was there when that \$50,000 was paid. That was afterwards.

Senator POMERENE. What was said at that time, if you remember?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not remember.

Senator POMERENE. But you have a pretty distinct recollection that he called and did talk with you on this subject?

Mr. MORGAN. Who?

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Cortelyou.

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; I suppose he came in there; I remember of his being in the office once or twice on the subject.

Senator POMERENE. Was anything said as to the amount they desired to raise at that time?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not think there was any limit. I think they would take anything they could get.

Senator PAYNTER. They would have taken all your assets?

Senator POMERENE. There wasn't any limit to that game?

Mr. MORGAN. No; there wasn't.

Senator POMERENE. Did you know, or did he suggest at that time to you, the purpose for which this fund was to be used?

Mr. MORGAN. Which fund?

Senator POMERENE. At the time you gave the \$50,000?

Mr. MORGAN. I can only say that the impression was conveyed to us, I do not know by whom or how, but the persons who were present representing the recipients gave me to understand, which I have already said, that the money to be subscribed was needed by the State committee, but was to be given to the national committee.

Senator POMERENE. Of course, you understood that whatever would help the State committee would also help the national situation?

Mr. MORGAN. I did, of course; that was the reason that the national committee were anxious to get the money, I suppose—have the money given.

Senator POMERENE. That is, they felt that while this was to go into the hands of the State committee and be expended by the State committee, that it would redound to the benefit of the Republican Party, both national and State?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; that is it exactly.

Senator POMERENE. You had no doubt about that?

Mr. MORGAN. I hadn't any doubt myself that that would be the effect. I didn't know personally of the need, but I knew perfectly that that would be the case; that whatever helped the State helped the national committee.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of any other funds which were subscribed during that campaign to the Republican campaign fund?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know what amount of money the campaign committee was trying to raise that year?

Mr. MORGAN. Which committee?

Senator POMERENE. The Republican national committee.

Mr. MORGAN. I do not know anything about it; I knew nothing about it; I never knew how much they did receive.

Senator POMERENE. Did you ever have any talk with either Mr. Bliss or Mr. Cortelyou or anyone else on the subject as to the amount they needed?

Mr. MORGAN. I did not; I never asked them any questions. My occupation was gone when they got from me what they could.

Senator POMERENE. It was yours to pay and theirs to ask?

Mr. MORGAN. That is it; I never asked any questions.

Senator POMERENE. During the campaign of 1908 I believe you testified that you gave \$20,000?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And I did not afterwards quite understand your statement when you referred to a memorandum and referred to one payment of, I thought you said, \$10,000.

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; that I did not think had anything to do with the national committee. I only gave that because I wished it noted that it was a payment that was made because it was made in notes; that is the reason.

Senator POMERENE. Made in what?

Mr. MORGAN. Bank notes; it was not made in a check.

Senator POMERENE. Was this \$10,000 in addition to the \$20,000 that you speak of?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; in addition.

Senator POMERENE. So that your total subscription during the campaign of 1908 was \$30,000?

Mr. MORGAN. \$30,000.

Senator POMERENE. Was that your personal subscription or your firm's?

Mr. MORGAN. Both. That is all we made, so far as I know.

Senator POMERENE. What portion of that was by your firm, Mr. Morgan?

Mr. MORGAN. It was all by the firm.

Senator POMERENE. Oh. Did you in addition to that give any personal contribution?

Mr. MORGAN. Not that I know of; not that I can find any track of now.

Senator POMERENE. Did your partners or any of them, so far as you know?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. You would know if they were made in your office?

Mr. MORGAN. Those transactions of 1908 were more under Mr. Perkins's care than mine. I did not attend to the details of it. All I know was the items I speak of.

Senator POMERENE. Was Mr. Perkins at that time one of your partners?

Mr. MORGAN. He was.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of any conference during that year of business men in New York touching the political situation?

Mr. MORGAN. No, I do not.

Senator POMERENE. And the party to which they would ally themselves?

Mr. MORGAN. No, I do not.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all I care to ask.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Morgan, I would like to ask you a question or two. Did you remonstrate with them or rather suggest to Mr. Bliss, Mr. Odell, and Mr. Cortelyou, when they were discussing the contribution of 50,000, that you had previously given \$100,000?

Mr. MORGAN. I did not, because they all knew it.

Senator PAYNTER. They all knew it?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you seek to remind them that that was a very liberal contribution, and they ought not to insist upon you paying the other 50,000?

Mr. MORGAN. No. We did not take that up in that shape, because they all said—they were talking about the emergency; it was the necessity of getting more money.

Senator PAYNTER. But didn't you, or either of them, make any mention of the fact that the \$100,000 which had previously been given was a very liberal contribution?

Mr. MORGAN. I did that when I made it.

Senator PAYNTER. When you made the 50,000 contribution, were you not impressed with that idea?

Mr. MORGAN. That had gone out of my mind by that time, because, if you will remember—I think my impression is that the \$100,000 was promised several months before; in fact, it was at the beginning of the campaign, probably at the time of the national convention.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes, I understand that.

Mr. MORGAN. That was paid in October.

Senator PAYNTER. You were somewhat surprised after you had made that contribution that they would call on you for \$50,000 more, were you not?

Mr. MORGAN. No; I got accustomed to it.

Senator PAYNTER. Did they express, either of them, their gratitude that you had given—at that time you had given \$100,000 and had consented to give another \$50,000.

Mr. MORGAN. No. Gratitude has been rather scarce in my experience.

Senator PAYNTER. Sometimes professions of gratitude are made at the time favors are asked, and it would be supposed that they would at least express gratitude.

Mr. MORGAN. I think at that time they wanted to get the other \$150,000, and they were running around to get it. They didn't stop much for professions of gratitude.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Morgan, you perhaps are not familiar with it, but a witness testified yesterday that you or your company gave \$100,000; Mr. George J. Gould gave \$100,000——

Mr. MORGAN. I saw that in the paper.

Senator PAYNTER. And H. C. Frick gave \$100,000?

Mr. MORGAN. That is to the original——

Senator PAYNTER. And John D. Archbold gave \$100,000.

Mr. MORGAN. That is to the original one or to which?

Senator PAYNTER. It was Mr. Sheldon who mentioned it yesterday. Do you know whether Mr. Gould, Mr. Archbold, and Mr. Frick had pledged \$100,000 early in the campaign, as you had?

Mr. MORGAN. I never knew anything about it until I saw it in the paper yesterday.

Senator PAYNTER. You never talked to Mr. Gould about it?

Mr. MORGAN. I never talked to anybody about those things.

Senator PAYNTER. You made a remark that your contributions were made, as you believed, for the good of the country?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Well—and I do not mean any reflection on you when I make this suggestion in the question at all—we are very much alike, and I suppose you are very much like the rest, in believing that the thing that is going to occur that serves your interests, or that will, is always to the benefit of the country?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not think so sometimes.

Senator PAYNTER. We are very likely to take that view of it, or try to convince ourselves it is for the best.

Mr. MORGAN. Sometimes I think I would like a thing when I do not think it is best, and I try not to urge it.

Senator PAYNTER. So you never talked to Mr. Gould then or to Mr. Frick about these contributions?

Mr. MORGAN. I never talked to anybody about their subscriptions or asked any questions.

Senator PAYNTER. Did they suggest the \$50,000 as the amount you should give, or did they want more?

Mr. MORGAN. If I remember rightly, they wanted more at the time, and I said that \$50,000 was all we would give of the, I believe, \$250,000, or whatever it was.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; \$250,000.

Mr. MORGAN. Whatever it was, that was all we would give; all that J. P. Morgan & Co. would give.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you remember whether it was Mr. Bliss, Mr. Odell, or Mr. Cortelyou who suggested these last contributions, when they were wanted?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not remember.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know which one introduced the subject of the conversation?

Mr. MORGAN. I think it came to us through Mr. Bliss; that is my remembrance, but I do not remember. I could not tell you who was the first man.

Senator PAYNTER. You simply know that the three gentlemen whom you have named were acquainted with the facts?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Morgan, in answer to Senator Paynter, you said that at the time that you made this \$50,000 contribution that there was a certain emergency at that time. What was that emergency?

Mr. MORGAN. About New York State.

Senator POMERENE. As to what?

Mr. MORGAN. As to whether they would carry New York for the Republicans.

Senator POMERENE. That is, to carry it for Roosevelt, or for Higgins for governor, or what?

Mr. MORGAN. That I do not know. I do not understand those things. In other words, it was the effect that a Democratic victory would have in New York on the general ticket.

Senator POMERENE. On the general ticket, the national ticket?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir. Otherwise there would be no excuse for the national committee to take part in it.

Senator POMERENE. At that time the Democrats succeeded in alarming the Republicans somewhat?

Mr. MORGAN. Evidently very much.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morgan, is there any fact or circumstance connected with campaign contributions, beginning with the campaign of 1904 and including the preconvention campaigns of 1912, bearing upon or relating to this subject that you have in mind, to which your attention has not been called?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not remember of any, Mr. Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You can be excused.

Mr. MORGAN. I should be most happy to give it to you at any time.

The CHAIRMAN. You can be excused for the present. If the committee should like further testimony from you, you will be advised.

Mr. Morgan was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES H. DUELL, LAWYER, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Charles H. Duell, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Will you kindly give your name, address, and business to the official reporter?

Mr. DUELL. Charles H. Duell, 2211 Broadway, New York City; lawyer.

The CHAIRMAN. Judge, were you acquainted with Hon. Cornelius Bliss during his lifetime?

Mr. DUELL. I knew him very well.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew of his being treasurer of the Republican national campaign committee of 1904?

Mr. DUELL. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state what, if any, connection you sustained at that time to the work of Mr. Bliss as treasurer of the committee.

Mr. DUELL. In May, 1904, I had correspondence with Mr. Bliss, in which he stated that he expected to be the treasurer of the national committee, as he had been in previous campaigns, and wished me to act as assistant treasurer; and after the Chicago Convention I received formal notice of my appointment from Mr. Cortelyou, stating that it was made at the request of Mr. Bliss. In the latter part of July or first of August, 1904, I went to the headquarters of the Republican national committee and remained there as assistant treasurer until two or three days after the election.

The CHAIRMAN. During that time, were you in touch with the subject of contributions to the campaign, either in their receipt or disbursement?

Mr. DUELL. Yes. I had more to do with the disbursements than with the soliciting, but I also knew generally of the collections that were made.

The CHAIRMAN. My attention was occupied for a moment. Did you state that you assisted in keeping the books?

Mr. DUELL. I did not assist in keeping the books. We had a bookkeeper, Robert Dixon, and later on in the campaign we had a second bookkeeper for two or three weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his name?

Mr. DUELL. I don't remember. I don't know that I ever knew it. He was someone Mr. Bliss brought to the office.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Dixon living, to your knowledge?

Mr. DUELL. I have not seen him from the time I left the headquarters to the present.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no idea where he is?

Mr. DUELL. I have not. I notice that Mr. Bliss, jr., stated the other day before the committee—at least the papers so reported it—that Mr. Dixon was dead, but I have not the slightest knowledge of it. Do you wish me to go ahead and make my statement or will you question me?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you know, during that campaign, of a contribution that was made by John D. Archbold?

Mr. DUELL. No; certainly not under that name. I think, Mr. Chairman, I ought to state generally what my position was with the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. DUELL. We kept a regular set of books in the treasurer's office and had bookkeepers. All the moneys that were contributed, so far as I know, were receipted for and regular receipts given from our books. All of the disbursements that were made were made only upon vouchers, and I probably signed the checks for most of the disbursements, but not all of them. Mr. Bliss was away from the office more or less of the time. The first part of the campaign he was down on the seashore at his New Jersey home, and later on he was in New Hampshire, so that during that time such collections as came in I would acknowledge and send receipts for, and I had a general knowledge of the collections and subscriptions; but I do not believe that anyone, either Mr. Bliss or Mr. Cortelyou or myself, knew of all of the subscriptions that were made. Mr. Bliss would be away, and when he would come back I would say, "So much money has come in during your absence," without stating from whom, and I do not think he ever asked. And when I was away and came back, he would say, "Our balance in bank is so much; we have had so much come in; be careful not to overdraw." We kept accounts in the Second National Bank of New York, which was then in the old Fifth Avenue Hotel building. Another account, I think, was kept in the Fourth National Bank, and I think one in the Irving National Bank.

Senator POMERENE. Did you say the Irving?

Mr. DUELL. The Irving. You must remember I am now speaking from recollection, because I have not seen or thought very much of this matter for eight years.

Our active account was at the Second National Bank, and both Mr. Bliss and I signed checks on that bank.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any knowledge during that campaign, either from the books that were under your observation or from Mr. Bliss, of a contribution of John D. Archbold?

Mr. DUELL. No; I did not. I know there were——

Senator PAYNTER. You said not in that name, a moment ago.

Mr. DUELL. Well, it might have been some other name, but I know there were three or four or five contributions of \$100,000 each, and I know that the three insurance companies in New York gave \$50,000 each. I also know about this so-called Harriman fund; but I could not, after this length of time, remember all the details or all the names. There were thousands of subscribers to the fund.

The CHAIRMAN. During that time, did you hear by repute of a contribution being made by Mr. Archbold or anyone in his behalf?

Mr. DUELL. No; I never heard Mr. Bliss mention Mr. Archbold's name.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear of it as coming from the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. DUELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Or any of the associates of Mr. Archbold in the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. DUELL. Well, I understood that Mr. H. H. Rogers made a contribution, but what amount I do not know; and that, very likely, may be the subscription that is spoken of as the Archbold subscription.

The CHAIRMAN. No; there were two. The Rogers contribution appears of record.

Mr. DUELL. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did you assist Mr. Bliss in making out his final statement?

Mr. DUELL. No, sir; I did not. We closed the headquarters, the safe containing the books of the treasurer's office, and vouchers, and so forth was taken to Mr. Bliss's office, and from that day to this I have never seen any of them.

The CHAIRMAN. After the close of the campaign of 1904, did you, at any time, have any conversation, and, if more than once, how often, if you recall it, with Mr. Bliss, relative to the campaign fund of 1904?

Mr. DUELL. Never but once. I recall being in his office calling upon him one day about the time when the Hughes investigating committee was taking up the subscriptions of the insurance companies.

The CHAIRMAN. That was in 1905?

Mr. DUELL. 1905; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What occurred in that conversation on the part of Mr. Bliss, if you recall it?

Mr. DUELL. I do not recall very much about it. I remember Mr. Bliss saying this, that in 1896 every bank and trust company in New York City but one, and most of the insurance companies, made contributions to the Republican national committee; that in 1900 very few of them did, and that in 1904 still less; and I asked him if he was expecting to appear as a witness, and he said he was not.

The CHAIRMAN. That was to appear as a witness before the insurance investigation committee?

Mr. DUELL. Yes, the Hughes committee. He also added that he should say nothing whatever to the papers, that that was and had been his invariable rule.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Bliss ever have any conversation with you with reference to the destruction of the records of the campaign of 1904?

Mr. DUELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever know anything of their destruction?

Mr. DUELL. Not a thing; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know anything concerning their disposition, as for safekeeping or retention?

Mr. DUELL. Nothing. I knew nothing about them after a few days after election. I came to Washington after that and was on the bench here two or three years, and lost all connection with political matters.

Senator POMERENE. That was after 1904?

Mr. DUELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any reason to believe that these records are in existence?

Mr. DUELL. I know absolutely nothing about them.

The CHAIRMAN. What did Mr. Cortelyou have to do with handling or managing or having control of the funds of the committee, so far as you knew, at the time?

Mr. DUELL. Next to nothing. Mr. Cortelyou never got a dollar from the treasurer's office without giving a voucher for it, and I do not think he ever asked especially about the funds; at least, he never asked me, and I saw him almost daily when he was in town. He was away more or less at the time.

Senator OLIVER. Judge Duell, you spoke of there having been four or five contributions of \$100,000 each. Can you tell from whom they came?

Mr. DUELL. No, I can not; other than from Mr. Morgan's firm, and I thought one was from Mr. Rogers—Mr. H. H. Rogers.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Sheldon places that upon Mr. Archbold. That is what is known as the Standard Oil subscription, as I understand it.

Mr. DUELL. I never heard Mr. Bliss mention Mr. Archbold's name, but he did mention Mr. Roger's name.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Sheldon testified that there was \$100,000 each contributed by Mr. Frick and Mr. Gould, do you remember them?

Mr. DUELL. No; I do not.

Senator OLIVER. You do not remember who the fifth man was?

Mr. DUELL. If any of those men made contributions, they had or should have receipts for them, because they were given for all subscriptions made.

Senator OLIVER. I understand, but I am asking you as to your recollection of the parties who made large subscriptions to that campaign. You stated there were four or five of \$100,000 each. I just wanted to know how many of those four or five you recollected the names of.

Mr. DUELL. I think very likely some of them, at least, may have appeared on the book as from "cash," on the stubs of the receipts.

Senator PAYNTER. You mean some of those large contributions?

Mr. DUELL. Some of the large and some of the small contributions. I remember people coming in and making subscriptions, not wanting to give their names, where their subscription was for \$50.

Senator OLIVER. I understand; but as to the large contributions the committee would like to have whatever you can remember, as to the names of those who made the large contributions; say, the ones who gave \$100,000 each, and the ones who gave \$50,000 each. Large subscriptions like that would naturally make an impression upon a man's memory. What can you recollect with regard to those subscriptions?

Mr. DUELL. I am very sorry, but I can not recollect any more than what I have said. I remember about the insurance subscriptions,

because that matter came up after that, and was in the press, and generally was talked about. I remember about the Harriman matter, because that kept more or less fresh in my mind. As to these other subscriptions, I do not remember anything specially about them. I think very likely I may never have known the names of the contributors.

Senator PAYNTER. You say you kept a set of books in the office?

Mr. DUELL. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Of the national committee?

Mr. DUELL. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Who made the entries in those books?

Mr. DUELL. Mr. Dixon, and then his assistant.

Senator PAYNTER. That is the gentleman who has been referred to as now being dead?

Mr. DUELL. Yes. Then afterwards his assistant when we had the two.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you make any entries in the books?

Mr. DUELL. No.

Senator PAYNTER. Of subscriptions?

Mr. DUELL. No.

Senator PAYNTER. Or disbursements?

Mr. DUELL. No. When subscriptions came in and they came under my charge, if there was a list of subscribers, as was very often the case, I would hand that list to Mr. Dixon and say, "Please make out receipts for these amounts to the various people and bring them to me." Then I would sign them. I never filled out any subscriptions of any kind.

Senator PAYNTER. That was the method, then, of making these entries and keeping an account of them?

Mr. DUELL. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you ever examine the books of the committee—that is, the cash books—to see who had made contributions?

Mr. DUELL. Never with that in mind; no, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you ever examine them?

Mr. DUELL. I must have looked over them.

Senator PAYNTER. What purpose had you in looking over the books?

Mr. DUELL. Well, more to see what amount we had expended up to a certain date and what amount we had on hand.

Senator PAYNTER. You said Mr. Cortelyou had nothing to do, practically, as I understand, with the books. Do you mean by that that he was chairman of the committee and never paid any attention to the entries, as to contributions or disbursements?

Mr. DUELL. I do. It was entirely in charge of Mr. Bliss.

Senator PAYNTER. It was entirely in charge of Mr. Bliss?

Mr. DUELL. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. Was Mr. Bliss in the office of the national committee very much?

Mr. DUELL. More or less of the time.

Senator PAYNTER. More or less of the time?

Mr. DUELL. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. You say it was in charge of Mr. Bliss. Do you mean by that that therefore Mr. Cortelyou did not examine these books?

Mr. DUELL. I do not know why he did not.

Senator PAYNTER. Did he have access to them?

Mr. DUELL. Oh, yes.

Senator PAYNTER. Were you with him constantly when he was in the office?

Mr. DUELL. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you watch him to see whether or not he examined the books?

Mr. DUELL. I did not.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not know, then, as a matter of fact, to what extent he did examine the books?

Mr. DUELL. I do not know to what extent.

Senator PAYNTER. You could not possibly tell that?

Mr. DUELL. I only know that when I was there he never examined them and never asked me in particular about them.

Senator PAYNTER. You only know that when you were there he did not examine them?

Mr. DUELL. That follows, as a matter of course.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you take particular notice of him as to whether or not he was examining the books at the time?

Mr. DUELL. He did not come into the room when I was there but rarely, and that was when he wanted money. He stayed at the Hotel Manhattan more or less of the time—a great deal of the time. He had rooms there and our rooms were in the Metropolitan Building.

Senator PAYNTER. Where the national headquarters were?

Mr. DUELL. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You remember, Judge, do you, that there were some large contributions?

Mr. DUELL. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. You remember Morgan & Co.'s contribution?

Mr. DUELL. I suppose, Senator, I remember it as much from reading what Mr. Sheldon said yesterday and what Mr. Morgan said himself as from any independent recollection I have—that is, as to the amount. I knew they were contributors.

Senator PAYNTER. Their statement rather confirms the impression you had; is not that more correctly stating their position?

Mr. DUELL. No; I should say the reverse of that.

Senator PAYNTER. Their statements, then, do not confirm the impression you had as to the contributions which they made?

Mr. DUELL. Their statements, I think, revive perhaps an impression, but they do not confirm it.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, you can put it in that way, perhaps, just as well. You do not remember about the Gould contribution of \$100,000?

Mr. DUELL. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not remember to have ever seen that on the books?

Mr. DUELL. No; I do not.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you say it was not on the treasurer's books?

Mr. DUELL. No; I do not.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you pretend to say that the contribution of Frick was not on the treasurer's books in the office of the national campaign committee?

Mr. DUELL. I do not mean to say so. I only mean to say that I do not recollect that.

Senator PAYNTER. What entry was made, if any, of the \$250,000 that was raised by Mr. Harriman?

Mr. DUELL. I remember that more distinctly, for this reason: Mr. Bliss and I often conferred as to the amount of money that the committee needed for the campaign. Toward the latter part of October one day we were sitting at the desk and we figured up the amount we had on hand, the outstanding obligations, and the balance left. That balance, as near as we could figure it, was from \$75,000 to \$125,000 that we would have left. Mr. Bliss said—no, I said that: "We do not need any more money." He said, "No; except Mr. Odell is insisting that I should raise \$250,000 for him." He said, "I do not want to do it; I do not think it is necessary; and then Mr. Harriman, who Mr. Odell says will help raise the money, is Mr. Odell's friend, and he should raise it. We do not need it."

We had already given Mr. Odell \$200,000. I gave him a check for \$100,000—

Senator PAYNTER (interposing). I did not ask you about that, although I am perfectly willing for you to explain all about it. But the question I asked you was, what entry was made of that \$250,000, and not what was said between you and Mr. Bliss as to these other matters.

Mr. DUELL. I do not think it figured in our accounts at all. Mr. Bliss simply went to collect it at the request of Gov. Odell, and for his use, and it went to Gov. Odell.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you tell the committee that you have a distinct recollection that it was not entered on the treasurer's books at all?

Mr. DUELL. I said it did not go into our totals at all.

Senator PAYNTER. It did not go into your totals?

Mr. DUELL. No.

Senator PAYNTER. Was there any memorandum made as to the transaction at all on the books at Republican headquarters?

Mr. DUELL. There might have been after I ceased to act as assistant treasurer, but not to my knowledge or recollection before it. It was simply that Mr. Bliss collected it for Gov. Odell.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, do you say that Gov. Odell is in error when he says that Mr. Bliss gave him a check as treasurer of the Republican committee for the amount of money which was turned over to Odell for the State committee?

Mr. DUELL. Mr. Bliss may have deposited it in one of the downtown banks. It was not deposited in the Second National Bank.

Senator PAYNTER. So you do not pretend to say that Gov. Odell is in error when he says that Mr. Bliss gave him a check as treasurer of the national committee for this money?

Mr. DUELL. I do not know how that money was given to him.

Senator PAYNTER. Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars could not have been expended by the State committee—if honestly expended—without benefiting the national ticket, could it?

Mr. DUELL. Probably not, but Gov. Odell's position on that was that we had incurred heavy expenses in trying to get the names of all the voters, or all would-be voters, registered in the city of New

York, and that there were thousands of them who had illegally registered, and that unless he had more money he could not prevent them from voting.

Senator PAYNTER. If he purged the registration books, then to that extent it helped the national ticket?

Mr. DUELL. Undoubtedly it would.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not pretend to say, Judge, that Gov. Odell did not insist on Mr. Bliss, as treasurer of the national committee, keeping the promise it had made him that it would furnish him \$500,000 for the benefit of the State committee?

Mr. DUELL. I do not know what Mr. Odell may have said to Mr. Bliss when I was not present, of course.

Senator PAYNTER. If the national committee had promised him \$500,000, and he had incurred obligations in consequence of it, it was not very wrong in Odell, as chairman of the State committee, insisting on the national committee keeping its promise, was it?

Mr. DUELL. Certainly not. If Mr. Bliss had made such a promise Mr. Bliss would keep it.

The CHAIRMAN. Gov. Odell at that time was chairman of the State central committee, if I understand it?

Mr. DUELL. Chairman of our State committee; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You have given the names of three banks in which the funds of the republican campaign committee were deposited. Were there any other banks than those you have named?

Mr. DUELL. Not that I recall.

Senator POMERENE. And was it the Second or Fourth at which you kept your active account?

Mr. DUELL. The Second was the active account.

Senator POMERENE. Second National Bank, and the others were the Fourth and Irving.

Mr. DUELL. That is my best recollection.

Senator POMERENE. In whose names were those accounts kept?

Mr. DUELL. The one at the Second National Bank was kept in the name of the Republican national committee.

Senator POMERENE. Just as you have given it—in those words—Republican national committee?

Mr. DUELL. That is my recollection.

Senator POMERENE. Not in Mr. Bliss's name as treasurer?

Mr. DUELL. No, sir; it was so that either Mr. Bliss or I could draw on the account.

Senator POMERENE. In whose name were the other accounts kept?

Mr. DUELL. That I could not tell you.

Senator POMERENE. Did you check on either of the other banks?

Mr. DUELL. Not to the best of my recollection.

Senator POMERENE. And you said, I believe, that both Mr. Bliss and yourself were authorized to, and did, check on the account at the Second National Bank?

Mr. DUELL. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. How would those checks be signed?

Mr. DUELL. C. N. Bliss, treasurer, when he signed; C. H. Duell, assistant treasurer, when I signed.

Senator POMERENE. You had pass books, did you?

Mr. DUELL. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know where they are?

Mr. DUELL. No, sir; I have not seen any of the books—that would include the pass books—since.

Senator POMERENE. Now, let me understand. What books did you keep at the national committee?

Mr. DUELL. I am not a bookkeeper, so I can not give you their technical names, but we kept a book of receipts, which had a stub in the main part. The main part was given to the contributor and the stub was kept for our own purposes, and from that I suppose——

Senator POMERENE. That was the receipt book?

Mr. DUELL. That was the receipt book, and from that I suppose it was transferred to a ledger.

Senator POMERENE. Now, was there a book in which the names of the contributors were entered?

Mr. DUELL. They appeared undoubtedly, but they appeared on the stubs of the receipt book.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I know, but that does not quite answer my question. Was there a special book in which the names of the contributors were entered, other than the receipt book?

Mr. DUELL. I think so.

Senator POMERENE. And you had access to that book, did you?

Mr. DUELL. Oh, yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And, of course, you had access to this receipt book?

Mr. DUELL. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you have named some of the contributors here. Do you now recall other contributors to that fund?

Mr. DUELL. You mean to the general fund of the committee?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. DUELL. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Will you give them to us; give the names of the contributors, as far as you recollect them, with the amounts of their contributions, if you can?

Mr. DUELL. I could give very few of them, for this reason—if I may be allowed to state it.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. DUELL. For example, in Philadelphia, there was Mr. Stotesbury.

Senator POMERENE. What is his first name?

Mr. DUELL. E. T. He made collections in Pennsylvania and remitted them to our committee, and I think Mr. Dawes, in Chicago.

Senator POMERENE. Who was that?

Mr. DUELL. Mr. Dawes.

Senator POMERENE. What is his first name?

Mr. DUELL. Charles.

Senator POMERENE. Charles G.?

Mr. DUELL. I think that it is.

Senator POMERENE. He was former Comptroller of the Currency?

Mr. DUELL. He was Comptroller of the Currency, and I think that in Cleveland the present Secretary of the Navy made some collections.

Senator POMERENE. Who was that?

Mr. DUELL. Von Meyer. They would remit a check for the amount of the total of the contributions they had received up to certain dates, with a list of contributors. If that came when I was in the office, I would open it, look especially at the checks, and see if it tallied with

the letter, and hand the list to the bookkeeper and ask him to make out the receipts. Then those receipts would be returned to Mr. Stotesbury, or anyone who sent them, for distribution to the various donors.

Senator POMERENE. That is, there was to be a separate receipt made for each contributor?

Mr. DUELL. Each one; and I do not believe that half the time I even read the names. And Mr. Mills—Andrew Mills—as I remember—

Senator POMERENE. Andrew?

Mr. DUELL. Andrew Mills made collections in the Union League Club. There were hundreds and hundreds of contributors, and it is impossible for me to remember their names.

Senator POMERENE. Now, were the names of those contributors entered into that contribution book that you have spoken of?

Mr. DUELL. Undoubtedly.

Senator POMERENE. And now can you recall the names of any of those contributors?

Mr. DUELL. I think that Dr. Hill—David Jayne Hill—made a contribution of \$2,000.

Senator POMERENE. David Jayne Hill. Anyone else?

Mr. DUELL. I think Mr. Whitelaw Reid made a contribution.

Senator POMERENE. How much?

Mr. DUELL. I think \$10,000.

Senator POMERENE. Anyone else?

Mr. DUELL. There are hundreds that I could not give after this lapse of time.

Senator POMERENE. I appreciate that you can not give all of them, but as far as you can. Do you recall others?

Mr. DUELL. I recall one other, but it is based upon something that I have seen in the papers—where I signed a receipt for \$10,000 from the United States Steel Co.—but I have no independent recollection of that, because it came from Mr. Stotesbury. If I had been asked in advance if I had signed such a receipt I would probably have said no.

Senator POMERENE. Let me see if I understand. You say this receipt was published?

Mr. DUELL. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. It was a facsimile of your signature, was it?

Mr. DUELL. No, sir; it was a printed signature; but I do not doubt that it was mine—that I did sign it.

Senator POMERENE. Now, what other contributors do you recall?

Mr. DUELL. Mr. Hazzard, of Syracuse, made contribution, and Mr. Hendrick Holden, of Syracuse, sent one.

Senator POMERENE. Hendrick who?

Mr. DUELL. Hendrick Holden. I remember those because they were sent to me.

Senator POMERENE. What was the amount of the Hazard contribution?

Mr. DUELL. It might possibly have been for \$500. Not more than that.

Senator POMERENE. The Holden contribution?

Mr. DUELL. I should say that was not more than \$50.

Senator POMERENE. Did Havemeyer make a contribution?

Mr. DUELL. Not to my knowledge.

Senator POMERENE. Or what is known as the Sugar Trust or the American Refining Co.?

Mr. DUELL. Not to my knowledge.

Senator POMERENE. Well, do you mean that you have no memory on that subject now, or that you have no knowledge whatever, or that there was none?

Mr. DUELL. I should say that I never heard anything about any contribution from Mr. Havemeyer or the American Sugar Refining Co.

Senator POMERENE. Can you recall any others?

Mr. DUELL. Off hand, I can not.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have a book in which your disbursements were kept?

Mr. DUELL. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What did you call it?

Mr. DUELL. I do not know what the bookkeeper did call it.

Senator POMERENE. Well, did you have a cash book or journal?

Mr. DUELL. I should say so.

Senator POMERENE. And a ledger?

Mr. DUELL. I should say a regular line of books.

Senator POMERENE. You had access to all books, had you?

Mr. DUELL. I did, but I very rarely have looked at them.

Senator POMERENE. I will ask you whether at any time there was a refunder of \$100,000 to Rogers or to Archbold or to the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. DUELL. I do not know of any refund, or, as I have said, of any receipts for that amount.

Senator POMERENE. During the campaign did you hear of anything said on the subject of this refunder about the national headquarters or elsewhere?

Mr. DUELL. I heard nothing.

Senator POMERENE. Did you hear anything from Mr. Bliss on the subject?

Mr. DUELL. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or from Mr. Cortelyou?

Mr. DUELL. Nothing.

Senator POMERENE. If there was such a refunder as that, is there any reason why there should not have been a memorandum of that on those books?

Mr. DUELL. I know of no reason.

Senator POMERENE. Was there any reason why either of them should not have talked with you on the subject?

Mr. DUELL. No reason whatever except we did not spend very much time talking. We were pretty busy.

Senator POMERENE. But when you got down to the point where you had from \$75,000 to \$125,000 only over and above your disbursements and contractual obligations, a refunding of a sum of something like \$100,000 would have attracted your attention, would it not?

Mr. DUELL. Yes, sir. There was none made at that time, at least not out of that fund, because we had only \$100,000 left when we closed at headquarters.

Senator POMERENE. Well, if this had been refunded it would have been out of the amount of money that you had at one or the other of the three banks that you have named, would it not?

Mr. DUELL. If it had been a committee refund it would have been, certainly.

Senator POMERENE. What do you mean by a committee refund?

Mr. DUELL. Why, anything that the committee had anything to do with or the treasurer's office had anything to do with.

Senator POMERENE. Were there other funds out of which individual members of the committee might make disbursements?

Mr. DUELL. Not that I know of.

Senator POMERENE. So that up to the time that you closed your headquarters you had no information touching the subject of a refund of any money to the Standard Oil Co., or to Mr. Archbold, or to Mr. Rogers?

Mr. DUELL. I had no knowledge.

Senator POMERENE. Or anyone else connected with the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. DUELL. No; I know of no moneys that were refunded to anyone.

Senator POMERENE. You knew, did you not, that a contribution had been made by someone on behalf of the Standard Oil Co., or on behalf of some of its officers.

Mr. DUELL. I understood that H. H. Rogers had made a personal contribution.

Senator POMERENE. And you had that information from Mr. Bliss?

Mr. DUELL. Either from Mr. Bliss or from the books.

Senator POMERENE. So that if you were given information as to the source of that particular contribution, there was no special reason why the refunding of that particular subscription should not have been called to your attention, if it in fact had been made?

Mr. DUELL. No reason that I know of.

Senator POMERENE. When was your attention first called to the \$250,000 fund which was raised by Mr. Bliss on or about the first of November?

Mr. DUELL. It was called to it before it was made.

Senator POMERENE. How is that?

Mr. DUELL. It was called to the request that it be made before it was made. Mr. Bliss and I talked it over, as I think I have stated.

Senator POMERENE. And do you remember the date when they talked it over with you?

Mr. DUELL. It must have been only a day or two before it was made.

Senator POMERENE. And did you see the checks or currency or other securities which made up this amount of \$250,000 after the fund had been raised.

Mr. DUELL. I did not.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have from Mr. Bliss the information that it had been raised?

Mr. DUELL. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know who those contributors were?

Mr. DUELL. Not certainly. I think Mr. Harriman was one. I do not know whether Senator Depew or some friend of his was one.

Senator POMERENE. What was the amount of that?

Mr. DUELL. I think they were all \$50,000 subscriptions, as I remember them.

Senator POMERENE. Then there were five of them, were there?

Mr. DUELL. That is my recollection.

Senator POMERENE. If this \$50,000 was not in the name of Mr. Depew, but was by his friend, do you know who that friend was?

Mr. DUELL. I should say—this is not knowledge, but if I made a surmise it would be Mr. Twombly.

Senator POMERENE. What was his first name?

Mr. DUELL. Hamilton.

Senator POMERENE. Do you recall the Morgan subscription of \$50,000 in that amount?

Mr. DUELL. I only know this, Senator, that Mr. Bliss, when he came up to the office, said that he had raised the \$250,000 that Mr. Odell required; that it had been given him, as I understand, in five subscriptions.

Senator POMERENE. Do you recall the other two?

Mr. DUELL. No; I do not.

Senator POMERENE. Or either of them?

Mr. DUELL. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Was this money deposited to the credit of the campaign committee in any one of these accounts?

Mr. DUELL. I could not tell you as to any bank but the Second National; it was not deposited there.

Senator POMERENE. That is, your current expense account, the active account?

Mr. DUELL. That is where most of our money was kept.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have access to the bank books, the pass books, relating to the accounts in the other two banks?

Mr. DUELL. I could have had access to any books.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have?

Mr. DUELL. I do not remember ever looking at them.

Senator POMERENE. The amount of the receipts and disbursements of this \$250,000 fund was entered in your books, was it not, in your ledger or journal?

Mr. DUELL. I say not up to the time when I last saw any of those books; that was a day or two after election.

Senator POMERENE. How is that?

Mr. DUELL. That was a day or two after election. I do not think it was carried. While it might have been deposited in some bank to the credit of the committee, or to Mr. Bliss, it was checked out at once, because it went to Gov. Odell.

Senator POMERENE. Your understanding was that this \$250,000 was a part of a sum of \$500,000 which had been promised by the national committee to Mr. Odell?

Mr. DUELL. Mr. Odell made the claim.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you speak of Mr. Cortelyou having an office at the Manhattan Hotel?

Mr. DUELL. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Possibly you did not say office, but rooms. Do you mean by that that part of his political work was done from the Manhattan Hotel?

Mr. DUELL. That is my understanding.

Senator POMERENE. He also had an office at your headquarters, did he?

Mr. DUELL. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. In what building was that?

Mr. DUELL. Metropolitan Life, Twenty-third Street and Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Senator POMERENE. And there was easy access between his room and the rooms occupied by Mr. Bliss and yourself?

Mr. DUELL. The door opened from Mr. Cortelyou's room into ours.

Senator POMERENE. Did Mr. Bliss and Mr. Cortelyou have conferences touching upon this subject of the finances of the campaign?

Mr. DUELL. I suppose so.

Senator POMERENE. There is no reason why they should not have had?

Mr. DUELL. No; I should say that they would have had.

Senator POMERENE. Or was there some understanding that the financial part of the campaign was to be exclusively under the control of Mr. Bliss, and that Mr. Cortelyou was not to have knowledge of it?

Mr. DUELL. Oh, no.

Senator POMERENE. Nothing of that kind?

Mr. DUELL. Nothing that I ever heard of of that kind.

Senator POMERENE. If there had been, you probably would have known of it?

Mr. DUELL. I should have thought so.

Senator POMERENE. There was no reason why you did not feel free to communicate with Mr. Cortelyou, as the manager, at any time touching the finances?

Mr. DUELL. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And you did at times?

Mr. DUELL. Yes, sir; occasionally.

Senator POMERENE. Both touching the receipts and the disbursements?

Mr. DUELL. Yes, sir; both. The totals of the receipts and disbursements. I do not think I ever talked over with him the receipts of any sum from any person or the payment of any sum for any specific service.

Senator POMERENE. Was there anything said between you touching the character of the contributors? To make myself clear, would contributions from any of these contributors have been unacceptable to the committee, so far as you know?

Mr. DUELL. I should have thought in those days that they would not have been unless they were coupled with some condition; if they were, they would not have been received.

Senator POMERENE. Were any conditions coupled to any of these contributions?

Mr. DUELL. Not to my knowledge. I should think I would have known it.

Senator POMERENE. And, so far as you know, there was no contributor who was proscribed by the committee or by anyone having authority?

Mr. DUELL. Not that I know of, as long as he made no conditions.

Senator POMERENE. Were any of these contributions made public at any time prior to the election?

Mr. DUELL. I think not. I do not think in 1904 political campaign committees made any reports.

Senator POMERENE. And none was made public afterwards?

Mr. DUELL. No.

Senator POMERENE. Subsequent to the election there was considerable newspaper publicity touching the names and amounts of contributions—the names of contributors and the amounts of contributions.

Mr. DUELL. Yes; I should say that the newspapers made some very wild guesses.

Senator POMERENE. You made no effort to correct any of those wild guesses?

Mr. DUELL. I did not; no.

Senator POMERENE. Nor anyone else so far as you know?

Mr. DUELL. I do not know. My connection with the committee ceased two or three days after election.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Judge, is there any fact or circumstance that bears upon or relates to campaign contributions in 1904 in your knowledge that you can recall that your attention has not been called to?

Mr. DUELL. I think of nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with the campaign of 1908?

Mr. DUELL. No, sir. The only other campaign I had to do with was, as I wrote you, in 1910; I was treasurer of the congressional campaign committee, and there we filed our report under the law with the clerk of the House.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had anything to do with the pre-convention campaigns of 1912?

Mr. DUELL. I was manager of Col. Roosevelt's campaign in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have charge of the funds?

Mr. DUELL. No. Mr. E. H. Hooker had charge of the funds.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all.

The witness was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say that the committee had four witnesses for to-day, but by a combination of circumstances none of them are here. They are witnesses which, as a matter of form, should appear and their evidence be made a part of the record.

The committee will take a recess until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Thereupon at 12 o'clock meridian, the committee took a recess until to-morrow, Friday, October 4, 1912, at 10 o'clock a. m.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1912.

**SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
*Washington, D. C.***

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. for the further consideration of the resolutions (S. Res. 79 and S. Res. 386).

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Oliver, Paynter, and Pomereene.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. I wish to say to the people here that the room is very much crowded, and each one is requested to do what he or she can toward making as little noise as possible, so that the witness may be heard.

TESTIMONY OF COL. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, OF OYSTER BAY, N. Y.

Col. Theodore Roosevelt, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Colonel, you were a candidate for President in 1904?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. George B. Cortelyou was chairman of the New York campaign committee?

Col. ROOSEVELT. He was.

The CHAIRMAN. And the late Cornelius Bliss was treasurer of that committee?

Col. ROOSEVELT. He was.

The CHAIRMAN. Has your attention been called to the testimony given before this committee of John D. Archbold?

Col. ROOSEVELT. It has.

The CHAIRMAN. On the 23d of August. You may state what, if anything, you knew at the time of the alleged contribution by Mr. Archbold to Mr. Bliss, of the fact of the contribution being either asked for or made.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, may I treat the letter I sent you as part of my answer?

The CHAIRMAN. Under oath as the witness?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Under oath as the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly. There is no objection to that.

Senator PAYNTER. It has been printed as part of the record, but has not been verified.

Col. ROOSEVELT. It has not been verified under oath.

Senator PAYNTER. But it appears as part of the record.

Col. ROOSEVELT. It appears as part of the record. I have two or three things to add to that letter now.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Col. ROOSEVELT. In the first place, gentlemen, since I was elected governor of New York—that is about 14 years ago—I have written and signed about a hundred thousand letters, so that it is not possible at once to remember all of the letters that I wrote on any given subject. Looking through my letterpress books since, in consequence of suggestions made me, I find two other letters dealing with the subject of campaign contributions. One was the letter to Mr. Bliss, which has already been put before you and printed, Senator, as I understand. Do you want them compared?

The CHAIRMAN. No. [Exhibit R 1 shown to witness.] Colonel, what is that? You may read the letter.

Col. ROOSEVELT. The letter explains itself. [Reading:]

EXHIBIT R 1.

OYSTER BAY, N. Y., *September 21, 1908.*

MY DEAR SHELDON: I have been informed that you, or some one on behalf of the national committee, have requested contributions both from Mr. Archbold and Mr. Harriman. If this is true, I wish to enter a most earnest protest, and to say that in my judgment not only should such contributions not be solicited, but if tendered they should be refused; and if they have been accepted, they should immediately be returned. I am not the candidate, but I am the head of the Republican administration, which is an issue in this campaign, and I protest most earnestly against men whom we are prosecuting being asked to contribute to elect a President who will appoint an Attorney General to continue these prosecutions. Four years ago Mr. Cortelyou returned, as I am informed, any money forwarded by anyone who was being prosecuted or proceeded against by the National Government or who had any personal interest whatever in any matter pending before the administration. At that time I was informed that money had been contributed to the national campaign by representatives of the Standard Oil Co., and I wrote the following letters:

OCTOBER 26, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. CORTELYOU: I have just been informed that the Standard Oil people have contributed \$100,000 to our campaign fund. This may be entirely untrue. But if true, I must ask you to direct that the money be returned to them forthwith. I appreciate to the full the need of funds to pay the legitimate and necessarily great expenses of the campaign. I appreciate to the full the fact that under no circumstances will we receive half as much as was received by the national committee in 1900 and 1896. Moreover, it is entirely legitimate to accept contributions, no matter how large they are, from individuals and corporations on the terms on which I happen to know that you have accepted them; that is, with the explicit understanding that they are given and received with no thought of any more obligation on the part of the national committee or of the national administration than is implied in the statement that every man shall receive a square deal, no more and no less, and that this I shall guarantee him in any event to the best of my ability. The big business corporations have a tremendous stake in the welfare of this country. They know that this welfare can only be secured through the continuance in power of the Republican Party; and if they subscribe for the purpose of securing such national welfare, and with no thought of personal favors to them, why, they are acting as entirely proper; but we can not under any circumstances afford to take a contribution which can be improperly construed as putting us under an improper obligation, and in view of my past relations [Note added: That is, the trouble I had with them because of their determined fight against the establishment of the Bureau of Corporations] with the Standard Oil Co. I fear that such a construction will be put upon receiving any aid from

them. In returning the money to them I wish it made clear to them that there is not the slightest personal feeling against them, and that they can count upon being treated exactly as well by the administration—exactly as fairly—as if we had accepted the contribution. They shall not suffer in any way because we refused it, just as they would not have gained in any way if we had accepted it. But I am not willing that it should be accepted, and must ask that you tell Mr. Bliss to return it.

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. GEO. B. CORTELYOU,

*Chairman, Republican National Committee,
Manhattan Hotel, New York, N. Y.*

I will read this letter in evidence, because in my letter to you I did not give it in full, as I was referring only to Mr. Archbold's statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Col. ROOSEVELT (reading):

[Confidential.]

OCTOBER 27, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. CORTELYOU: As supplemental to my letter of yesterday, containing my request that any contribution which the Standard Oil people may have made to the campaign be immediately returned, I wish to add that my judgment as to the propriety of this action is confirmed because of the fact brought into especial prominence by the Standard Oil Co.'s publication in the newspapers (which I saw after my letter was written and sent) that much importance seems to be attached to the political attitude of this company. Furthermore, in view of the open and pronounced opposition of the Standard Oil Co. to the establishment of the Bureau of Corporations, one of the most important accomplishments of my administration, I do not feel willing to accept its aid. I request, therefore, that the contribution be returned without further delay.

Of course, I do not wish any public statement made about this matter, nor to take any step that will seem as if I were casting any reflection upon the Standard Oil people or their motives in making the contribution.

I greatly wish to see you in person. Please come on at the earliest opportunity; but have the contribution returned immediately.

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. GEO. B. CORTELYOU,

*Chairman Republican National Committee,
Manhattan Hotel, New York, N. Y.*

I hold that the reasons that then obtained are now far stronger. I would rather see us defeated than receive one dollar from the sources I have mentioned; and I regard it as an imperative duty of the most binding kind, without an hour's delay, to retract any such request, if it has been made, and to return any such contribution if it has been received. The acceptance of a dollar from such a source would do more to hurt Mr. Taft than all the money you could collect would help him. I shall, of course, send Mr. Taft a copy of this letter.

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. GEORGE R. SHELDON,

*Treasurer Republican National Committee,
1 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.*

My dear Mr. Cortelyou—

That letter I have given in full, and I need not read it to you unless you wish it.

The CHAIRMAN. It is in the record, and the committee has read it.

Senator POMERENE. That was the letter of about October 26, was it?

Col. ROOSEVELT. This says October 27—"as supplemental to my letter of yesterday containing my request that any contributions" etc. That is the one: yes. I also find that in 1904 I had sent an

extra telegram which I overlooked when I sent you the two letters and the telegram. It was on October 27, 1904, as follows:

EXHIBIT R 2.

HON. GEORGE B. CORTELYOU,
*Chairman of the National Republican Committee
of Committee of New York.*

Private wire.

Greatly desire that before leaving for Washington request contained in my letter of yesterday be complied with.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be marked "Exhibit R 2."

The paper is accordingly marked as appears above.

The CHAIRMAN. That has not heretofore been in evidence.

Col. ROOSEVELT. That has not heretofore been in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; it is part of the record.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Sometime in 1906. The other was a letter of mine to Mr. George Sheldon in 1908. [To Mr. Loeb.] Will you give me the books? I have the books here.

The letterpress copy books were produced.

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; this is not the one. There [indicating] is the original, and here [indicating] is a copy. Is the copy enough?

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes; it will answer. The reporter will mark it "Exhibit R 1."

The exhibit was accordingly marked "R 1," and appears in a former part of to-day's proceedings.

Col. ROOSEVELT (exhibiting letterpress book). We may as well now dispose of this.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Col. ROOSEVELT. These are the originals of the letters to Senator Bourne, of which I sent you copies. Do you care to compare them?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think so, unless the committee desires it.

Col. ROOSEVELT. They are exact copies. I just brought them down in case you did want to compare them. Here are the originals of the two letters and telegrams to Cortelyou that I gave you already. Do you want to compare these [indicating]?

Senator PAYNTER. I have no doubt they are correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other letters or documents which you find in your correspondence bearing on this question?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Not that I can find. I have been over them, and Mr. Loeb, who was at that time the Secretary to the President, has also been over them and there is none that we can find. At the same time, gentlemen, this letter to Mr. Sheldon I had completely forgotten, and I actually do not remember writing it now, and if my attention had not been called to it I would not have known that I had written it. And it is possible that there is some letter alluding to this subject—it is possible: I do not think it is probable, because Mr. Loeb tells me that he recollects no other letters than these and the Bliss letter, which I had forgotten. And Mr. Loeb informs me that he has searched the files carefully to find if there were any other letters.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in regard to the Harriman fund——

Col. ROOSEVELT. I beg your pardon.

The CHAIRMAN. In regard to what has come to be known as the Harriman fund.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Would you be willing that I should take up in succession the different charges made?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I will do it any way you think best.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the committee would prefer, in the first instance, that you take them up any way you please.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Any way you prefer that I do it.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Col. ROOSEVELT. In the first place, I want to call your attention to this fact, that there is no testimony against me except in the form of hearsay evidence, hearsay statements of men who are dead. Mr. Archbold and Mr. Penrose give what purport to be statements of Mr. Bliss, who is dead. The testimony of Mr. Odell and the other gentlemen as to the Harriman fund is testimony as to what they heard Harriman, who is dead, say. I had never cared to bring in the Secretary to the President in a case like this, but in view of the statements made before your committee and in view of the announced intention of the committee to call Mr. Loeb, and after Mr. Loeb had come to see me, I then decided that, inasmuch as Mr. Loeb would have to testify, I would also myself state what occurred in Mr. Loeb's presence, or what was done through Mr. Loeb with Mr. Harriman.

Before taking up those things may I speak of a letter published in Hearst's Magazine from Congressman Sibley? Have you seen it, gentlemen?

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have all seen it in our personal capacity. It has not yet come before the committee, but, of course, it is expected that it will come before the committee.

Senator PAYNTER. I have not read the letter myself, but will eventually.

Col. ROOSEVELT. You have not seen it?

Senator PAYNTER. No, sir; I have not.

Col. ROOSEVELT. It is a letter. Senator Paynter, which, in substance, states that Mr. Sibley came down to see me and speak to me about seeing Mr. Archbold, and that I said I would be delighted—the "delighted" is in quotation marks—to see him, and asked Mr. Sibley to bring Mr. Archbold to lunch. I do not remember any conversation with Mr. Sibley in which Mr. Archbold's name was mentioned, but I do remember his coming on two or three occasions about the Standard Oil Co., and it is perfectly possible that he did bring up Archbold's name. I certainly did not volunteer to ask him to bring Mr. Archbold down to see me. Any statement I made to Mr. Sibley was made in answer to Mr. Sibley's request that I should see any of the men that he named, and to all such requests, whether made by Mr. Sibley or anyone else, I always answered that I would gladly see anyone whom they chose to bring down who had anything serious to speak of with me.

At that time Mr. Sibley was in Congress, and to every Senator and every Congressman I always gave an immediate hearing, and I always saw every man brought to see me by any Senator or any Congressman.

Now, I do not remember Mr. Sibley ever speaking to me about Mr. Archbold, and, as a matter of fact, I rather doubt if he did speak

to me about him. But Senator Bourne, I do remember asking me to see Mr. Archbold, and I saw Mr. Archbold with Senator Bourne on two or three occasions, and on one occasion at my house in Oyster Bay.

Senator Bourne brought Mr. Archbold to lunch, so that if Mr. Sibley had made such a request I should doubtless have answered it in exactly the way he describes.

I wish now to put this as explicitly as I know how: While I was President, if any man, trust magnate, labor leader, Socialist, prize fighter, lawyer, clergyman, had any business with me and wanted to see me, I always saw him. and if I thought there was anything to be gained from the standpoint of the public service in seeing any man, then, without waiting for him to ask. I would send for him.

If I am elected President, a year hence if Mr. Rockefeller or anyone else wants to see me I'll see him; and, more than that, if I have anything to ask in connection with the public service of Mr. Rockefeller or Mr. Gompers or Mr. Mitchell or Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, or anyone else, I will send for him myself and ask him about it.

During my term of service as President, it happened that I did not send for any representative of the Standard Oil Co. on my own initiative; it was always on the request of somebody that I should see them. But there were plenty of trust magnates for whom I did send. I say trust magnates—I mean railroad kings or men of that stamp. I sent, I remember perfectly well, for Mr. Marvin Hughitt on three or four occasions. I sent for and invited to the house Mr. James Hill at the time of a conservation congress when I had the governors dine at the house, and Jim Hill dined there with the governors and delivered an address on conservation in the East Room of the White House. Senator Clapp, you probably remember that?

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes; I recall that.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I think I sent for Mr. Pierpont Morgan; I certainly saw him in connection with currency legislation which we were trying to get through at some period of my career. I do not remember the exact date, but I remember sending for him.

At this moment some of the same newspapers that are carrying comments on the supposed fact that I sent for Mr. Archbold are also commenting on the fact that I am supposed to have sent for a Socialist—Mr. Bruyere, to help me draw up my platform. As regards the Socialist, they are right. Mr. Bruyere was one of a group of 8 or 10 men engaged in philanthropic work or uplift work in New York, who has written on the subject, and has studied it, and I sent for him, he warning me in advance that he was supporting Mr. Debs. I told him I knew that. I saw him and consulted with him. I saw him at the same time I saw Mr. Raymond Robins and Mr. Homer Folks, and certain other gentlemen, and I consulted with them about certain legislation which I was interested in advocating. I had seen Mr. Bruyere when I was President. I have seen a number of Socialists while I was President, and summoned them to see me.

I have always acted, and always shall act, upon the theory that if, while in public office, there is any man from whom I think I can gain anything of value to the Government, I will send for him and talk it over with him, no matter how widely I differ with him on other points.

I have actually sent for, while I was President, trust magnates, labor leaders, Socialists, John L. Sullivan, "Battling" Nelson, Dr. Lyman Abbott. I could go on indefinitely with the list of people whom at various times I have seen or sent for. And if I am elected President again I shall continue exactly the same course of conduct, without the deviation of a hair's breadth. And if ever I find that my virtue is so frail that it wont stand being brought in contact with either a trust magnate or a Socialist or a labor leader, I will get out of public life.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. President, one of your statements rather surprised me, if you will pardon me for interrupting you.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Certainly.

Senator PAYNTER. You say you sent for John L. Sullivan. I did not know that you wanted anything to do with a has-been of a prizefighter.

Col. ROOSEVELT. John L. Sullivan is a big fellow and a good fellow.

Senator PAYNTER. I did not mean any reflection.

Col. ROOSEVELT. And a man who has done valiantly. I do not expect him to last forever.

I should say that I do not think I did send for Mr. Sullivan or for Battling Nelson, but each of them called upon me more than once. I saw both of them, and was glad to see them. There were some questions of public policy that they wanted to see me about. [Laughter.] There may have been a little personality mixed up with it, too. [Laughter.] But in Sullivan's case, for instance, I remember that he had a nephew in the Marine Corps, and that is why he wanted to see me.

Now, about the Harriman business. I am going to come to the Archbold matter a little later.

I feel, gentlemen, very, very strongly that there ought not to be need for any intelligent man to ask one additional question after reading the letters written by me at that time to Mr. Harriman.

I call your attention especially to the letter of October 14, 1904, which contains the phrase "practical men," which has been accepted by men who themselves evidently identify practicality with baseness as having some improper significance.

My consistent effort in politics has been to secure the triumph of the practical man who is also an idealist and a decent man; my effort in politics has been to build up a party of practical men who shall be men of the highest standard of integrity. Though much I abhor a vicious man, I dislike almost equally, because I regard as almost equally noxious, the man who, however good his ideals, is impractical and can do nothing decent in politics because he is impractical; and whenever an effort is made to show that the word "practical" implies in the user some improper motive, I always regard it as a severe moral reflection on the character of the man who makes the accusation or implication.

The letter runs as follows, being dated October 14, 1904:

A suggestion has come to me in a roundabout way that you do not think it wise to come on to see me in these closing weeks of the campaign, but that you are reluctant to refuse, inasmuch as I have asked you. Now, my dear sir, you and I are practical men, and you are on the ground, and know the conditions better than I do.

Remember that the word "practical" there had reference to, and could only have reference to, Harriman's being reluctant to refuse to visit me for fear my feelings would be hurt, as I had asked him to come.

The letter continues:

If you think there is any danger of your visit to me causing trouble, or if you think there is nothing special I should be informed about, or no matter in which I could give aid—

I call your attention to the fact that there is not a hint or suggestion of my getting aid, but it was as to whether I could give aid.

The letter continues:

* * * why of course give up the visit for the time being, and then a few weeks hence—that is, after the election—before I write my message, I shall get you to come down to discuss certain Government matters not connected with the campaign.

With great regards, sincerely yours,

You will see that that letter is absolutely incompatible with any theory that I was asking Mr. Harriman to come down in my own interests, or that I intended to make any kind of request for aid from him. It was a clear statement that I had nothing to ask of him, and that all I cared to see him about I could see him about just as well after the election.

In Mr. Harriman's subsequent letters to me and in his previous letters to me, and my letters to him, as laid before your committee, you can see that there is never a reference to my getting aid from him in any shape or way.

I had written that letter to Mr. Harriman, and I presume after he had received it, because it was six days later, on October 20, Mr. Harriman telegraphed Mr. Loeb to call him up on the telephone. I think that is what it was. Mr. Loeb came to me and told me that Mr. Harriman wished to see about the State campaign in New York, that it was running badly, that he believed that Mr. Higgins, the Republican candidate for governor, would be defeated if something was not done, and that he wished to see me. Through Mr. Loeb I made the appointment with Mr. Harriman. This was made at Mr. Harriman's request, a request made by telegraph and telephone to Mr. Loeb. Mr. Loeb was present during either all or most of the interview. There was no possibility of any misunderstanding during that interview—no possibility. I mention that fact because I have seen well meaning but rather flabby persons say that there may have been a misunderstanding between Mr. Harriman and myself. There was not, and there was no room for a misunderstanding. Mr. Harriman had the conversation with me that I detailed in that letter, Senator Clapp, to you, which you have before the committee.

At that time—it was, you see, a fortnight before the election—everyone knew that the national campaign in New York was in such a state that I was certain to carry New York. There was a doubt whether Higgins could or could not. Mr. Harriman was close to Mr. Odell, who was managing Mr. Higgins's campaign. Mr. Harriman stated, in substance, to me that he had to have more money for that campaign and that I would have to ask Cortelyou or Bliss to help him out, because they were not helping him out; and after some conversation with him I turned to Mr. Loeb and asked Mr.

Loeb to call up either Mr. Bliss or Mr. Cortelyou—I forget which—and state what Mr. Harriman had said, and ask if it would not be possible to help Harriman out. Harriman had stated that he had borne so much of the expense that he could not bear any more and must receive some help, and Mr. Loeb called up either Mr. Bliss or Mr. Cortelyou, and I subsequently called up one or the other. I have mentioned here which one it was, but I forget for the moment which it was, and I think the answer that I received in each case was that they would see what could be done. There was not one word spoken by Mr. Harriman or by me having any reference to any collection of funds for the national campaign. On the contrary, the request was from Mr. Harriman that, inasmuch as we had ample funds for the national campaign and as the national campaign was safe, we could help him out in the State campaign. I am not sure whether on that occasion or on a subsequent occasion after the election that Mr. Harriman brought up the question of Mr. Depew being made ambassador to France. I think it was on that occasion, but I am not perfectly certain. It may possibly have been on a subsequent occasion, and I then told him that some of his friends or some of the other people with whom he was associated had been anxious to have Mr. Hyde made ambassador. Thereupon he at once began to take backwater on the Depew proposition. He was very much interested, obviously, for reasons which I then did not understand, but which I later did understand. It had reference to things which were going on in the life insurance business. He was very much interested in the information I had given him that Mr. Hyde's name was being pressed upon me for consideration, and explained that he was not to be understood as being hostile to Mr. Hyde; and I told him, not once but again and again, that I did not think I could appoint either.

I remember perfectly mentioning that Mr. Hyde was too young to go into the big place that was asked for him; that a man of Mr. Hyde's type should serve a novitiate. Mr. Hyde had been recommended to me by a number of men, including President Eliot of Harvard, who had recommended Mr. Hyde. I explained that Mr. Hyde could not be made an ambassador; that he must win his spurs. I think I offered him Venezuela.

The CHAIRMAN. A good place.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Which he would not take.

I wish to call attention to the fact that Judge Duell, who was assistant treasurer to Mr. Bliss, Mr. Sheldon, who had some connection with Mr. Bliss's committee, both of them have testified to your committee, and that Mr. Bliss in this statement I embodied in my letter in the New York Herald—which is not a publication friendly to me—that Mr. Bliss, Mr. Sheldon, and Judge Duell all state explicitly that the money was not raised by Mr. Harriman for the national campaign; that it was raised through Mr. Bliss to help out Mr. Harriman in the State campaign.

Mr. Loeb was present during the interview with Mr. Harriman, and he heard all that passed between Mr. Harriman and myself on that subject. The letters that I wrote at the time, which are before you, of themselves, if there were no outside testimony, show that there is not a shred of truth in Mr. Harriman's statement. Mr. Harriman asked me to get Mr. Cortelyou and Mr. Bliss to help him raise

money for the State campaign. I never asked Mr. Harriman, directly or indirectly, for a dollar to help in that or any other campaign in which I was concerned.

Before I go further, will you just let me make one trifling correction? Mr. Harriman told me that the national campaign committee people had plenty of money. I told him I knew nothing about it.

Senator POMERENE. Is this the same conversation?

Col. ROOSEVELT. This is the same conversation. I told him that I knew nothing about that; and then his request to me was that I should help him get money from the national campaign people. His request to me was not that I should ask the national campaign committee to help him raise money—it was that I should ask them to give him money.

He stated to me they had money that they could give him. I told him of course I knew nothing of what the facts were, but I asked Mr. Loeb to call up Mr. Cortelyou or Mr. Bliss—I can not remember which—and make the request of them, which he did.

I want to take up now, for just one moment, the statement in connection with Mr. Parker's accusation in 1904. That statement has been alluded to several times before the committee here. I wish especially to call the committee's attention to the repeated and continual misstatement of what I said. It is continually stated that at that time I said that corporations had not contributed to the Republican Party. I never made any such statement. On the contrary, if you will turn to the letter to Mr. Clapp and to my open published statement of November 4, you will find this statement:

The gravamen of these charges lies in the assertion that the corporations have been blackmailed into contributing and in the implication which in one or two of Mr. Parker's speeches has taken the form practically of an assertion that they have been promised certain immunities or favors, or have been assured that they would receive some kind of improper consideration, in view of their contributions.

That contributions—

Of course, referring to the contributions in the sentence immediately preceding—

That contributions have been made to the Republican committee, as contributions have been made to the Democratic committee, is not the question at issue. Mr. Parker's assertion is in effect that such contributions have been made from improper motives, either in consequence of threats or in consequence of improper promises, direct or indirect, on behalf of the recipients.

That is an explicit statement that contributions from corporations have been made to the Republican committee as they were made to the Democratic committee. It is an explicit statement issued by me just prior to the election.

The denial was that any contributions had been obtained by blackmail or that any promise of any consideration whatever had been made in exchange for a contribution.

Do I make the point perfectly clear, Senator?

The CHAIRMAN. It seems so.

Col. ROOSEVELT. All right. I may add that before making that statement I got the personal assurance of Mr. Bliss and Mr. Cortelyou that what I stated was true, the personal assurance from both Mr. Bliss and Mr. Cortelyou that no promise of any kind, sort, or description, express or implied, had been made in connection with

the receipt or the request for any contribution of any kind, sort, or description.

I call your attention to the fact that at that time it was legal for corporations to contribute. The law against their contributing was passed under my administration in response to the recommendations I made repeatedly in my messages during the next two or three years.

In 1892, 1896, and 1900 not only did corporations contribute, but their contributions, especially in 1896, were blazoned broadcast in the papers. I remember, for instance, the fact that the Chemical Bank, when in 1896 it contributed to Mr. McKinley's campaign fund, the statement was made all through the papers calling attention to the fact that it was the only time it ever had contributed; and it was accepted as an evidence of great patriotism on its part.

I also want to call your attention to the testimony taken by the legislative insurance investigating committee, volume 1, New York, 1905, page 839. The present Justice Hughes was counsel. It is the testimony of John A. McCall as to the contributions made by his company to the Republican campaign fund.

He first gives the reasons why he deemed it necessary in the interest of the policy holders to act as he did. I will submit to you this as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. The reporter will mark it "R 3."

The paper was marked "Exhibit R 3" and handed to the witness.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Mr. McCall's testimony includes this statement, speaking of the campaign of 1904:

EXHIBIT R 3.

My life was made weary by the Democratic candidates chasing for money in that campaign. Some of the very men who to-day are being interviewed in the papers as denouncing these men who contribute to campaigns, their shadows were crossing my path every step I took. One, the candidate himself. Parker, chairman of the Democratic national committee, if he should show up his books with the corporation money he got as chairman of the Democratic committee, it would give you a fright. Never rejected a dollar in the world. He would take every dollar that was coming to him.

I submit that because I wish to emphasize the fact that it was a matter of common knowledge, of common notoriety, that in that campaign corporations were contributing on both sides; that there was no pretence, among any persons who had the slightest knowledge, that any other condition prevailed.

Now I wish to take up the testimony of Mr. Archbold and Senator Penrose. I wish to call your attention to this fact, in connection with Mr. Archbold's testimony, as in connection with Mr. Harriman's testimony, that each testified that they got no improper consideration from the administration. Mr. Archbold and Mr. Harriman alike complained, not that the administration did what it ought not to have done. Their complaint is that the administration refused to do what it ought not to do. The complaint of Mr. Archbold and Mr. Harriman is that they did not get anything from the administration. That is true. Mr. Archbold testifies that Cornelius Bliss, who is dead, attempted to blackmail him, and that Cornelius Bliss told him that I knew of it. I do not for one moment believe that Mr. Bliss ever tried to blackmail him. In any event, not only did I not know of any such efforts if they were made, but as you

see by the letters I have sent to you, or put before you, as soon as there was any rumor about any such contributions I explicitly directed that no contributions should be received and that if received it should be returned, and I had the assurance of Mr. Cortelyou, reiterated the other day, that no such contribution had been received, and Mr. Leob had, over the phone from Mr. Bliss, a similar assurance—the assurance that no contribution from the Standard Oil Co. would be received.

Now I want to call the attention of this committee to the testimony of Messrs. Archbold and Penrose against themselves.

Mr. Penrose testifies that he advised Mr. Archbold to have the Standard Oil Co. submit to the blackmail and that he did it for fear they should incur hostility in certain quarters. They could only incur hostility of myself, the President, of the Attorney General, and the Commissioner of Corporations, with, I suppose, his superior, the Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

Now, I want to call your attention to the fact that they could incur my hostility only if they violated the law. I could not be hostile to them, and I had no way of being hostile to them if they obeyed the law any more than a policeman can be hostile to any man here unless he disobeys the law. So that the purpose of Mr. Penrose in advising Archbold to have the Standard Oil make that contribution could only have been to secure it against Government action, taken because it had violated the law.

I have been police commissioner. If it were proved to me when I were police commissioner that any policeman had done in reference to a lawbreaking liquor seller or gambler what Senator Penrose admits he did—he, a Senator of the United States—in connection with the Standard Oil Co., I would have thrown that policeman off the force, and I hold that the Senate of the United States should throw Mr. Penrose out of the Senate on the admission that he has himself made before this committee.

Now, Mr. Archbold. Mr. Archbold testifies that he made this contribution and expected some kind of absolutely improper consideration. He testifies that Mr. Bliss tried to blackmail him, and yet he testifies that he regarded Mr. Bliss as an excellent fellow. He evidently does not see that there is anything objectionable in what he alleges Mr. Bliss did. He has not a word of complaint to make against Mr. Bliss for attempting to extort from him a contribution—a contribution for improper purposes. His complaint is that he did not get anything for the contribution he made. The complaint is that nothing improper was done for him by the administration, and I call your attention to these two pieces of testimony—I think on pages 133 and 134, but you can find them right away—where he says that darkest Abyssinnia has nothing to show comparable to the treatment administered to the Standard Oil Co. by the Roosevelt administration. It is perfectly true that during my administration I did administer the Abyssinnian treatment to the Standard Oil Co. because it needed it; and if ever I were President again and the Standard Oil Co. or any other company acted in that way, I would give it the Abyssinnian treatment again, and I would behave as I behaved with the Standard Oil Co., except that now I think that I should be successful in getting passed the kind of law which I then repeatedly asked for but failed to get passed, and which would have

enabled me to deal effectively with these corporations—corporations of the stamp of the Standard Oil Co.

I call your attention also to the statement of Mr. Archbold when the Bureau of Corporations began its investigation of the Standard Oil that Mr. Archbold went to Mr. Bliss to call me off, interfere, and he says that Mr. Bliss answered: "I have no influence with Mr. Roosevelt; I can not help you in the matter."

You will find that on page 134. That statement is only partially true.

Mr. Bliss did have great influence with me. I had the greatest regard and respect for him. Any statement ever made to me by Mr. Bliss, or any statement he might have made, would have received my most careful and respectful consideration, and the consideration given with the earnest hope that I would find it proper to do what he desired. But it is true that neither Mr. Bliss nor any other human being had the slightest influence with me so far as concerned getting me to refrain from prosecuting any corporation or any individual that had been involved in breaking the law, or in any conduct which rightfully exposed him to adverse action by the Federal Government.

I would also like to call your attention to this fact: All of these men who testify against me testify that I refused to do or did not do anything improper in their interest, and they are all now opposing me; they are for one of the candidates against me—those of them who are left. They are all hostile to me. They all testify that under my administration nothing improper was done for them; and they absolutely know that nothing improper ever will be done for them under me, and they are against me.

Now, I want also to call your attention to this fact in connection with the election of 1904: No one of those men could have been in ignorance of my attitude. In 1903 I had had a sharp fight with the Standard Oil people over the passage of the Bureau of Corporations bill. Senator Clapp, you were in the Senate then, were you not?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Senator Paynter, you were not, were you?

Senator PAYNTER. No.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I was trying to get through the bill creating the Bureau of Corporations. The passage of that bill marked the beginning of the policy of getting the Government's hand put on the big interstate industrial concerns. The Standard Oil were opposing it. I finally succeeding in getting the bill through by making public a number of the telegrams sent by, I think it was, the junior Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Rogers. Do you happen to remember them, Senator Clapp?

The CHAIRMAN. I remember the Rockefeller telegrams were made public.

Col. ROOSEVELT. The Rockefeller telegrams, and I think telegrams by some other man connected with the Standard Oil, is my impression, but of that I am not certain.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not recall those, but I recall the Rockefeller telegrams.

Col. ROOSEVELT. But I got the bill through by publishing those telegrams and concentrating the popular feeling on the bill, so that I was enabled to push it through; so that I had had my brush already with the Standard Oil, and they knew just exactly what I was going to do and the kind of thing I was going to do.

I also wish to call your attention to this fact in connection with Mr. Pierpont Morgan's testimony yesterday: It was during my first administration that the Northern Securities suit was brought—Mr. Knox being then Attorney General—and a verdict obtained in our favor against Mr. Morgan and Mr. Hill and their associates.

It was also during my first administration that I settled the anthracite coal strike. I knew that Mr. Morgan had felt very much aggrieved over the bringing of the Northern Securities suit, and I understood, although I can not say that I knew it—I understood that he had expressed himself adversely in very strong terms to the action I took during the anthracite coal strike; and I had not known—I had supposed he was hostile to me—I had not known that he had contributed to my campaign fund. And I wish emphatically to corroborate what Mr. Morgan has said. Neither Mr. Morgan nor anybody speaking for him ever mentioned to me that Mr. Morgan or any of his associates had ever contributed, and they never hinted at there being any reason of any kind why I should show any favor to Mr. Morgan or to anyone else connected with Mr. Morgan for any reason of that kind.

As I say, I was surprised when I found that Mr. Morgan had contributed, because I had supposed from my actions during my first administration that Mr. Morgan had felt that I had not treated him well and that he had been hostile to me.

I first heard of Mr. Morgan's contribution through the testimony yesterday; I did not know that he had contributed. And I want again to state that what Mr. Morgan has said is absolutely true; that he never, directly or indirectly—not only that, I never communicated with him or with anyone else to ask them for campaign funds—but that he never, directly or indirectly, suggested in any way that any consideration was due him of any kind or sort because of the action that he had taken. And I want to take this opportunity to say a word of Mr. Cornelius Bliss; and I say this, gentlemen, because I feel it my duty to the memory of a dead man and to those who are living who are kin to him and who knew and loved him. There were a great many men who rendered disinterested services of great value during the campaigns with which I was connected. There was no man who rendered services of such value and so entirely disinterested as the services rendered by Mr. Bliss. I had entirely forgotten that I had written that letter that you have published. It is the greatest satisfaction now to me to feel that while he was living I did write him that letter, so that he should at least understand that I appreciated what he did. I am all the more glad of it, because I think he always felt that I was too radical a man and did not entirely approve, and sometimes very much disapproved, of the things that I advocated.

You gentlemen here know the infinite amount of thankless hard labor that goes with the position of a campaign committee, and notably the position of treasurer on a campaign committee. Mr. Bliss was treasurer when President McKinley ran in 1896; he was treasurer when he ran in 1900; he continued as treasurer, owing in part to

my very earnest request, in 1904. No contribution, big or little, in money or in effort, made by any other man, with the possible exception, of course, of the work done by the successive chairmen of the national committee—but, excepting the work of the chairmen, no contribution made by any man, no amount of labor performed by any man, approximated the value of the work done by Mr. Bliss, or approximated it in labor; and it was done with entire and absolute disinterestedness.

Under Mr. McKinley, he most reluctantly accepted a position in the Cabinet, and he got out of it just as soon as he possibly could get out of it. There was nothing that I could have offered him that he would have dreamed of accepting. He never made any request of me so far as I now remember. If he did make any request of me it was something so small that I have totally forgotten it. And Mr. Bliss never during the whole seven and one-half years I was President, he never directly or indirectly gave me to understand that there was the slightest obligation upon me to act or refrain from acting accordingly as I deemed best.

I want to add even more explicitly: When I was starting to sue these great corporations, the heads of some of which were personal friends of Mr. Bliss, and, indeed, for that matter, personal friends of mine, Mr. Bliss never asked me to let up in any suit. He never asked me to take any action or to refrain from taking any action of any kind, sort, or description because of his friendship for or connection with any human being, and he assured me during the campaign that no promise had been made, no obligation entered into, expressed or implied, as regards either contributions in money or as regards anything else. He made that statement to me during the campaign and he lived up to it absolutely. Neither he nor anyone else connected with the campaign, neither Mr. Bliss nor Mr. Cortelyou nor anyone else ever came to me with a suggestion that I take any action or refrain from taking any action because of any contributions that had been made or because of any service that had been rendered.

Mr. Bliss very rarely came to me at all. Mr. Loeb tells me that he does not remember his ever having recommended any man for appointment; certainly there were only one or two. I should say he recommended men to me for appointment just about as frequently as Grover Cleveland did.

Mr. Cleveland recommended to me one or two men for appointment, and I should say that was about the same number that Mr. Bliss recommended—just about.

Senator Clapp, has any statement been made before the committee dealing with any assertion that money was used improperly in my behalf in connection with the delegates at the Republican national convention at Chicago?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, not before the committee; no, sir. The only reference to that that is in the record, I think, is a suggestion that might be deduced from Senator Penrose's statement in the Senate, and I do not recall how definite that was.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Nothing has been submitted to the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Not before the committee.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Apparently Senator Penrose, in his statement, did make some allusion to it, because I am informed——

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; and that statement is a part of the record.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Then I should like to put in this one statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I saw the different gentlemen who are interested in my campaign both at Chicago and before Chicago, and I explained, with the utmost explicitness, to them that I would not tolerate any effort of any kind being made by the use of money or the offer of patronage or the offer of any consideration whatever, to get a delegate for me of any kind, sort, or description; and the only time I saw it charged that such an effort had been made by any specific man was with relation to Mr. Ormsby McHarg. I wrote to him a letter and received from him an answer, which I will submit to the committee. I have the originals here, if you would like to see them.

The CHAIRMAN. This letter may be marked "Exhibit R 4," and the answer may be marked "Exhibit R 5."

The letter marked "Exhibit R 4" is as follows:

EXHIBIT R 4.

THE OUTLOOK,
New York, March 4, 1912.

MY DEAR MR. MCHARG: Recently I learned that some of our opponents had asserted that in the South you had endeavored to get delegates for me by promise of money or patronage, or in some other way that was not proper. I told the man who brought me the story that I was absolutely sure that there was not a particle of truth in it, mentioning, incidentally, that as a matter of fact when you went to the South I had no idea that you were going, and that it was not until your return that I met you and found that you were so kind as to be my supporter. While, of course, as I have said, I am absolutely certain of the utter falsity of the accusation made against you, I should like your personal assurance that you never endeavored, by promises of patronage or by use of money, or in any other improper way, to try to influence any man to support me, whether in the South or otherwise. It is just as well that I should be able to answer explicitly and definitely any future accusation of the kind.

With all good wishes, sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

ORMSBY MCHARG, Esq.,
52 William Street, New York.

The letter marked "Exhibit R 5" is as follows:

EXHIBIT R 5.

NEW YORK, March 5, 1912.

Col. THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
367 Fourth avenue, New York City.

DEAR COL. ROOSEVELT: I am just in receipt of your letter of March 4 advising me that I am charged with endeavoring to get delegates for you by promise of money or patronage.

I unhesitatingly say, in response to that charge, that no reputable man in the United States can face me and unblushingly say that I made a promise of patronage, or money, or made any sort of an improper offer to influence him to secure delegates for you, or do anything else of a political character for you. I can not see myself assuming such an absolutely presumptuous, and possibly embarrassing, position. I know that you would unhesitatingly repudiate me, if you ever learned that I had done any such thing in your name. Such a statement is absurd on its face.

I have never had any authority from you to make a promise of any kind or use any influence in your behalf. If you knew at the time this allegation is supposed to have originated that I was in the South, you learned that fact from some one other than from me. I did not see you personally before leaving New York, nor did I in any manner communicate with you about politics

until a considerable time after my return. I only went so far south as Birmingham. While on this trip I made no effort to secure delegates for you.

To make this denial complete and unequivocal, I wish to say that neither you nor anyone pretending to act for you at the time I made the trip ever gave me authority to do any of the things you mention in your interests, and I want to say, finally, that I did not make any such offers to anyone.

I saw recently in a New York paper that I was reported to have made an extended trip in the South to arrange that contesting delegations in your behalf be sent up against all of the Taft delegates. This is equally untrue.

I want to thank you for the opportunity you have given me for answering and denying these absurd allegations.

Yours, sincerely,

ORMSBY MCHARG.

Col. ROOSEVELT. May I just read you a part of this? I have the originals here, if you want them.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think we want the originals. The members can ask for them if they want them.

Col. ROOSEVELT. This letter was dated March 4 last.

Col. Roosevelt thereupon read from the letter, Exhibit R No. 4.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Mr. McHarg's letter reads, in part, as follows:

I unhesitatingly say, in response to that charge, that no reputable man in the United States can face me and unblushingly say that I made a promise of patronage or money or made any sort of an improper offer to influence him to secure delegates for you or do anything else of a political character for you. I can not see myself assuming such an absolutely presumptuous, and possibly embarrassing, position. I know that you would unhesitatingly repudiate me if you ever learned that I had done any such thing in your name. Such a statement is absurd on its face.

I have never had any authority from you to make a promise of any kind or use any influence in your behalf. If you knew at the time this allegation is supposed to have originated that I was in the South, you learned that fact from some one other than from me. I did not see you personally before leaving New York, nor did I in any manner communicate with you about politics until a considerable time after my return. I only went so far South as Birmingham. While on this trip I made no effort to secure delegates for you.

To make this denial complete and unequivocal, I wish to say that neither you nor anyone pretending to act for you, at the time I made the trip, ever gave me authority to do any of the things you mention, in your interests; and I want to say, finally, that I did not make any such offers to anyone.

Mr. McHarg's answer is dated March 5, the following day.

The CHAIRMAN. I desire to say for the record that I do not find the reference to this matter in Senator Penrose's statement. It may have occurred——

Col. ROOSEVELT. Then, just strike it out.

The CHAIRMAN. It probably occurred in the colloquy that took place subsequent to the formal statement, and Mr. McHarg is under subpoena to be here, and will be here next Tuesday. So I think it is very proper that the evidence be received, if that meet the view of the committee.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Gentlemen, I notice it has been stated in the public prints by Mr. Hilles and Congressman Bartholdt that the Progressives had expended \$3,000,000 in their primary. I suggest very strongly that those gentlemen be brought immediately before the committee and required to make their statements good. I draw very little distinction between the iniquity of working the eighth and working the ninth commandments. "Thou shalt not steal" is one, and "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor" is another, and any man who breaks either commandment is guilty of infamy.

The man who bears false witness is guilty of as infamous conduct as the man who steals.

If Mr. Hilles and Mr. Bartholdt can prove their assertion, I want to know it. If they can't, they should not only be required to apologize, but they should both of them immediately be driven out of public life. That kind of statement is an infamy, unless it is absolutely based on fact. It is their duty to make the accusation, if they know it to be true, and it is infamy to make it if they don't know it to be true.

And, gentlemen, I want to call your attention to the fact that, however unwittingly, you have only had before you men who are to testify as to the expense of the Progressives. Now, I know that I have to make head against both the old parties——

Senator PAYNTER. Colonel, I think it would be very proper at this juncture of your testimony to have the chairman explain to you the circumstances under which these witnesses were subpoenaed, because——

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know that any explanation is necessary.

Senator PAYNTER. The chairman of your party, Senator Dixon, in a newspaper statement has charged that this proceeding was unfair and was intended to be unfair to your party, and as Senator Clapp is chairman of this committee and is your friend, I would be very glad to have him make a statement now to you and to the country as to how these witnesses were summoned.

In that connection, I will say to Senator Clapp that I was in Kentucky when the time was fixed for this hearing. Three or four days before I appeared here I saw a statement that certain witnesses would be called on certain days to testify at this hearing; among others yourself, Colonel. I thought the chairman had acted with great fairness and exactly right in affording you and your friends an opportunity to explain these charges that you say Mr. Hilles and others have made against you. As far as I am concerned, I had nothing whatever to do with summoning the witnesses, but I approve fully of what Senator Clapp did here, and I think if he had that in view—I do not know whether he had it in view or not—it was a thoroughly proper consideration and a matter of great fairness to you and your party to have given you this early opportunity to make your statement.

Col. ROOSEVELT. But, Senator Paynter, as far as I am concerned, my complaint was that as long as you heard Archbold and Penrose, you should have given me a chance to come down before you the following Monday and be heard. I do not think it was quite fair to let a month go by before I was able to make my answer before the committee. Of course that was partly remedied by the letter I wrote to Senator Clapp, and which was made public.

Senator PAYNTER. And made a part of the record as soon as Senator Clapp received it.

Col. ROOSEVELT. And made a part of the record.

Now, you say it is fair to give me and Dixon a chance to answer Hilles and Bartholdt. This is not the time to give us the chance. You should, first of all, bring Hilles and Bartholdt here and see if they have any proof of their assertions. It ought not to be necessary for us to answer them until they have shown good faith by substantiating in some way their statements. I think that Hilles and Barth-

oldt. the minute they made such accusations. should have been brought right up here and should have been told, "Now, prove what you have said or stand shamed before the entire country." Of course, Senator, it is only 30 days before election. After election, as you know, all interest in this thing will greatly diminish: It is only fair that men like Congressman McKinley and Mr. Charles Taft, that men like Mr. McCombs and Mr. McAdoo—the first two representing Mr. Taft and the other two representing Mr. Wilson—that men like Mr. Crane, should come here, and come here reasonably soon.

Take the case of Mr. Crane. I am sure that whatever Mr. Crane did, he did intending to act according to the highest standard of honor; and yet, if the newspapers are true, Mr. Crane has been doing one of those things that I think have been more productive of corruption in the past than anything else. That is, contributing to both sides in a campaign.

Do you remember the testimony of, I think it was Mr. Havemeyer, of the Sugar Trust, that he contributed to both sides in different campaigns; also the testimony at one time of the elder Mr. Gould to the same effect? There is not anything that has been more productive of corruption in our politics than the habit of wealthy men and wealthy corporations contributing to both sides in a primary contest, or to two candidates for a nomination or for an election.

I am certain that Mr. Crane intended to do nothing that was not highly honorable. But I think it is only the fair thing to know if this was actually done by Mr. Crane as is alleged, if he did contribute both to Mr. La Follette's campaign and to Mr. Wilson's campaign.

I need not point out to you, Senator, where that kind of action leads to. You know the testimony of the Sugar Trust and of similar trusts in that case.

If the statement in the papers is true, Mr. Crane contributed more to the campaign funds than any man who has contributed to my campaign fund, only he contributed to two.

I think there ought to be some reasonable opportunity, reasonably in advance of the election, to have those things looked into. I do not think all of those men should be allowed to testify only after election, and our people before.

The CHAIRMAN. Colonel, so far as I am personally concerned, ever since I entered public life I have realized that every position brought its criticism, and that it was a waste of the few brief years a man has on this earth to reply to criticism.

As to my associates, whatever has been done here for this week has been the action of the chairman of the committee, and they are in no way to blame.

We closed this hearing when Congress was in session with the Archbold statement, which of course related to your candidacy in 1904 and related to your candidacy now, as the two might be related in sequence. It therefore occurred to the chairman of the committee, during the months intervening, in which the chairman had to lay out the tentative work of the committee, that it would be well to take the matter up on the subject we had closed on. With that in view, partially, the chairman arranged for this week principally the witnesses who might be cognizant of matters connected with the campaign of

1904. That accounts for the fact of that having been put forward this week.

The other members of the committee certainly are not responsible for what was done.

Col. ROOSEVELT. But, Senator, you see what I mean. I think it is a little hard on me to have Mr. Archbold and Mr. Penrose testify, and then for me to have to wait a month before I could answer. And then to have it come about so that all attention is riveted upon the contributions made or alleged to have been made to the Progressive campaign, and nothing in connection with the Democratic or Republican campaigns.

The CHAIRMAN. If the committee survives—and none of us have any premonitory symptoms now of approaching dissolution—we intend to get some evidence on these other questions, and that very promptly. But it rather occurred to the chairman, during this intervening month in which the chairman had to lay out the work for the committee, that it would be eminently fitting to continue where we left off, and that accounts for having put these men on.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I should have very strongly objected if you had kept me waiting any longer. I am very glad to come here.

Now, gentlemen, it seems to me I have completed my statement. I want to reiterate that I asked no man to contribute to the campaign fund when I was elected President of the United States. I wish to reiterate that Mr. Bliss and Mr. Cortelyou explicitly assured me that no promise had been made and no obligation of any kind incurred in connection with any contribution; that it was on their explicit assurance that I issued my statement in response to Mr. Parker's accusation, and that their subsequent actions showed that their assurance was proper, for neither they nor anyone else having authority ever, directly or indirectly, asked me to act, or to refrain from acting, on any matter that came before me as President with any regard to the fact that any contribution had been either made or withheld.

Can I put it more sweepingly than that?

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will take a recess until 1.30 o'clock p. m.

Thereupon, at 11.55 o'clock a. m., the committee took a recess until 1.30 o'clock p. m.

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled at the conclusion of the recess, at 1.30 o'clock p. m.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

TESTIMONY OF COL. THEODORE ROOSEVELT—Resumed.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Oliver, do you desire to ask any questions?

Senator OLIVER. I have no questions to ask.

Senator PAYNTER. Colonel, I understood you to say this morning in your testimony that the first information you had that J. P. Morgan & Co. had made a contribution to the campaign fund of 1904 was what you had seen in the papers yesterday.

Col. ROOSEVELT. That is the first information I remember about it.

Senator PAYNTER. You did not say whether or not you had information as to the contributions made by George J. Gould or H. C. Frick—the contributions made by those gentlemen?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I did not know anything about it; I do not now. Has it been testified that Mr. Gould contributed?

Senator PAYNTER. No. Just so you will see the reason I asked the question, it was testified to by Mr. Sheldon that the record which Mr. Bliss had showed a contribution by George J. Gould of \$100,000 and a contribution by H. C. Frick of \$100,000.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I knew nothing whatever about the contribution of Mr. Gould until this moment—until you had spoken of it. I did not know that he contributed. But Mr. Frick, I knew, had contributed heavily; I do not know the amount, and he offered to contribute more heavily still. Mr. Frick—no, I am mistaken. That is Mr. Knox. Mr. Knox told me that Mr. Frick was one of my strongest backers.

Senator PAYNTER. Was that pending the campaign?

Col. ROOSEVELT. That was pending—in 1904; yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You then had no information that Mr. Gould had made this contribution until this development?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Not that I know of; no, sir. I do not remember ever hearing Mr. Gould's name until this moment. I did not even look at the testimony of Mr. Sheldon.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; it was Mr. Sheldon who gave the information of that character. Now, you seem to have heard of the Standard Oil contribution—Mr. Archbold's contribution?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir; that is, I can not say I doubt whether I heard that it was from Archbold, but I heard that there was a Standard Oil contribution. I think, Senator——

Senator PAYNTER. You had that information, then, on October 26, 1904, when you wrote the letter to Mr. Cortelyou?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir; my impression is that Mr. Parker had made the charge, but that I can not be sure of.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, to refresh your recollection, "I have just been informed that the Standard Oil people have contributed \$100,000 to our campaign fund."

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; I can not remember who informed me.

Senator PAYNTER. I am calling your attention to that language there, which would indicate that you had obtained that information otherwise than from any statement that Judge Parker made.

Col. ROOSEVELT. It might be, sir. I do not know.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not recall, then, who gave you the information?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No, sir. Senator Paynter, a month ago I thought I did recall who gave me the information, but, as a matter of fact, it was another man. It was a man I thought I recalled who had told us about it in 1908 and not in 1904. So I do not recall who gave me the information.

Senator PAYNTER. You again wrote Mr. Cortelyou on October 27, 1904?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir; the 27th of October, and telegraphed him——

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; subsequently. That was the day following, the 27th, the first letter that you had written him touching this contribution?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes; I think I telegraphed him—what is the date?

Senator PAYNTER. The telegram is the 29th. I am going to call your attention to that.

Col. ROOSEVELT. There was a telegram on the 29th also. There was another telegram on the 27th.

Senator PAYNTER. That appears in the letter to Senator Clapp.

Col. ROOSEVELT. But there was another telegram of the 27th.

Senator PAYNTER. You mentioned that this morning.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. On the 27th you expressed the opinion that your judgment was correct in notifying him to return the contribution that had been made, and you referred to a publication—a Standard Oil publication in the newspapers, “which I saw after my letter was written and saw that much importance seemed to be attached to the political attitude of this company.” What was that publication, Colonel?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I have forgotten.

Senator PAYNTER. There is nothing in the correspondence to indicate what it was, so far as I see.

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; I think it was something in the public press.

Senator PAYNTER. You state in that letter that you saw it after you had written the previous letter?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you mean by that after it had passed from your office or after you had signed the letter which had been mailed?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I must have meant that, sir, I should think.

Senator PAYNTER. I presumed you did. I just simply want you to explain it.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. And in this letter of October 27, 1904, you say, “I request, therefore, that the contribution be returned without further delay.”

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Had you been advised on the 27th that there had been some delay in the return of the contribution?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No, sir; I had not gotten any answer then at all.

Senator PAYNTER. Then the telegram here reads as follows:

OCTOBER 29, 1904.

Has my request been complied with? I desire that there be no delay.

Were you satisfied then that the contribution had been made at these several dates?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I do not know. I did not get any answer. We could not get any answer for some time. I think Mr. Cortelyou was out west, and we could not get any decided answer at first.

Senator PAYNTER. But your informant made an impression on you that you felt justified in writing to them to return the contribution?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes. I felt that there was enough question as to whether the contribution had not been made to justify my writing as I did.

Senator PAYNTER. You had great confidence in the chairman of the committee, Mr. Cortelyou?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. As you express in your letter?

Col. ROOSEVELT. A great deal.

Senator PAYNTER. And you have told us this morning the confidence you had in Mr. Bliss.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, if this money was received by them, or either of them, and was not returned, you were greatly surprised then to get the information that they would collect that in disobedience of your orders and advise you that it had not been collected?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I was surprised.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you have any apprehension that they would not return the money?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Do you mean prior——

Senator PAYNTER. No; on the 26th of October, 1904, did you have any apprehension that they would not return the money when you requested it, if it had been contributed?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I not only expected that they would return it, but I wanted it to be clear that there was no question in my mind that it must be returned.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not recall, because there have been so many letters read here—did you state in this letter of yours to Senator Clapp that Cortelyou told you that no contribution had been made, I believe, by the Standard Oil Co.?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Cortelyou told me that, and Mr. Bliss told Mr. Loeb that, and only the other day Cortelyou informed me again that he had been informed by Mr. Bliss that no such contribution had been received.

Senator PAYNTER. So you were laboring under the impression all these years, until Archbold gave his testimony, that no contribution had been made by the Standard Oil Co.?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I had heard from two or three sources—certainly one or two sources—some time after the 1904 campaign, that Mr. Bliss had said that he had not received any money from the Standard Oil Corporation, but that he had accepted money from one individual—that was the only individual that I heard of—who had Standard Oil interests, but who had other interests, too, and that Mr. Bliss said that was a personal contribution, and I did not regard it as Standard Oil money.

Senator PAYNTER. Was that explanation made before the campaign closed that year?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Oh, no; it was made a long time afterwards; it may have been a year or two or three years afterwards.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you ever discuss with Mr. Cortelyou the amount of the contribution that had been made to the campaign of 1904 previous to the election, with Mr. Cortelyou?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Cortelyou? Did he not put that into his statement made just prior to the election in 1904?

Senator PAYNTER. I can not tell; I just want your recollection about it, Colonel. I can not recall all the details of the witness's testimony.

Col. ROOSEVELT. My memory is that Mr. Cortelyou told me and also published a statement that the contributions were about one-half what they had been to Mr. McKinley in 1896 and Mr. Cleveland

in 1892, but I do not remember whether at that time he told me the total amount.

Senator PAYNTER. Did he ever go into detail in giving the names and amounts of those who had contributed?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; he never went into details at all; but either he or Mr. Bliss told me the full amount, as I now remember it, because I worked out a comparison between the amount paid in our campaign and the amount paid in the preceding English general election. But whether that was before or after the close of the campaign I can not tell you.

Senator PAYNTER. In your letter you give what purports to be an interview with Mr. Bliss with a reporter of the New York Herald, is it?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. I notice at the conclusion of that interview these words:

Finally, I will say that there never was conducted in this country, no matter what may be said, a cleaner or more honorable campaign than that made by the Republican national committee in 1904. Certain rules, to the highest credit of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Cortelyou and myself, were laid down, and they were rigorously followed.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know anything about the rules which they had laid down during that campaign, to which he refers?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Cortelyou published a statement containing the principles on which we had gone, and which, I think, referred to the rules, and I, of course, knew certain of the rules. I talked that over with Mr. Bliss and Mr. Cortelyou. I had an explicit understanding that no money was to be received if there was any kind of condition expressed or implied as to its receipt, and also that no money was to be expended excepting in absolutely proper ways; that there was to be nothing in any way approaching buying of votes or any corrupt use of money.

Now, I can give you two examples. Mr. Loeb called my attention to the fact that Mr. Bliss in his letter to his successor, Mr. Sheldon, uses almost the identical language that he used in that interview. Mr. Cortelyou told me during the campaign of three instances of his returning contributions. One was a contribution given by a certain gentleman—I do not remember whether he told me his name; if so, I have forgotten it—who made quite a large contribution and then mentioned that he would like to be considered for the mission to Belgium, whereupon Mr. Cortelyou at once returned him the money. The other was in the case of the Tobacco Trust and the independent tobacco companies where we had a matter up for action by the Treasury pending the campaign, and Mr. Cortelyou declined to take any money from either side because we were taking action during the campaign.

Senator PAYNTER. Was it a controversy that was pending before the Treasury Department between the so-called Tobacco Trust and the independents?

Col. ROOSEVELT. And the independents: yes, sir; the domestic.

Senator PAYNTER. And while that was pending it was thought not to be advisable to accept any contributions from them?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Not only while it was pending, but we did not accept any money from them—not only while it was pending, but we did not accept it after it had been decided.

Senator PAYNTER. So the rule that you have just described here was that no contribution was to be received upon condition that implied any promise—where a promise was required for favors, or implied anything of that kind?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes; and that no money should be expended for any improper purpose.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; I understand that. So there was no rule limiting the amounts which a corporation could contribute to the campaign?

Col. ROOSEVELT. None whatever.

Senator PAYNTER. What would constitute, Colonel, an implication in the meaning of that rule, in the giving of money for campaign purposes? Of course, I understand what an expressed request would be. What do you mean by using the word "implied" in that connection?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Such language as Mr. Archbold used in his testimony before you.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, I do not want to go to Mr. Archbold to give a construction of the rule that was laid down by the committee.

Col. ROOSEVELT. My dear Senator, that is a perfectly legitimate answer on my part—the very fact that it was implied.

Senator PAYNTER. You refer to that incident as an interpretation of the rule?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I mean any such attitude as that which Mr. Archbold describes as his own attitude, I should have taken or accepted as meaning that there was an implied understanding that something was to be received for the contribution.

Senator PAYNTER. If a corporation, then, should contribute \$100,000 to the Republican national committee or to the Democratic national committee, that amount would not indicate or suggest any implication that any favors in the future were expected?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Not the slightest. I mean that was exactly as Mr. Morgan testified here yesterday.

Senator PAYNTER. That he had no such purpose?

Col. ROOSEVELT. If you will turn to the end of my letter, Senator Paynter, you will see that I state——

Senator PAYNTER. Yes. I read last night your letter, your discussion of the question.

Col. ROOSEVELT. My discussion of that?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes, sir.

Col. ROOSEVELT. For instance, take the contribution of Mr. Morgan of \$100,000. That probably meant less to him than the \$20 sent me by a lady who was a bookkeeper in Cleveland or the \$1 that I got from the widow of a veteran in the Soldiers' Home.

Senator PAYNTER. There could not be any implication, according to your interpretation of that rule, on account of the party who gave it, or on account of the amount which he contributed? No implication could result from that transaction if no suggestion was made from the donor, for instance?

Col. ROOSEVELT. If no suggestion was made from the donor, unless one knew something about the donor that gave one a suspicion of it.

Senator PAYNTER. So the mere act of giving by an individual or a corporation, without any suggestion, would not of itself contain an implication which was condemned in this rule?

Col. ROOSEVELT. It would not.

Senator PAYNTER. I want to ask you some questions with reference to the Harriman matter, about which you have testified this morning. If I understand it correctly, the substance of your testimony was this: That Mr. Harriman visited you on his own initiative?

Col. ROOSEVELT. He did.

Senator PAYNTER. And that you never asked him to make a contribution or to raise money for the national committee?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes; that is true.

Senator PAYNTER. And furthermore that you never asked him to make a contribution or to raise money for the New York committee, the State committee—either one?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Colonel, I want to call your attention to some letters that were put in the record by Mr. Tegethoff, the secretary of Mr. Harriman.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you read his testimony, Colonel?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No.

Senator PAYNTER. But before I go into that I want to ask you a question. You mentioned a Mr. Hughitt.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Marvin S. Hughitt.

Senator PAYNTER. In a letter which Mr. Harriman wrote to you, if Mr. Tegethoff is correct in his testimony, on June 2, 1904, Mr. Harriman advised you that he had not seen Mr. Dodge, Mr. Hughitt, and Mr. Frick.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Dodge?

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Dodge.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Cleveland H. Dodge?

Senator PAYNTER. I do not think it gives their given names; I am sure it does not. I can look and see.

The CHAIRMAN. What date?

Senator PAYNTER. It is in the first of this testimony. I do not think he gives the initials or given names. No. He says Messrs. Dodge, Hughitt, and Frick. This is the letter, and I will read it to you, as you perhaps have not read it. It is dated New York, June 2, 1904, and is as follows:

120 BROADWAY.

New York, June 2, 1904.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have yours of the 28th ultimo, with the inclosed copy of your speeches and messages, and beg you will accept my thanks for same. I will certainly take much interest in reading them.

You saw something of Gov. Pardee last year. Have you considered him in connection with the position we talked about? I have not yet been able to get at Messrs. Dodge, Hughitt, and Frick, but hope to be able to accomplish it in the first part of next week.

Yours, sincerely,

E. H. HARRIMAN.

To the PRESIDENT,

Washington, D. C.

Do you recall the conversation, or any conversation you had with Mr. Harriman, with reference to these gentlemen?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No. Does it give some letter from me that will explain it?

Senator PAYNTER. No; I do not think there is any letter from you in regard to the matter.

Senator POMERENE. Yes. It refers to "yours of the 28th ultimo."

Senator PAYNTER. I do not think it is published, is it?

Senator POMERENE. It is the one in which the colonel advised him about sending him the speeches.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not think there is any letter here from Col. Roosevelt mentioning the names of these gentlemen. I do not recall that there is any. That letter would indicate you had some conversation with him with reference to these gentlemen, and he was to see them and report to you the result of his interview.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I do not remember what that particular interview would have been about; and I do not quite see why Mr. Frick was mentioned in connection with Mr. Hughitt, because Frick was not a railroad man, as I remember it. My chief conversation with Mr. Hughitt was about railroads.

Senator, I have got rather to guess in answering you. I do not know what bills I was thinking of.

Senator PAYNTER. It does not say anything about the purpose of seeing him at all, but it said he was to see them and report.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Senator, probably this is it, although I have got to answer you a little by guesswork, I think that was before the convention at which I was nominated, and I was anxious that they should know exactly my attitude, and I sent copies of my speeches to several people who would want to know how I felt on the different things that were coming up. Mr. Marvin S. Hughitt substantially agreed with the position I took about the rate bill, and Mr. Harriman did not; most railroad people did not, and I frequently referred railroad men who would object to the position that I took, I would refer them to Mr. Hughitt or ask them to consult with Mr. Hughitt, telling them, "Now, Mr. Hughitt is a practical railroad man; he knows all that business himself. You go and talk with him." But I do not remember—I have no idea who Mr. Dodge is.

Senator PAYNTER. Well. I will not ask you any further questions on that matter.

Col. ROOSEVELT. May I interrupt you to put in this as an exhibit? I spoke of that telegram that Mr. Harriman sent Mr. Loeb. Perhaps I might just as well put that in as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, this morning?

Col. ROOSEVELT. This morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark that "R 6."

The paper referred to was marked "Exhibit R 6," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT R 6.

[Telegram.]

NEW YORK, October 20, 1904.

WM. LOEB, Jr.,

Secretary to the President.

Would like to speak with you personally on long-distance telephone. Please call me quick as possible.

E. H. HARRIMAN.

Senator PAYNTER. Col. Roosevelt. from your correspondence with Mr. Harriman up to a certain time, I would infer that you and Mr. Harriman were quite good friends.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You seem to have invited him to dine with you and take lunch with you occasionally.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I did. He was a delegate for me in 1904.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; that appears in this correspondence.

Col. ROOSEVELT. He and Odell were.

Senator PAYNTER. I will call your attention to it. Just before he sailed for Europe in June did you write Mr. Harriman inviting him to come over here?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I do not know whether I wrote him then or not. I wrote him several times asking him to come over, or phoned him asking him to come over.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Tegethoff put into the record this letter, written when he says he is about to sail. He put in the record a letter dated June 28, 1904, which reads as follows—that is, Mr. Tegethoff puts in one purporting to have been written by Mr. Harriman, reading as follows:

JUNE 28, 1904.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I did not intend to direct attention to what I believe to be inevitable, but I may say now that I do believe it to be so, and not only believe it, but hope for the desired result. I want to assure you that I was only too glad to have been able to take part in the convention which recognized what was your due, and I believe every one very heartily accorded it and will as heartily work for it.

I go aboard the steamer to-night, as we sail early to-morrow morning, and shall be absent about two months, but shall be in close enough communication to exercise my influence should it be necessary before my return.

Yours, sincerely,

E. H. HARRIMAN.

To the PRESIDENT,
Washington, D. C.

Now, he also put in the record this letter, which purports to have been written by you [reading]:

WHITE HOUSE.

Washington, June 29, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: I thank you for your letter. As soon as you come home I shall want to see you. The fight will doubtless be hot then. It has been a real pleasure to see you this year.

Very truly, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. E. H. HARRIMAN,
120 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

That is written or dated following the letter that he wrote you in which he advised you that he would go on board of the ship the next morning.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. It does not contain any letter from him to you or from you to him until this one, written by Mr. Harriman; that is, so far as the record shows. [Reading:]

NEW YORK, September 20, 1904.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I was very glad to receive your note of June 29 last, while I was in Europe. I am now getting the matters that accumulated during my absence somewhat cleared up, and if you think it desirable will go to see you at any time, either now or later. It seems to me that the situation could not be in better shape.

Yours, sincerely,

E. H. HARRIMAN.

Is that an answer to the letter which you had written him on the 29th of June?

Col. ROOSEVELT. That seems to be on its face; yes.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; he mentions it there.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. So Mr. Harriman seemed to recall the fact that you had written him a letter on the 29th of June, inviting him over.

Col. ROOSEVELT. The letter shows he recalled it.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; because the letter of September 20, 1904, would seem to indicate that the invitation was still standing, would it not?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Certainly.

Senator PAYNTER. There is another letter that was put into the record by Mr. Harriman's secretary, Mr. Tegethoff, which reads as follows:

SEPTEMBER 23, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: I thank you for your letter. At present there is nothing for me to see you about, though there were one or two points in my letter of acceptance which I should have liked to discuss with you before putting it out.

With regards and thanks for your kind letter, believe me,

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

That letter is dated September 23.

I now want the letter of October 10.

Col. ROOSEVELT. October what?

Senator PAYNTER. October 10.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Well, here is that letter, an extract from the letter of October 10.

Senator PAYNTER. You referred to it in your letter.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes; I said, "In view of the trouble"—

Senator PAYNTER. It is a short letter, and I will read it. It is dated Washington, October 10, 1904. [Reading:]

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: When you wrote me before I did not feel the situation was such that I was warranted in asking you to take the trouble to come down here, but in view of the trouble over the State ticket in New York I should much like to have a few words with you. Do you think you can get down here within a few days and take either lunch or dinner with me?

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

That is an invitation for him to come down and discuss the New York situation, as I take it.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes. That was to discuss the trouble over the State ticket in New York.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; that is what it says. In response to that, on the 14th of October, 1904, you wrote him as follows:

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: A suggestion has come to me in a roundabout way that you do not think it wise to come on to see me in these closing weeks of the campaign, but that you are reluctant to refuse, inasmuch as I have asked you. Now, my dear sir, you and I are practical men, and you are on the ground and know the conditions better than I do. If you think there is any danger of your visit to me causing trouble, or if you think there is nothing special I should be informed about, or no matter in which I could give aid, why, of course, give up the visit for the time being, and then a few weeks hence, before I write my message, I shall get you to come down to discuss certain Government matters not connected with the campaign.

With great regards, sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

So, in that letter, you substantially state to him that he need not come unless he thought it was of some importance.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Precisely.

Senator PAYNTER. Or that you should be able to give some aid in the matter.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. Here is another letter put into the record by Mr. Harriman's secretary, which reads as follows, and which is addressed to Mr. Loeb: "My dear Mr. Loeb——

Col. ROOSEVELT. What date is that?

Senator PAYNTER. This is dated October 15, 1904, which follows your letter to him [reading]:

DEAR MR. LOEB: Referring to the President's letter of the 14th instant to Mr. E. H. Harriman, the contents of which I have communicated to him in the country, kindly say to the President that owing to the death of Mrs. Harriman's brother, Mr. Wm. H. Averell, at Rochester, Mr. Harriman will not return to the city until after the funeral, which is to be held on Tuesday, and on his return he will go down to Washington to meet the President.

Requesting that you lay this information before the President without delay,
I am, yours, very truly,

ALEX. MILLAR, *Secretary.*

Do you know anything about that letter? Do you recall it?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; I do not recall it.

Senator PAYNTER. Did Mr. Loeb give you any information that this letter had been written to him?

Col. ROOSEVELT. That I can't say. I don't know; I don't remember.

Senator PAYNTER. This recites that Mr. Harriman has been advised as to the contents of your letter of October 14, and he seems to think that it is important that he should come, regardless of the letter you had written to him.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. Now, did any communication take place between you and Mr. Harriman after that until he did visit you, except the communication which you called attention to this morning had by Mr. Loeb on the telephone?

Col. ROOSEVELT. As far as I remember, the first communication from Mr. Harriman after that was his telegram which I have just put in evidence, which telegram reads as follows, being five days later—October 20:

WILLIAM LOEB, Jr.,

Secretary to the President:

Would like to speak with you personally on long-distance telephone. Please wire me quick as possible.

E. H. HARRIMAN.

Mr. Loeb informed me—this is in answer to your question, Senator——

Senator PAYNTER. Yes.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Loeb informed me that he had received the telegram and called up Mr. Harriman on the long-distance telephone, and that Mr. Harriman wished to come down, because he thought the State ticket in jeopardy. Mr. Loeb, I will explain, always required anyone who communicated with me to ask for an interview to tell what the subject of the interview was, so that I should be prepared to discuss it; and in pursuance of his usual custom he had asked Mr.

Harriman what the subject of the interview was, and Mr. Harriman had told him that it was to discuss the jeopardy of the State ticket.

Senator PAYNTER. This record, then, Colonel, shows that before Mr. Harriman sailed for Europe on the 2d of June, 1904, you had invited him to come down and see you?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. He, in September, on his return, wrote to you that he would come the first of next week, and you then wrote him that you were practical men, and if he thought it would cause any trouble, or that you could not give him any information, or that you could not give him any aid, he need not come.

Col. ROOSEVELT. That if I could not give him any aid?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; I am not pretending to give it exactly.

Col. ROOSEVELT. No.

Senator PAYNTER. Then, that was followed by information to your secretary, Mr. Loeb, by the secretary of Mr. Harriman, that he did not feel that he was relieved from coming by reason of your letter of the 14th of October, I think, in which you excused him from coming, and this letter from the secretary would indicate that Mr. Harriman was still under the impression that he ought to come by reason of your previous invitation, notwithstanding that you had heard in a roundabout way that you thought it inadvisable for him to come: is that true?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I think not. I think that letter indicated that he wanted to come, not because of my previous invitation, but because he wanted, for his own purposes, to see me.

Mr. LOEB. I can straighten you out on that, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Just suggest it to the colonel, Mr. Loeb, and it will go in the record under the colonel's testimony.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Would you please read the letter of Mr. Millar?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Of the 15th.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes. [Reading:]

DEAR MR. LOEB: Referring to the President's letter of the 14th instant to Mr. E. H. Harriman, the contents of which I have communicated to him in the country, kindly say to the President that, owing to the death of Mrs. Harriman's brother, Mr. William H. Averell, at Rochester, Mr. Harriman will not return to the city until after the funeral, which is to be held on Tuesday, and on his return he will go down to Washington to meet the President.

Requesting that you lay this information before the President without delay,
I am, yours, very truly,

ALEX. MILLAR, *Secretary*.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes; it was in pursuance, evidently, of that letter that Mr. Harriman sent the telegram which I have just read.

Senator PAYNTER. Because he was advised that he was under promise to you through Mr. Loeb?

Col. ROOSEVELT. That is your statement, Senator.

Senator PAYNTER. Does not the correspondence indicate that?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; I do not think it indicates one way or the other as to why Mr. Harriman came.

Senator PAYNTER. It does not indicate the purpose of his visit, but does it not indicate that he regarded himself as under promise to come to the White House to see you?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I don't think so at all. I released him from the promise.

Senator PAYNTER. You first invited him to the White House. He went to Europe, and he seems to have received your letter in Europe. On his return he offered to comply with your request. Then, before he came, you wrote to him that it would not be necessary for him to come, except on certain conditions.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. Then you followed that by an invitation to come down; that you would like to talk to him about matters.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes; and then I followed that up by saying that there was no need of his coming down.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; I understand that; but in view of the language you employed in your letter, did he not evidently think that he ought to come by reason of the invitation which you had previously given him?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; I don't think so.

Senator PAYNTER. Did Mr. Harriman, at any time, ever write you that he wanted to come to see you and talk to you about New York matters, except as shown by these letters and the telegram that Mr. Loeb has?

Col. ROOSEVELT. As shown by those letters, by telegram, and the telephonic communication with Mr. Loeb?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes. Well, he had reason to believe that Mr. Loeb had advised you of his intention to come after the funeral.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes; doubtless Mr. Loeb did.

Senator PAYNTER. Had not he reason to believe that doubtless he was under promise to come as soon as he returned to New York?

Col. ROOSEVELT. He does not say he was under promise to come.

Senator PAYNTER. I say it indicates it, does it not? He said he would come.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes. But, Senator Paynter, he was not under any promise to come. All he had to do was to come or not, just as he wanted to. My letters show that.

Senator PAYNTER. Col. Roosevelt, there is nothing in this correspondence, is there, that shows Mr. Harriman sought an interview with you, except that it grew out of an invitation you extended to him to visit you at the White House?

Col. ROOSEVELT. There is nothing to show he sought an interview, except it grew out of that?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes.

Col. ROOSEVELT. As regards that correspondence, Mr. Harriman, in his telephonic conversation with Mr. Loeb, stated clearly he wanted to see me on account of the trouble in New York State over the New York State ticket.

Senator PAYNTER. Is it not evident, by his previous letters, that you wanted to talk to him in regard to political matters, because in that letter to him you said: "When you return from Europe the fight will be red hot"? And in his letter to you he said, if he was needed, he substantially said, he would exert his influence before he even returned to the country?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Senator Paynter, my letter of October 14 said explicitly this:

If you think there is any danger of your visit to me causing trouble, or if you think there is nothing special to be informed upon or no matter in which I

could give aid, why, of course, give up the visit for the time being, and in a few weeks hence, before I write my message, I shall get you to come down and discuss certain Government matters not connected with the campaign.

After that letter Mr. Harriman knew, and could not help knowing, that he was under no obligation to come down, and that I had nothing to see him about that I could not discuss after election.

Senator PAYNTER. If your letter of October 14 said——

Col. ROOSEVELT. That is October 14.

Senator PAYNTER (continuing) :

If you think there is any danger of your visit to me causing trouble * * * or there is no matter in which I could give aid——

Then, did he not have the right, under your previous invitation, under this letter of October 14, to determine whether or not the invitation still existed?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Of course he had a right, and I was delighted to see him or not to see him, either one.

Senator PAYNTER. So he had a right to believe the invitation still existed, if he concluded he could say something to you which would be of value, or he thought you could, and if he thought it would not cause any trouble——

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes; and he had the right to come here, whether there was any invitation or not.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all true; but I have understood you to say he sought the interview with you.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I did. After that letter; that letter of October 14 explicitly released him from coming down.

Senator PAYNTER. But left him to exercise his judgment as to whether it was advisable for him to come or not?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. He had a right, if he believed it would not cause trouble or that he could give you some information of value to the Republican cause, to come?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Or if I could give him aid.

Senator PAYNTER. He had the right to believe the invitation still existed, if he reached that conclusion about that letter?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. Then, when his secretary sent the letter on the following day, did not that indicate that he thought he could come with safety, and that you might discuss things which would be of interest to the Republican cause?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. After you having given him, in the letter of October 14, the right to exercise his judgment as to the propriety of coming, is it exactly just to Mr. Harriman to say that he sought the interview because he called up Mr. Loeb?

Col. ROOSEVELT. It is, sir; it is exactly just and scientifically accurate to do so.

In that letter of mine, of October 14, I said there, "If you think there is nothing special I could be informed about, or no matter in which I could give aid," and he came to the conclusion that there was a matter in which I could give aid, and would come down.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, he had an invitation to come under such circumstances, had he not?

Col. ROOSEVELT. He or anyone else had a right to come down to see me at any time.

Senator PAYNTER. But we are discussing Mr. Harriman now.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. And I had in mind your statement that Mr. Harriman had sought this interview.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. In reading these letters I got a contrary impression about it, and I desired to call your attention to it that you might express your view about it.

So you never asked Mr. Harriman to raise any money for the Republican national committee?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Never.

Senator PAYNTER. Were you advised by Mr. Harriman or by Mr. Bliss or by Mr. Cortelyou or anyone else that the Republican national committee had promised to furnish the Republican State committee of New York money to be expended during the campaign?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; I had no information that there had been any such promise. I remember either Mr. Bliss or Mr. Cortelyou telling me that the Republican State committee was lying down, I think. They used some such phrase as that, that the Republican State committee was asking for help. But it is eight years ago, you know, Senator.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I can not remember whether they said that after I brought up this request of Mr. Harriman or before.

Senator PAYNTER. You knew the Republican committee, then, was insisting that the national committee furnish money to further prosecute the campaign?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Well, I knew——

Senator PAYNTER. When Mr. Harriman visited you; did you?

Col. ROOSEVELT. That I can not tell you. I rather think Mr. Harriman's statement was the first clear, definite knowledge I had had of it.

Senator PAYNTER. That that was the condition over there?

Col. ROOSEVELT. That that was the condition over there. I knew that there was jeopardy to the Higgins ticket.

Senator PAYNTER. If the Republican committee in New York——

Col. ROOSEVELT. You understand, Senator Paynter, I do not know whether you remember the fact that Mr. Higgins was supposed to be, as I felt, very unjustly, merely the instrument of Mr. Odell, and Mr. Odell and Mr. Harriman were very close together. Some papers—the New York Sun, for instance—were conducting a violent campaign against Mr. Higgins, on the ground that he was the tool of Odell and Harriman. Harriman became enormously interested as a matter of personal pride in seeing the Higgins ticket win.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you read Mr. Morgan's testimony this morning, or perhaps you saw it in the paper?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I saw most of it.

Senator PAYNTER. He refused to make a contribution except to the Republican national committee when he contributed the \$50,000.

Have you read Gov. Odell's testimony, where he said that Mr. Bliss gave him a check, as treasurer of the Republican committee,

for \$200,000, as the result of the effort of Mr. Harriman to raise money? Have you read Gov. Odell's testimony?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I have seen that. Did not either Mr. Sheldon or Mr. Duell contradict that and say that he did not sign it as treasurer?

Senator PAYNTER. That is according to what view you take of it.

Mr. Sheldon says that it was not carried in the accounts of Mr. Bliss as treasurer of the committee.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Of course I know nothing about it.

Senator PAYNTER. I think Mr. Sheldon says that there was some memorandum, perhaps. I will not make that statement, because I may be in error about it.

And Mr. Duell's testimony tended the same way, to show that; but Mr. Morgan's testimony, as I understand, is to the effect that Bliss, Cortelyou, and Odell saw him in regard to this matter and he refused to give it, except to the Republican national committee.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Did Mr. Morgan say that Mr. Cortelyou saw him?

Senator PAYNTER. In his examination in chief I did not understand him to say it, but I understood the contrary to be true; in his cross-examination I understood him to say that he did talk to him.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I know nothing whatever about it at all.

Senator PAYNTER. I know I was surprised at his statement on cross-examination, in view of what he had said before.

Col. Roosevelt, was the Republican committee in the State of New York loyal to the Republican national ticket?

Col. ROOSEVELT. To the Republican——

Senator PAYNTER. That is, was the Republican committee in New York, the State committee, loyal to the nominees of the Republican convention, or the Republican electors—the candidates for electors?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Were the Republican State committee?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Why, I know nothing to the contrary.

Senator PAYNTER. Any effort that it would put forth to aid the Republican cause would aid the national ticket to the same extent that it would the local ticket?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Not at all. I got a much greater majority than Higgins.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; I understand that.

Col. ROOSEVELT. And the fight had to be waged purely for Higgins.

Senator PAYNTER. But if they had watchers at the polls, if they sent out literature and the other things that are common in campaigns, it would necessarily help both tickets, would it not?

Col. ROOSEVELT. If they had watchers at the polls, if they prevented ballot-box stuffing and repeating, it would help me.

Senator PAYNTER. Or if it got out votes that might not come out otherwise?

Col. ROOSEVELT. If it got votes that would not come otherwise it would help me, if those votes were for me.

Senator PAYNTER. That is what I say.

Col. ROOSEVELT. There would be some help to me, but it would not help me as much as the State ticket.

Senator PAYNTER. That has been the idea you have had from the situation in New York—that you did not need the assistance for yourself?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes. Senator Paynter, it was not merely my idea; it was Mr. Harriman's idea; it was the idea of all others. They all knew I was safe, and they were all trying to develop strength for Mr. Higgins. If you will turn to the columns of the press of New York at the time or look at the betting on me and on Higgins, you will see the difference in the betting.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes. I am not seeking to show that you may not have had more strength than Higgins at all.

Col. ROOSEVELT. The votes showed that.

Senator PAYNTER. That is not my intention at all; I was not suggesting that.

I notice in the letter which you wrote to Mr. Sherman on October 8, 1906, which you copy in the letter you addressed to Senator Clapp, this language appears:

I never requested Mr. Harriman to give a dollar for the presidential campaign of 1904. On the contrary, our communications as regards the campaign related exclusively to the fight being made against Mr. Higgins for governor of New York; Mr. Harriman being immensely interested in the success of Mr. Higgins, because he regarded the attack on Higgins as being rather an attack on him, Mr. Harriman, and on his friend Gov. Odell. And he was concerned only in getting me to tell Mr. Cortelyou to aid Higgins so far as he could, which I gladly did.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. You very emphatically say there that you did not ask Harriman to raise any money—to use your language here—for the presidential campaign.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. That your communications were upon the other subjects.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not seem to have said in this letter to Mr. Sherman that you did not urge him to raise money for the State ticket, as I take it?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Well, the letter speaks for itself.

Senator PAYNTER. You are clear and explicit in stating that you did not ask him to raise money for the presidential campaign. Then you say your communication was on the subject of the State race?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. But I fail to find any statement here that you did not ask him to raise money for the State campaign.

Col. ROOSEVELT. We did not discuss raising money for anything but the State campaign, and Mr. Harriman asked me to aid him in getting money for that campaign, and he did not need any urging. He was doing everything he could for it himself. He told me that he had given too much money; that he had underwritten more than he could afford to in the State campaign, and he must be helped out of it. The urging was the other way.

Senator PAYNTER. I believe that is all I desire to ask Col. Roosevelt.

Senator POMERENE. Colonel, please, just a question or two on the subject of this correspondence to which Senator Paynter has especially called your attention. In your letter to Mr. Sherman—I take it that is Vice President Sherman.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Vice President Sherman.

Senator POMERENE. Your position was, as it is now, that you were seeking to raise this money in behalf of the State ticket?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And on page 182 of the record there is a quotation from your letter of October 10 in which you quote these words:

In view of the trouble over the ticket in New York, I should much like to have a few words with you. Do you think that you can get down here within a few days and take either lunch or dinner with me?

It would seem that that was only a portion of the letter. Now, referring to the correspondence——

Col. ROOSEVELT. Do you not think that in Mr. Harriman's testimony, or in what Mr. Tegethoff submitted, you might be able to find the whole letter?

Senator POMERENE. Yes; I have it, and that is what I was going to call your attention to, Colonel. On page 232 there purports to be the complete letter, and the first sentence of it is this, immediately preceding what I have quoted:

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: When you wrote me before, I did not feel the situation was such that I was warranted in asking you to take the trouble to come down here, but in view of the trouble over the State ticket in New York, etc.

Now, you refer there to the situation at some previous time. What situation did you refer to?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Will you just read me that over again?

Senator POMERENE. Very gladly.

Col. ROOSEVELT. And what date is that?

Senator POMERENE. October 10, 1904. I will read the whole letter, so that you may get the contents of it:

When you wrote me before——

By the way, before I do that, do you remember to what date you referred when you wrote him before?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; but it must have been after his return from Europe.

Senator POMERENE (continuing reading):

When you wrote me before, I did not feel the situation was such that I was warranted in asking you to take the trouble to come down here, but in view of the trouble over the State ticket in New York I should much like to have a few words with you——

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes. Now, what is your question?

Senator POMERENE. My question is, What was the situation to which you referred in the previous portion of the letter?

Col. ROOSEVELT. The situation was the fact that everything seemed to be perfectly favorable in New York, and then it developed that there was trouble about Higgins. I had known Higgins, and thought he was a very, very fine fellow, and I did not suppose any trouble would develop against him, but it did develop against him, and that was the change in the situation.

Senator POMERENE. Well, evidently, at the time to which you refer it had not developed, if I understand you correctly.

Col. ROOSEVELT. It had not developed to a degree that seemed to be formidable.

Senator POMERENE. Now, your language here would not seem to be quite clear as to whether it referred to the situation so far as it concerned the national ticket or the State ticket, or possibly to something else?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Well, I should not say that, Senator. It seems to me that, taking the context—situation and the State ticket together—that that shows it only referred to the State ticket.

Senator POMERENE. Do you think it looks, in view of your calling special attention to the State ticket, where you say, "I did not feel the situation was such that I was warranted in asking you to take the trouble to come down here, but in view of the trouble over the State ticket," as if that referred to something else? I may be in error, but I want your construction about it.

Col. ROOSEVELT. My construction is that that was written to a man who knew all about the situation, and was written at the time with all the facts before him, and he could understand it only as referring to the State ticket. There was no trouble. The whole situation in New York was one of trouble over the State ticket.

Senator POMERENE. Now, Colonel, going to another matter. What was Mr. Cortelyou's position at the time he was elected, or selected, as chairman of the committee?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Secretary of Commerce and Labor, was it not?

The CHAIRMAN. That is it; yes.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

Senator POMERENE. And how long had he been Secretary of Commerce and Labor?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I think he was the first man; I think ever since the beginning. He was the first appointee. Mr. Cortelyou was Mr. Cleveland's private secretary, and I continued him as my private secretary, and then when the Department of Commerce and Labor was created, I put him in it.

Senator POMERENE. Now, what were the reasons which led up to his appointment as chairman of the national campaign committee?

Col. ROOSEVELT. That I thought him an extremely efficient man, and failed to get one or two other men whom I asked to take the place. I asked, I think, Mr. Cornelius Bliss to take the place and one or two others, and I thought him the most efficient man. He had a great administrative capacity.

Senator POMERENE. And you had asked, I believe you stated, if I am not mistaken, Senator Root?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Senator Root, Murray Crane, and Cornelius Bliss.

Senator POMERENE. Senator Root, Murray Crane, and Cornelius Bliss?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And they did not see their way clear to accept the position, and then you selected Mr. Cortelyou?

Col. ROOSEVELT. And I selected Mr. Cortelyou.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you, I believe, also were responsible for the selection of Mr. Bliss as the treasurer of the committee?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Not for the selection, but I think I was partly responsible for his retention. You see, he had been treasurer under McKinley, in both of McKinley's campaigns, and he wanted to get out. His health was not good and he wanted to get out, and told me that Mrs. Bliss insisted upon his getting out, and I wrote him a

letter—well, certainly I spoke to him several times—you see, first of all asking him to be the chairman, and when he refused that, I then urged him very strongly to remain as treasurer, and, of course, others did too.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you, of course, after their appointment, had some conference with them, I take it?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I had some conferences with them; many more with Mr. Cortelyou than with Mr. Bliss.

Senator POMERENE. Now, during these conferences, was there anything said which would indicate that they were not to keep each other advised as to what was going on in their several departments?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I did not interfere in any way with their management of the work.

Senator POMERENE. But, as between them?

Col. ROOSEVELT. They never discussed the details of their work.

Senator POMERENE. Did you understand that Mr. Bliss was not to advise Mr. Cortelyou as to the sources of the revenues which would be collected for the campaign?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I did not understand anything about it, sir. I do not think it was brought up, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. Was there any reason why he should not advise Mr. Cortelyou as to the sources of contributions?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Not as far as I knew, but you would have to find out from Mr. Cortelyou.

Senator POMERENE. Oh, yes, of course.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I do not know anything about it.

Senator POMERENE. I am referring to your own knowledge.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I have no knowledge of it, one way or the other.

Senator POMERENE. I can understand that these things may have happened and you have no knowledge about them.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I had no knowledge about them.

Senator POMERENE. There was no reason why you should not be fully advised as to the contributions which were being made from time to time and the sources of those contributions, was there?

Col. ROOSEVELT. There was no reason why I should not be, no; but I had my own work, and a presidential candidate is a middling busy man.

Senator POMERENE. You certainly were.

Col. ROOSEVELT. And I had my own work. I do not think that you will find that any presidential candidate could possibly attend, Senator, to the details of the running of the campaign committee and do his own work.

Senator POMERENE. Well, did you at any time discuss with them the names of possible or probable contributors to the fund?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you ever make any suggestions to them or to either of them as the sources from which moneys might be had for the campaign?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Never.

Senator POMERENE. Did you at any time furnish a list of names?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. To anyone who was interested in your campaign—a list of names of possible contributors, or of persons who

should be visited, in behalf of the financial situation, so far as it pertained to the campaign?

Col. ROOSEVELT. During the presidential campaign?

Senator POMERENE. During the presidential campaign.

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; not as far as my memory goes; and I think I would remember it if I did.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any correspondence with any of the leading Republicans of the country or financiers on the subject of contributions?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or did you at any time write to anyone requesting that they or that he should collect funds for the purposes of the campaign?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No, sir. I think I would remember that if I had done it.

Senator POMERENE. Did you authorize anyone else to do that other than in the selection of your treasurer?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No. I was going to say that you might say by my asking Mr. Bliss to be treasurer I would, of course, authorize him——

Senator POMERENE. Except as to him.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Not that I recollect.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any correspondence with anyone in Chicago on the subject of campaign contributions?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Any correspondence—any kind of campaign correspondence?

Senator POMERENE. With regard to the financial part of the campaign especially?

Col. ROOSEVELT. You mean as regards any person, to get them to solicit campaign contributions?

Senator POMERENE. Yes; or to look after the matter of collecting campaign funds.

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; not that I remember.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of any reason why you should not have been advised as to the names of the contributors or any of the contributors to that fund?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I do not know of any reason I should not have been or should have been, either one.

Senator POMERENE. I wanted to call your attention to this purported interview with Mr. Bliss by a Herald reporter in which you quote in your letter to Senator Clapp the last paragraph:

In his statement in the alleged Webster letter, that Mr. Roosevelt asked him to raise money, Mr. Harriman was also mistaken. The then President had nothing to do with raising any money. Not once in the conferences of the committee was there any suggestion that he was doing it. The only thing that Mr. Roosevelt had to do with such matters was to issue orders that money was not to be accepted from this or that person. His orders were ignored, as it was recognized that this was something about which he must not interfere, and I brooked no interference.

Was that correct?

Col. ROOSEVELT. There is the interview. I do not remember his ever saying anything like that to me; but I do remember Mr. Loeb telling me that when he called him up by telephone over the Standard Oil contribution, that he answered very shortly and seemed to

be very much irritated. He seemed to think that the question that Mr. Loeb put to him from me contained some implication on his good faith, and was inclined, apparently to resent it.

Senator POMERENE. Well, now, did this refer particularly to him or to Mr. Cortelyou as well?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I think it only referred to himself.

Senator POMERENE. Did you understand that Mr. Bliss had the substantial control of the collection of the funds, and that Mr. Cortelyou did not have any supervision of that matter?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No. I hadn't understood that. I was not acquainted with the inside working of the committee, and if you will remember, Senator, that charges brought by Mr. Parker were not brought against Mr. Bliss at all; they were brought against Mr. Cortelyou. So that my attention was riveted on Mr. Cortelyou. You remember, do you not, the charges?

Senator POMERENE. I recall them.

Col. ROOSEVELT. And they were not on Mr. Bliss at all; they were on Mr. Cortelyou.

Senator POMERENE. Now, in view of the fact that Mr. Bliss was your treasurer, and in view of the further fact that, I assume, in your judgment he had more to do with the collection of funds than Mr. Cortelyou had——

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. By virtue of his position——

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What reason was there for your not writing to Mr. Bliss, instead of to Mr. Cortelyou, if any?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Because Mr. Cortelyou, being the chairman, was the man of whom everybody spoke; he was the man with whom I communicated on all points. As I say, Mr. Parker's charges related to Mr. Cortelyou, not to Mr. Bliss, and I answered his charges. I fortified myself about Mr. Parker's charges, not about Mr. Bliss, who was not spoken of; nobody thought about Mr. Bliss or talked about him in any way.

Senator POMERENE. Colonel, if I am wrong, you will set me right——

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. This letter to Mr. Cortelyou bears date—the first letter—October 26.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And the second letter, if I remember rightly, October 27.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Twenty-seventh; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. The charges, if we may call them such, by Judge Parker were not made until after that.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Oh, they had been made for weeks before; he had been making them for days, certainly, or weeks. I did not answer them until they had been going on and been repeated and repeated.

Senator POMERENE. On second thought, I think you are correct.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes; and also, if you will turn to the cartoons and to the papers, you will see that for weeks the opposition press had been attacking Cortelyou, having pictures of him and caricatures of him, and insisting that he was holding up the corporations, and that he was getting the money, etc. The whole attack, Senator, was on

Cortelyou. If you will turn to the scrapbooks, you will see that the attacks in the papers were on Cortelyou, and not on Bliss.

Senator POMERENE. Were these attacks made against the committee with respect to the Standard Oil Co.'s interest in the campaign or with respect to financial interests generally?

Col. ROOSEVELT. To financial interests generally; to financial interests generally; that he was blackmailing or, in effect, blackmailing corporations.

Senator POMERENE. Colonel, that being so, then why did you specifically point out in these letters the Standard Oil Co. contribution?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I was not dealing with the charges against Mr. Cortelyou in this letter about the Standard Oil Corporation. The only accusation about the receipt of money given from a specific source which seemed to me to call for any action was that about the Standard Oil.

Senator POMERENE. Your statement is—

I have just been informed that the Standard Oil Co. people have contributed \$100,000, etc., to the campaign fund.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And your letter, as contained in the record, has some asterisks, as if there was something omitted.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I supplied that in full to-day. I read you that letter in full to-day.

Senator POMERENE. Very well. But in the part which you have supplied, did it make any reference to contributions from these other sources?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. I do not recall that portion of it.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Have you got my letter to Mr. Sheldon?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. This is it [indicating].

Col. ROOSEVELT. Would you rather read it, Senator Pomerene, or shall I read it?

Senator POMERENE. It is where you speak of contributions from corporations as well as individuals?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. I recall it now.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you have made reference to Judge Parker's criticisms. Mr. Cortelyou, I believe, had at one time been at the head of the Bureau of Corporations?

Col. ROOSEVELT. He had.

Senator POMERENE. And as such it was in part his province to investigate the internal affairs of corporations?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. That is correct, is it not?

Col. ROOSEVELT. In part only. It would have been done chiefly through the head of the bureau under him.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; but he had general supervision?

Col. ROOSEVELT. He had a general supervision over it.

Senator POMERENE. And whatever reports were made would be made to him?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes; they would be made to him, or through him to me. But, as a matter of fact, I think you will find that the head

of the Department of Commerce and Labor does not keep a very minute oversight over the Chief of the Bureau of Corporations. I say that simply because during my term as President it was Garfield and Herbert Knox Smith who were the successive Chiefs of the Bureau of Corporations, and I always dealt more with them than with the Secretary, for the time being. I always dealt more with the chief of the bureau—I, as President, did—because the chief of the bureau knew more.

Senator POMERENE. In view of your comments upon Judge Parker's statements, I wanted to call your attention to this. Is it not the fact that Judge Parker in his speech spoke rather of what he conceived to be the impropriety of the head of a corporation being in that responsible position, and referred to the possibilities of favors being asked or expected, and that he made no specific charge as against Mr. Cortelyou, or as against your administration?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No, Senator; that is not the fact. Mr. Parker's statements were universally accepted, and properly accepted, as being a direct charge, in view of the language he used, that Mr. Cortelyou had made use of his position, of the information he had gained in his official position, to blackmail corporations, and that I had appointed him for that purpose.

Senator POMERENE. May I read to you what purports to be a paragraph or two from his speech at Meridian, November 3, 1904?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Certainly.

Senator POMERENE (reading):

When the trusts of this country united for the purpose of raising a fund that was to be large enough to control the election it became your duty and mine, without regard to any other issue of this campaign, to settle the question, once for all, whether money or manhood suffrage shall control. Men are saying to each other what you and I are saying: "This country shall not pass into the hands of the trusts."

We have a very remarkable situation presented. After the recommendations six or eight years ago that action should be taken toward curbing the trusts, the Republican Party passed a statute to that end, but when we examine the statute closely we find that it authorized the President to appoint a Cabinet officer to investigate the trusts. The information he receives may be given to the public or kept private, as the President may direct.

The man he put at the head of that bureau was his private secretary. After this campaign opened he became chairman of the Republican national committee and whatever information he had, if he had any, was perfectly well understood by the heads of organizations. They knew what secrets they had that they did not care to have made public.

I do not know that he had any information, but this position was one that entitled him to get it. From that time on there has been a gradual movement in that direction until it is believed that every trust in this country, including the Standard Oil Trust, is doing what it can to elect that ticket.

The charge, if anything, was one rather by inference than anything else.

Col. ROOSEVELT. It is one of innuendo. And, Senator, I object more to a charge by innuendo than I do to one directly. I like a man to be game and say what he means. I do not like him to try to sneak around.

Senator POMERENE. That is true. Now, did you have any information as to a contribution during that campaign from the steel interests, so called, or from Mr. Frick?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes; from Mr. Frick. I had no information in the sense that anyone told me that Mr. Frick had contributed, but I

knew he was a strong supporter of mine, and I took it for granted that he had contributed. And I do not know, Senator Pomerene, whether Mr. Morgan's testimony of yesterday about that contribution is meant to include Frick's contribution of \$150,000 or not.

Senator POMERENE. I think he made no reference to that.

Senator PAYNTER. He thought it was part of the Harriman contribution?

The CHAIRMAN. He stated that he subscribed \$100,000 and then subsequently \$50,000 to the Harriman fund.

Col. ROOSEVELT. What I wanted to get at was, did you understand whether that contribution was made by Mr. Morgan personally or did it represent Mr. Morgan and Mr. Frick and his associates?

The CHAIRMAN. No; I understand it was made by Mr. Morgan.

Col. ROOSEVELT. That was Mr. Morgan and his associates. Then, it is possible, if the contribution of which Mr. Morgan spoke yesterday was by Mr. Morgan and his associates, that I may have known of it to the extent that I knew that Frick was heartily supporting me, and I supposed, in that sense, that he was contributing money. I will tell you why I supposed that, because I was told that Mr. Frick had known of my direction to return the Standard Oil Co.'s money, and that Mr. Frick had said, "Well, I have contributed that, but if that means a loss to the campaign I will contribute more money to make it good"; and that having been told me, I took it for granted that Mr. Frick had contributed.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any personal talk with Mr. Frick on the subject?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; not on the subject of contributions; not that I remember. Mr. Knox mentioned to me the fact that Mr. Frick was so cordially supporting me.

Senator POMERENE. And you have no recollection of any talk with Mr. Frick on the subject?

Col. ROOSEVELT. On the subject of contributions; no.

Senator POMERENE. Or on the subject of his own contribution?

Col. ROOSEVELT. On the subject of his own contribution; no; not that I remember.

Senator POMERENE. But, as I recall your statement of some little time ago, you did have some talk with Secretary Knox on the subject of what Mr. Frick was willing to do.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Well, now, Senator Pomerene, you must not misunderstand me. It was not that I asked Mr. Knox to get Mr. Frick to contribute anything; it was the voluntary statement of Mr. Knox to me that Mr. Frick was heartily for me. Let me repeat that: Not directly or indirectly did I ask Mr. Frick or anyone else to contribute.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any knowledge during the campaign of the contributions which were made to Mr. Bliss by the New York Equitable, the New York Life, or the New York Mutual Insurance Co.?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No. I saw in the papers, when John A. McCall came out strongly for our ticket—and I think there was a statement in the papers to the effect that Mr. McCall said he was going to contribute heavily to the campaign; but that was the extent to which I saw it.

Senator POMERENE. At what time of the campaign was that, if you recall?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I could not tell you that.

Senator POMERENE. You have no information from the campaign managers, either Mr. Cortelyou or Mr. Bliss or anyone else as to that fund?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Not a word.

Senator POMERENE. Did you know what amount, if any, was contributed by the beef interests in Chicago?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I never heard a word of it.

Senator POMERENE. Or by anyone of the individuals?

Col. ROOSEVELT. The beef interests?

Senator POMERENE. Yes; what is commonly called the Beef Trust.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Was it testified to that they contributed?

Senator POMERENE. No, Colonel; we are unfortunate in not being able as yet to get the list of the contributors, and I am simply asking for information.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I never heard of it until this moment. As far as I know, this is the first suggestion that has been made to me that the Beef Trust contributed. If my memory is correct—and Senator Clapp can tell me about this—I think I had already moved against the Beef Trust in 1904. I know that, and I will tell you why. I know that Knox was my Attorney General, and he ceased being Attorney General in the year of 1904, did he not?

Senator OLIVER. June, 1904.

Col. ROOSEVELT. June, 1904. While Mr. Knox was Attorney General, he carried on a number of suits and got a number of injunctions against the Beef Trust, and I think he got a law through for inspection. No; the inspection law was later; but I know that Attorney General Knox had gotten a number of injunctions against the beef people. I knew nothing of any contribution from them. I supposed they were against me.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cortelyou testified that, so far as he knew, no one connected with the Beef Trust had contributed.

Senator POMERENE. Well, he did not have the list before him.

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Senator POMERENE. Now, referring again to the Standard Oil Co., you testified, possibly before lunch, that they were bitterly opposed to the establishment of the Bureau of Corporations.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And in that way you had incurred their hostility.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. What was the reason for their change of attitude in the campaign, if you know?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I don't know. I don't know that there was a change of attitude. I don't know anything about it.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of any contributions which were made by the railroads during that campaign?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I know nothing about them.

Senator POMERENE. Did you know of a contribution which was made by the Missouri Pacific, or, perhaps, by Mr. George Gould?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; I think I answered that question already, did I not, Senator Paynter?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; you did. I understood you to say that you did not know it until this morning.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I did not know of it until you spoke of it to me.

Senator POMERENE. You have said with respect to the tobacco company that you had given instructions——

Col. ROOSEVELT. No, no; I did not give instructions; but Mr. Cortelyou told me that he had refused——

Senator POMERENE. Oh, I misunderstood you.

Col. ROOSEVELT. To accept any money from either side.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know whether any individuals connected with the tobacco people had contributed to the campaign fund?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; I do not; but, Senator Pomerene, I did not quibble in the questions I put to Mr. Cortelyou. When he told me that he had declined to accept any money from the tobacco people on either side, I took it for granted that he meant that there were no contributions received from any people connected with them on either side.

Senator POMERENE. You have referred to the fact that charges were being made constantly during the campaign——

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Through the newspapers, and perhaps otherwise, that the different trusts—those I have named, as well as others—were supporting the Republican ticket and were contributing largely to the campaign funds.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, after that came to your knowledge, did you have any talk with Mr. Cortelyou or Mr. Bliss on the subject of those contributions from these sources?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Simply the talk to which I have already referred.

Senator POMERENE. By that you mean——

Col. ROOSEVELT. By that I mean to ask them if there was any contribution made with any promise, express or implied, on our part to do anything except to act perfectly squarely in the interests of the whole country.

Senator POMERENE. There was no attempt to make contributions public at that time, I take it?

Col. ROOSEVELT. None at all.

Senator POMERENE. But I believe that in your present platform you favor making contributions public before the election?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes; and we have done it.

Senator POMERENE. Yes. Is there any reason now why that should not be the law, which did not obtain during the campaign of 1904?

Col. ROOSEVELT. The country had not grown up to it.

Senator POMERENE. The same thing——

Col. ROOSEVELT. I think I helped educate the country up to it.

Senator POMERENE. I think that in one of your messages you said something on the subject.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I did. Why, Senator Pomerene, that is exactly as it was 30 years ago, when I first took part in politics; we had not the Australian ballot; everybody peddled ballots around the polls; you were allowed to go in with a man to the polls to see how he voted. Now it would be illegal to conduct an election in a way that it was then absolutely legal and absolutely proper.

Senator POMERENE. That is true.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Now, you take Mr. Bliss. Mr. Bliss felt most strongly, and I have heard him say again and again that it was an

outrageous breach of confidence to make public contributions; that there were many people who would not contribute if it was to be made public; and I know that to be so myself. I have known women contributing, and I am thinking of a woman that I know slightly in Boston who contributed \$5,000 on the express understanding that her name should not be published; and this year two or three contributions were sent to me with request that the names should not be made public, and I had quite a time in making the contributors understand that their names had to be made public. Mr. Bliss took the ground most strongly that no man ought to have his contribution divulged; there was a breach of faith, and that it might expose him to the hostility of the other side in politics, and that it might do him great damage. He took that ground very, very strongly, I believed that the reasons against that were controlling, and advocated in my message to Congress that publicity should be enforced.

Senator PAYNTER. Excuse me, Colonel, but what session of Congress was that?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Do you remember the session?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not recall it.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I think it was 1906.

Senator POMERENE. It was in your message of 1905.

Col. ROOSEVELT. 1905?

Senator POMERENE. 1905.

Senator PAYNTER. I thought you and Mr. Bryan had had several controversies as to whether it should be before or after the election in the campaign of 1908?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I have had a great many controversies, both with Mr. Bryan and other gentlemen. I have forgotten whether that was one of them or not.

Senator POMERENE. Following the suggestion of Senator Paynter, there was a controversy of that kind during the campaign of 1908?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Your position at that time was that you favored the publication afterwards, as I recall?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And not before the election?

Col. ROOSEVELT. To avoid just such incidents as that—I do not know whether the testimony came before this committee, but you recollect Mr. Norman Mack's testimony about the money they received from Mr. Guffey, after the campaign, after having refused to receive it during the campaign?

Senator PAYNTER. I was not here when he gave his testimony.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Do you recollect, Senator Pomerene?

Senator POMERENE. Yes. I was not on the committee at that time, however.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Well, it was to avoid just such a condition as that.

Senator POMERENE. That is the case where after the campaign closed a check was accepted, to meet a deficiency?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes. I at that time took the view very strongly—and I am not sure I did not take it in my message in 1905; you can correct me—that the publicity ought to be made after the election, so as to prevent the chance of money being advanced or obligations being incurred, and the money paid for them, after the election. But

I found that the bulk of the men who felt as I did about publicity wanted the publicity made before election, and I am inclined to think that it was better to have it made before election.

Senator POMERENE. The moral obloquy connected with these contributions by public corporations was as great in 1904, during the campaign, as it was in 1905, when you sent to Congress your message on that subject?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Not at all, not at all. I think there was a very great difference.

Senator POMERENE. You think there was a different situation?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes. Go back to 1896, and the big corporations, the best known and most respectable corporations of New York—I am thinking of the Chemical Bank, the Union Trust Co., and similar corporations—when they voted contributions, the men voting the contributions felt they were performing a great and heroic public service; it was mentioned in the papers what they had done, and the papers cordially praised them for their patriotism.

Senator POMERENE. Fortunately we got away from that situation.

Col. ROOSEVELT. We have gotten away from that situation.

Senator POMERENE. If there was a change of sentiment, then, between the years 1904 and 1905——

Col. ROOSEVELT. Oh, it was a change which culminated after that.

Senator POMERENE. It was largely due to the discussion of that subject during the campaign of 1904.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Without any reference to the recipients of the fund whatever—I say that preliminarily—with these trusts making contributions, I will change the word “trust”—with these large financial interests having made contributions, as they seem to have made, according to the testimony thus far introduced, would not some of them naturally expect (not that any promise was made to them, or anything of that kind), but would not some of them be expecting favors from the administration, if elected?

Col. ROOSEVELT. That is a hypothetical question you are putting.

Senator POMERENE. Yes, it is; in large part.

Col. ROOSEVELT. That is a hypothetical question. Senator Pomerene, I have got to answer that, not by making it hypothetical, but by taking that case of the election of 1904. I had been governor two years. The franchise tax bill, for instance, had been passed while I was governor. I had been President three and a half years. The Northern Securities suit had been brought, the Bureau of Corporations' bill had been passed, the anthracite coal strike had been settled. Every man with an ounce of intelligence in him ought to have known enough—unless he was a crooked man—he ought to have known that I meant absolutely what I said, and that my deeds made good my words, and that if I said, as I did say, that no promise, expressed or implied, accompanied the receipt of any contribution, that I meant it.

As a matter of fact, Senator Pomerene, during the entire time that I was President neither Mr. Bliss nor Mr. Cortelyou nor anybody connected in any way with the national committee ever advanced to me, as a reason why I should take any action or not take any action, the fact that a contribution had been made or had been withheld.

Senator POMERENE. Colonel, I hope you did not misunderstand me. I did not mean to intimate that any promise had been held out. I simply referred to the fact that some of these donors might be expecting some sort of favors.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Well, Senator, you can answer that question quite as well as I can. It is, of course, impossible for me to say.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Col. ROOSEVELT. That any man who gives a dollar may not have an idea that he ought to get something for that dollar. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. All right. Now, Colonel——

Col. ROOSEVELT. But if I tell him he will not get anything for it, then it is his own fault if he goes ahead and gives it.

Senator POMERENE. If you will pardon the reference——

Col. ROOSEVELT. Excuse me.

Senator POMERENE. As a practical man, would you naturally think that some of these people might be expecting favors?

Col. ROOSEVELT. As a practical man of high ideals, who has always endeavored to put his high ideals into practice, I think any man who would believe that he would get any consideration from making any contribution to me was either a crook or a fool. [Applause.] Stop that, please.

The CHAIRMAN. It is the wish of the committee that there be no demonstration. It interrupts the hearings. That is the objection.

Senator POMERENE. You have referred to the Anthracite Coal Trust.

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; the coal strike.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; I believe that is right.

Col. ROOSEVELT. The coal strike.

Senator POMERENE. Yes. There was at that time what was known as the "Coal Trust." Do you know whether any of these large coal men contributed anything to the campaign?

Col. ROOSEVELT. My dear sir, after some of the revelations, it would be difficult to surprise me by telling me that anybody had contributed; but, upon my word, I should not have thought any of the anthracite coal operators would have contributed—that is, in view of my memory of my interviews with them.

Senator POMERENE. It has appeared in evidence here that Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co., Mr. Frick, and Mr. Gould contributed.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Were not Mr. Frick and Morgan & Co. interested in coal properties at that time?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Frick and Morgan?

Senator POMERENE. H. C. Frick.

Col. ROOSEVELT. In anthracite coal?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Not that I know of; I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Or bituminous?

Col. ROOSEVELT. What about that, Senator?

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Frick's coal interests have always been understood to be in the western end of the State in the bituminous region.

Senator POMERENE. Very well. Do you know whether there were any contributions by the bituminous interests?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Oh, no; I do not know, Senator. I do not know anything about it.

Senator POMERENE. Colonel, was any report ever made to you of the receipts of the campaign, and of the contributors?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No, no.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I think Mr. Bliss would have resented an inquiry from me about the contributors.

Senator POMERENE. You made no inquiry about it?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I made no inquiry about it.

Senator POMERENE. At no time?

Col. ROOSEVELT. At no time.

Senator POMERENE. Neither from him nor from Mr. Cortelyou?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Neither from him nor from Mr. Cortelyou.

Senator POMERENE. I believe it was during your administration that the equity suit was begun against the Standard Oil Co.?

Col. ROOSEVELT. It was.

Senator POMERENE. No criminal proceedings were ever begun against them?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Not that I remember.

Senator POMERENE. A suit also was begun——

Col. ROOSEVELT. We had a suit against the Standard Oil, where Judge Landis rendered a decision. That was a different one. It was not a criminal suit, was it? Oh, yes; there was a criminal suit.

The CHAIRMAN. He imposed a fine there.

Senator POMERENE. No; that was against the railroads, was it not?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Oh, no; against the Standard Oil. They got a twenty-nine-million fine, and it was upset.

Senator POMERENE. A suit against the American Tobacco Co. was begun?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Was there any criminal proceeding begun against it?

Col. ROOSEVELT. None that I know of.

Senator POMERENE. Were any criminal proceedings begun against the paper people during that time, of your administration, or since?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I can not tell you. We brought a suit—criminal proceedings—against certain men. It was a case in New York, where, on the same state of facts exactly, we got a civil judgment against the corporation and an acquittal in the criminal proceedings against the individuals. That was against the tobacco people. We had criminal proceedings against them at the same time we had civil proceedings, and on the same state of facts we gained the civil suit, and they were acquitted in the criminal suit; the jury acquitted them.

Senator POMERENE. That is occasionally the case in all kinds of litigation.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. There may be a judgment rendered in one branch of the court and a different judgment in another branch of the court growing out of the same facts, depending upon the views which a particular jury or a particular judge may have.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Then, also, we sued the Sugar Trust and recovered over \$3,000,000 from it in the customhouse cases.

Senator POMERENE. That is the case in which the penalties were waived?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Never; not a bit. The penalties were not waived. Did not they pay into the Treasury \$3,000,000? No; the penalties were not waived. All told we got over \$4,000,000 paid back by the Sugar Trust and certain other organizations that were implicated with them. No; the penalties were not waived. We made them pay back over \$4,000,000.

Senator POMERENE. Possibly I have in mind another suit.

Mr. LOEB. There were some penalties waived. It was a compromise.

Senator POMERENE. Were you ever advised as to the amount or the proportion of the contributions to the Republican campaign fund which was made by the corporations?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I beg pardon; I do not understand the question.

Senator POMERENE. Were you ever advised as to the part or proportion of the funds of the campaign which were contributed by corporations?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; never. I never heard it discussed.

Senator POMERENE. You never made any inquiry on the subject?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I never made any inquiry on the subject.

Senator POMERENE. And never made any inquiry as to the names of the contributors?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I never made any inquiry as to the names of the contributors. I did not in this campaign, going right along now, until Elon Hooker published the names of them before your committee, know who had contributed to this present campaign. I have had a fairly strenuous life on my hands in this campaign.

By the way, I want to say one thing about the waiver of those penalties. I know that case was not settled under my administration. It was under the present administration.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is possibly true.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Indeed, it is more than possibly true, sir. It is true. The suit was begun under my administration, and the verdict was obtained on March 5—that is, the day after I left office—but the final settlement of the suit was under the present administration. It was an admirable settlement. That was Harry Stimson that settled it.

Senator POMERENE. Colonel, it has appeared here in evidence that this hundred thousand dollar contribution, or whatever it was, that was made by the Standard Oil Co. was in fact not returned?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Well, has it appeared that it was made?

Senator POMERENE. Well, there is evidence to that effect by—

Col. ROOSEVELT. You may have noticed, Senator, that I have been very careful in what I have said here. I have never said either that I did or did not believe that it was made. Until Mr. Archbold testified I had never heard a suggestion that the Standard Oil, as a company, or that he himself personally, had made a contribution. I had heard that Rogers had made a contribution, and that Mr. Bliss did not regard Rogers as a Standard Oil man, because he had many interests. But I know nothing whatever about that. I have carefully refrained from saying, you understand, what I heard about Rogers making a contribution.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Col. ROOSEVELT. That was years after—a year or two after the close of the campaign of 1904—but I know nothing whatever about this alleged Archbold contribution. I know nothing about it one way or the other.

Senator POMERENE. If that contribution was made, and you have said that you directed its return——

Col. ROOSEVELT. I was assured that it had not been made.

Senator POMERENE. And did you ever have such assurance from Mr. Bliss?

Col. ROOSEVELT. From Mr. Bliss and from Mr. Cortelyou—that is, Mr. Bliss informed Mr. Loeb that it had not been made. Mr. Cortelyou informed me that it had not been made, and then informed me that Mr. Bliss had told him that it had not been made.

Senator POMERENE. Now, during this campaign these large interests in New York were supporting your candidacy, were they not?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Certain of them; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know who contributed the fund of \$250,000 which was raised by Mr. Harriman?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I do not know anything about it. I saw yesterday that Mr. Morgan said he contributed fifty of it.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know anyone else who contributed to it?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; not that I remember.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether Mr. Rockefeller contributed to it?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I have not an idea.

Senator POMERENE. Or Mr. Twombly—as I have the name in a newspaper clipping?

Col. ROOSEVELT. It seems to me I remember some newspaper statement that Mr. Twombly had contributed to it, but I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Or Senator Depew?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I do not know anything about it. Remember, Senator, I do not know whether such a fund was raised. I know nothing about it excepting that on Mr. Harriman's request I asked them to help—asked Mr. Bliss and Mr. Cortelyou to help Mr. Harriman to give him money. How much money they gave or what the amount was I do not know anything about.

Senator POMERENE. Was there any reason why Mr. Cortelyou should not have complete knowledge as to whether that fund was returned or not at the time of his report to you?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Which fund?

Senator POMERENE. My question was not clear, I see. Was there any reason why Mr. Cortelyou could not have full knowledge as to whether the \$100,000 oil contribution was returned or not?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Not as far as I know. He told me——

Senator POMERENE. As far as you know, he had access to the books?

Col. ROOSEVELT. So far as I know. You have had Mr. Cortelyou here before you, have you not?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Col. ROOSEVELT. He can tell you that much better than I can.

Senator POMERENE. Did Mr. Cortelyou make any written reply to your letters on that subject, or telegrams?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No, sir; he replied over the phone to me finally, and Mr. Bliss replied over the phone to Mr. Loeb—both Mr. Bliss and Mr. Cortelyou communicated——

Mr. LOEB. Mr. Cortelyou regarded that as sufficient.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Regarded it as sufficient. Then both Mr. Bliss and Mr. Cortelyou communicated with Mr. Loeb over the phone and he communicated it to me, and then a day or two, or within two or three days, I believe Cortelyou was on here in Washington and that verbally, orally, told me that no such fund had been received.

Senator POMERENE. Now, it appeared in evidence the other day that on or about the 1st of November—I may not be exact as to that date, possibly the 1st or 2d of November—that after checking up the books of the committee it was found that the committee had in its possession a balance between \$75,000 and \$125,000.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. If that contribution had been returned at that time, would it have embarrassed the committee?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Well, now my dear Senator, this is another hypothetical question. You are accustomed to politics yourself, and you can tell whether it would have embarrassed the committee just as much as I can.

Senator POMERENE. Colonel, in my experience in politics, I have never had any money to handle.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Senator, you have been done a cruel injustice, then.

Senator POMERENE. That is possibly true.

Col. ROOSEVELT. It is a fresh illustration of how the public press can mislead one.

Senator POMERENE. I do not think there has been any public statement on that subject to the contrary. My attention has been called to another matter. Do you know whether Mr. Gates made any contribution to the campaign fund?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Gates?

Senator POMERENE. John W. Gates, or his son?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I could not tell you. Mr. Gates, the western railroad man?

Senator POMERENE. Yes; he was largely interested, as I recall, in railroads at one time.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I know nothing about it. I never heard of him making any contribution.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any knowledge that during the campaign there was a conference in New York City held by representatives of the large financial interests in which ways and means were considered and devised of assisting the Republican campaign?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No, sir. Now, Senator, you are asking me a great many questions that would be a repetition of hearsay gossip on my part. The only reason I do not answer you, in telling you what the hearsay gossip is, is because it would be injurious to other people, don't you know?

Senator POMERENE. Colonel, I do not refer to some gossip of that character.

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; we do not want gossip or anything of that character. I never heard of such a thing: I never knew about it.

Senator POMERENE. That answers the question. Now, during this campaign——

Col. ROOSEVELT. Which campaign?

Senator POMERENE. Of 1904, I am addressing myself to. Did you know of the appointment of an auxiliary committee by the executive committee?

Col. ROOSEVELT. If you would give me the names of people, I could probably tell you.

Senator POMERENE. Well, Colonel, to give you all the information that I have on that subject, there was a letter introduced in evidence the other day which was addressed to Mr. E. H. Hammond by Mr. Cortelyou, under date of July 20, 1904, and it seemed that this was probably intended for E. H. Harriman, as the letter was sent to his office and was received by his secretary and acknowledged by him directly to Mr. Cortelyou—I think that correctly states the facts—in which these statements were made:

After a conference with Hon. Cornelius N. Bliss, treasurer of the Republican national committee, I write to say that it would give us great pleasure if you could see your way clear to serve on the auxiliary committee of the Republican national committee. If you can, without embarrassment, serve on this committee, I would be glad to be advised at the earliest possible moment, and Mr. Bliss will communicate with you further regarding details. Please consider this communication as entirely personal, as the committee is not to be publicly announced.

Do you know of the appointment of such committee?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No, sir; I do not know anything about that committee.

Senator POMERENE. Or of an invitation being extended to Mr. Harriman or to anyone else?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I never heard of it until this moment, as far as I know.

Senator POMERENE. And having never heard of it, of course you could not tell us what the purpose of it was?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I do not know anything about it.

Senator POMERENE. Since your letter to the chairman of the committee, have you run across any other correspondence which might have passed between you and Mr. Harriman other than what you have presented this morning?

Col. ROOSEVELT. None at all; and I went through a good many of my letters, and, as far as I could, a good many letter books, and Mr. Loeb went through a lot more to find out whether he could find any correspondence. The letters that have already been produced we did not bring here, as we thought that was unnecessary.

Senator POMERENE. I understand that. I am making no question about that at all. My question was intended to convey that.

Did you have any correspondence with Mr. Cortelyou on the subject of campaign expenditures or contributions other than what you have produced?

Col. ROOSEVELT. None, excepting what I have produced. Well, I had a talk with him, about which I told you.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; I understood that. Your communications were mostly by telephone, were they?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No. I think they were very little by telephone. I think my communications were mostly by letter, but Mr. Loeb

would sometimes communicate by telephone with him. I occasionally communicated with him by telephone, but only occasionally. Of course, Senator, you understand that from time to time Mr. Cortelyou would come out and see me.

Senator POMERENE. Oh, yes. Did anyone in the West—in Chicago—raise any funds for the committee?

Col. ROOSEVELT. My memory is vaguely hearing that money was raised in Boston and money was raised in Chicago—that is, as centers—but who they were that raised it in Chicago I could not tell you.

Senator POMERENE. You have made no examination of your letter book to ascertain whether there was any correspondence on that subject, I take it?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Senator, I am sure that there was not. I am sure there was not. I would not have the slightest idea where to look. I have looked through the books, and I am sure that I would not know what names to look under to find anything. I am sure it is not there. [Addressing Mr. Loeb.] You would remember, Mr. Loeb? I mean, we never had any correspondence?

Mr. LOEB. No.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I am as certain as I can be, Senator, that there was no correspondence. You see, Mr. Loeb was there.

Mr. LOEB. I remember who the assistant treasurer was.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Who was it?

Mr. LOEB. Mr. Dawes.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Charles G. Dawes?

Mr. LOEB. Mr. Charles G. Dawes.

Senator PAYNTER. That appears in Mr. Cortelyou's testimony.

Senator POMERENE. It does?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And you do not recall any correspondence with him at all on the subject?

Col. ROOSEVELT. If you want me to I will look it up. I am confident that there is no correspondence, but I will look it up if you desire.

Senator POMERENE. If you will be kind enough, I wish you would.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I will look it up right away.

Senator POMERENE. Very well. Just let one of your clerks look it up. I think that is all.

Senator PAYNTER. I just want to ask one or two questions. Colonel, are you personally acquainted with Hermann Fresch—F-r-e-s-c-h—I think that is the way he spells his name—in New York?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Hermann Fresch?

Senator PAYNTER. F-r-e-s-c-h, I think that is the way he spells it.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Am I personally acquainted with him?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I feel that I will have to ask if I know him. I know a large number of people. [Addressing Mr. Loeb.] Do you know a family by the name of Fresch? You know I continually meet people who come up to me and say: "I was the man who waved the flag when you came into such and such a place."

Senator PAYNTER. This gentleman was very anxious to help you wave the flag; according to Mr. Hooker, he gave \$10,000, and he was an enthusiastic flag bearer.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Fresch, you say, helped us at the pre-convention?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; that is what Mr. Hooker said.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I will make his acquaintance at once as an intimate friend.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Hooker reported that he contributed \$10,000 to aid you.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Bully for Mr. Frasch!

Senator PAYNTER. It was suggested to me after Mr. Hooker left the stand that he had——

Mr. LOEB. He was formerly a salaried employee of the Standard Oil Co.

Senator PAYNTER. It was suggested to me after Mr. Hooker left the stand, by a gentleman who might know, that he had heard that he had some connection with the Standard Oil Co.

Mr. LOEB. He was formerly a chemist in their employ.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Well, my dear Senator, if anybody connected with the Standard Oil Co. is contributing to me now, he is doing it at his own peril. That is all I can say. I do not think I am bound to warn him.

Senator PAYNTER. Your manager, Mr. Dixon, said that the Standard Oil Co. were very much against you, and that is what suggested this question.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Do you think, from Mr. Archbold's testimony, that he was in my favor?

Senator PAYNTER. He said he might feel very kindly toward you, and he said he simply wanted to tell the truth about the case.

There is another question I want to ask you; then I am through.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I am perfectly confident that there isn't any letter—I mean to Dawes—because I would remember it. Dawes I remember.

Senator POMERENE. None to him or from him?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Nothing to or from him. I am sure I would remember that. You see we have an index, and it does not appear in that at all. In Boston Mr. Meyer had charge, I think, of the collecting of funds, both in 1900 and 1904. But I had forgotten what Mr. Dawes did.

Senator PAYNTER. Are you through with that subject, Colonel?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Colonel, are you acquainted with a man by the name of Clark Greer, of Georgia?

Col. ROOSEVELT. By the name of what?

Senator PAYNTER. Clark Greer—G-r-e-e-r?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes; I know him.

Senator PAYNTER. Is he a white man or a colored man?

Col. ROOSEVELT. If he is the man I remember, he is a white man.

Senator PAYNTER. Was he a delegate to the Chicago convention?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Senator, I hate to have it publicly exposed that I do not know a man who may be an intimate friend of mine. I do not remember him. Look here; is he a tall, smooth-faced man?

Senator PAYNTER. I do not know. I was simply trying to find out whether you knew anything about him. Did you know him in Georgia or in New York or Oyster Bay at all?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Well, now, Senator, if he is the man that I had in mind, he came out to see me at Oyster Bay; but I am not sure that his name was Clark Greer.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all I desire to ask.

Col. ROOSEVELT. There are two letters to Mr. Dawes—not about contributions at all. One refers to a note from a man named McConnell. The other is dated November 9 and is as follows:

MY DEAR MR. DAWES: I want to thank you for your telegram and for all you have done in the campaign. I assure you I appreciate it to the full.

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Senator PAYNTER. Those are the only two letters?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes. There is nothing relating to the campaign fund at all.

Senator POMERENE. Just another question.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I want to make one statement. May I, Senator?

Senator POMERENE. Surely.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Senator Paynter, do you recall I submitted the Ormsby McHarg letter in Baltimore? I addressed an audience of colored men in a church, and there I explained to them—I made as strong an appeal as I knew how, to hunt down any man who was offering them money or who sold his vote, explaining to them that while a white corruptionist damaged himself and damaged the State by selling his vote, that a colored man who sold his vote not only damaged the State and damaged himself, but inflicted a blow upon his race and strengthened the hands of those who are working for the disfranchisement of the black man; and that I wanted them, as a matter of the highest obligation to their own people, to join and hunt down any man who took a bribe from anyone, and that I would join them in hunting him down just as quickly if he had taken a bribe to vote for me as if he had taken a bribe to vote for anyone else, or any man who used money in any shape or way to debauch the colored voter, and I made my campaign on that. In every audience of colored men I addressed I made that point as strongly as possible.

I beg your pardon.

Senator POMERENE. Just another question which has occurred to me. Have you in your possession or under your control any correspondence between yourself and Herbert Knox Smith or any other person connected with the Bureau of Corporations touching the International Harvester Co.'s affairs? That is, the correspondence that took place during the time——

Col. ROOSEVELT. Anything in addition to that which has been made public?

Senator POMERENE. Anything in addition to that which was published, as I recall, in response to some resolution of the Senate?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Very possibly I haven't it. [Addressing a clerk.] Will you write to Herbert Knox Smith and ask him if he has copies of any letters from him or from me to him bearing in any way——

Senator POMERENE. In connection with the threatened investigation or prosecution of the International Harvester Co.? I ask that

question, because I have been advised that there is other correspondence.

Col. ROOSEVELT. I do not remember it myself; Mr. Loeb says that all the correspondence was submitted to the Attorney General, in which case it must be in the Attorney General's Department now. But I think Mr. Herbert Knox Smith would have copies of any such letters, and I will write at once and get them for you.

Senator POMERENE. Now, another matter: Can you give us any information touching the primary campaign of 1912?

Col. ROOSEVELT. None, excepting what you have. I think you have testimony before you here——

Senator POMERENE. We have had some testimony by Mr. Hooker and also by Senator Flinn as to the cost in Pennsylvania, which, as I recall it, was something like \$150,000. I am not giving that exactly.

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; roughly.

Senator POMERENE. Now, can you give us any knowledge of the expenditures in other States?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; I could not at all. For instance, in Kansas, I think you would have to go to William Allen White; in California, I suppose that Hiram Johnson can tell you; in Massachusetts, I suppose the man we are running for governor there, Mr. Bird; I should think Gov. Bass could tell you for New Hampshire; Judge Ben Lindsey in Colorado; Gov. Vesey in South Dakota; and I do not know who in the other States. I think Dr. Coe can tell you for Oregon.

Senator POMERENE. Ex-Secretary Garfield in Ohio?

Col. ROOSEVELT. I should say Walter Brown or Mr. Wright, the editor of the Toledo Blade and Cleveland Leader, too—Nat Wright. Mr. Garfield may know, too.

Senator POMERENE. It has been reported that there was a large sum of money underwritten to cover the expenditures in the campaign. Can you give us any advice on that subject?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No, no. This last trip of mine was underwritten, but it was all paid back, so that the underwriters were not called on for it.

Senator POMERENE. I refer especially to the expenditures——

Senator OLIVER. This inquiry only relates to the preconvention campaign.

Senator POMERENE. Prior to August 26.

Col. ROOSEVELT. The primary campaign? No; I could give you no information. What little information I have was gained from Mr. Hooker or Mr. Perkins, and you have had that before you, have you not?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hooker was here, and Mr. Perkins waived process away back in June, and it has not been convenient yet for the committee to hear him.

Senator POMERENE. Did I understand from your answer that a sum was underwritten?

Col. ROOSEVELT. No; I am trying to think. I think there was a sum underwritten for one of my special trains. I think I could not get off on a trip until Mr. Munsey and Mr. Perkins underwrote it; but I am only giving you my rather vague memory. However, I think they were paid back; in fact, I know they were paid back.

Senator POMERENE. The gentlemen you have named could advise the committee?

Col. ROOSEVELT. The gentlemen I have named could advise the committee if it was underwritten. Mr. Hooker gave the list of the subscribers?

Senator POMERENE. Oh, yes; he did.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. That is, as to those that passed through his hands.

Col. ROOSEVELT. Those that passed through his hands.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Colonel, I doubt if you understood the question. It has been claimed, I think, that the entire expense of the pre-convention campaign on your behalf was underwritten by somebody. Do you know of any such arrangement?

Col. ROOSEVELT. What do you mean by "underwriting"? I can tell you just what I mean—on this particular railway trip that I am speaking of they had not raised the money for me to go off on the trip, and my memory is that Mr. Munsey and Mr. Perkins said, "We will stand good for it; if you do not raise enough money to pay for the car we will make it good"; but, as a matter of fact, enough money was raised to pay for the car.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what is undoubtedly meant in the prints—somebody giving a general underwriting assurance on the entire pre-convention campaign expense in your behalf. Did you ever know of any such arrangement?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Oh, no; and there was not any such arrangement. I would have known of it if there was any such arrangement.

The CHAIRMAN. Colonel, before you—

Col. ROOSEVELT. I remember, Senator, at one period of the campaign Hooker came around to see me, and showed me a clipping, I think from the New York World, that said that we had raised \$900,000 for the campaign; and he said, "I have in the treasury \$1.67, and I have put this clipping in because it makes me feel opulent." [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Before you leave the stand, is there anything further that you desire to say?

Col. ROOSEVELT. Not a thing that I can think of.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, you may be excused, and Mr. Loeb will take the stand.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM LOEB, JR.

William Loeb, jr., being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Please give your name in full and your address and occupation to the reporter.

Mr. LOEB. William Loeb, jr., collector of customs; I reside in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you private secretary to Col. Roosevelt during the fall of 1904?

Mr. LOEB. I was his private secretary from the 1st of January, 1899, to the 4th of March, 1909.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you at Washington much of the time during the presidential campaign of 1904?

Mr. LOEB. I think I was on the job constantly. I do not think I took a vacation that year.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the President at that time spend most of the time during the campaign in Washington or at his summer home?

Mr. LOEB. That year we returned from Oyster Bay on September 22.

The CHAIRMAN. And remained——

Mr. LOEB. And remained until the next summer.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall during that time any interviews over the phone with Mr. E. H. Harriman?

Mr. LOEB. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. More than one?

Mr. LOEB. He frequently called me up. I say "frequently," Senator; I should say three or four times he called me up prior to and during that campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. You knew of correspondence between the President and Mr. Harriman?

Mr. LOEB. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. To which attention has been called in the hearing to-day?

Mr. LOEB. Yes, sir. I think the President dictated most of that correspondence to me.

The CHAIRMAN. And it appears that at that time you had an interview with Mr. Harriman over the phone which you communicated to the President.

Senator POMERENE. What date is this, please?

The CHAIRMAN. About October——

Mr. LOEB. October 20 is the date of the telegram. He asked me to call him up on the long-distance telephone. In pursuance of that request, I called him up to find out what he wanted.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state the conversation that took place between Mr. Harriman and yourself on the phone.

Mr. LOEB. Mr. Harriman said that he would like to come down and see the President, and, in accordance with my almost invariable custom when anybody asked for an appointment with the President, I asked him what the subject was that he wished to discuss, and he said that the situation about the New York State ticket was getting so critical that he wanted to go over the subject with the President. I thereupon informed the President that Mr. Harriman desired to see him and the subject he desired to see him on, and the President fixed a time for Mr. Harriman to come down, and Mr. Harriman came down. I might say, Senator, as you know, of course, that whoever came to the White House when I was there I always made everybody state the subject they wished to see the President about, but that Senators and Congressmen were excepted from that rule. They had the entré at all times. I never asked them any questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Harriman came to the White House?

Mr. LOEB. He did; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. About how long after the telephone communication?

Mr. LOEB. I can not fix the exact date, Senators; I can not fix the exact time that he came, but my memory is that it was within two

or three days. He states in his letter to Webster, I think, that it was in the last week of the campaign, about the last week of the campaign; so I judge it must have been within two or three days.

It was not always possible, as you know, to make an appointment immediately to see the President, because his time was all engaged ahead.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you present at the interview between the President and Mr. Harriman?

Mr. LOEB. I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Relate it, as you recall it.

Mr. LOEB. After Mr. Harriman had been shown into the President's room, I either happened in or it is quite possible I was called in. I was pretty familiar with political matters, and especially with New York State politics. I am a New York State man, Senator. As I say, it is quite possible that the President called me in. But you will see that I had to be there at one stage of the conversation, because the President directed me to repeat over the telephone to Mr. Cortelyou the substance of the interview between the two gentlemen.

Mr. Harriman started in by saying that New York State was all right so far as the President was concerned, but that a revolt had occurred against the State ticket and Higgins, who was a candidate for governor, because the ticket was regarded as an Odell-nominated ticket.

You will recall at that time that the New York Sun was conducting, and had been for two or three years, a warfare on Mr. Odell. Mr. Odell was termed the "grocery governor." He got that appellation because the commissioner who bought the supplies for the State charitable institutions had purchased the supplies from a grocery concern in which Odell was financially interested.

The CHAIRMAN. I think, Mr. Loeb, as far as possible, you should confine your testimony to the issues here.

Mr. LOEB. I think you will see the application of this, Senator. Mr. Harriman went on to say that the State committee was not in funds, and that he understood the national campaign chest was ample. He asked the President if he would not speak to Mr. Cortelyou and have him turn over to the State committee sufficient funds that would enable them to better the chances of the State committee.

I think it was at that point that I said, "They have put the grocery sign on Higgins," addressing Mr. Harriman. He said the opposition to the State ticket was due to the belief that it was controlled by Odell.

The President said to Mr. Harriman, "Mr. Harriman, I do not know just what condition the funds of the national committee are in, but I should be sorry to have Mr. Higgins beaten, and I will ask you to go and see Mr. Cortelyou."

Then, turning to me, he said, "Mr. Loeb, you telephone to Mr. Cortelyou the substance of this conversation and ask him if possible to help the New York State committee out."

I then left the President and Mr. Harriman, went to the long-distance telephone, and communicated that message to Mr. Cortelyou. Mr. Cortelyou said he would take the matter up with Mr. Bliss, and see what could be done, and he would be glad to see Mr. Harriman when he called.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know, during the campaign, of Harriman raising this fund which has been referred to in these hearings as "the Harriman fund"?

Mr. LOEB. I never heard of it during the campaign, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I desire to call your attention to a conversation which has been testified to here as occurring between you and Col. Bliss, with reference to contributions made either by Mr. Archbold or by the Standard Oil Co.

Mr. LOEB. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Which you, according to the testimony before us, subsequently communicated to the President.

Mr. LOEB. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your recollection of that—first, about when it was—as near as you can tell.

Mr. LOEB. After the last telegram—the telegram dated October 29, 1904—

The CHAIRMAN. That is the telegram from the President to Mr. Cortelyou?

Mr. LOEB. Yes, sir. I recall very distinctly what occurred, Senator, because I was keeping track of those matters for the President. An answer failed to come to the first two letters, and either the President asked me whether it had come or I suggested to the President that a reply had not come yet, and it would be well to telegraph Mr. Cortelyou. Judge Parker was attacking the President about that time in reference to this contribution matter. I knew that the President had in contemplation the preparation of an answer, and that the President, when he came to make an answer, of course, wanted to know definitely about any Standard Oil contribution.

So, that after the first telegram was sent and no answer came, and a second telegram was sent and no answer came to that, either the President asked me to call up Mr. Cortelyou or else I suggested to the President that I should call up Mr. Cortelyou and find out about it. At any rate, I called him up on the long-distance telephone. I found he had stepped out.

So I asked them to give me Mr. Bliss and got him on the phone. I asked Mr. Bliss—I told him that the President had written Mr. Cortelyou a couple of letters and had telegraphed him, wanting to know whether the Standard Oil Co. had made any contribution to the campaign.

Mr. Bliss, I thought, showed a little irritation in his tone, and said: "Mr. Loeb, you tell the President that the spirit and the letter of Mr. Cortelyou's announcement about contributions is being carried out. No contribution has been received from the Standard Oil Co. and none will be received."

As he left the phone, I was informed that Mr. Cortelyou had come in in the meanwhile and that I might reach him. He was switched on. I asked Mr. Cortelyou, I said, "Mr. Cortelyou, the President is anxious for a reply to his two letters and two telegrams about any Standard Oil contribution." Mr. Cortelyou said that he had been busy and Mr. Bliss had been out, and he could not get hold of him, which was the cause of delay in replying; that he had now got hold of Mr. Bliss and inquired of him as to whether any Standard Oil contribution had been received, and that Mr. Bliss had told him no such contribution had been received and none would be re-

ceived. Mr. Cortelyou said, as far as his knowledge went, no such contribution had been received or would be received.

I repeated to the President the conversations that I had with both these gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Cortelyou subsequently come over from New York and have a talk with the President in your presence?

Mr. LOEB. No, sir; he did not. I do not recall whether he came over subsequently. My memory is that the President had a talk over the telephone with him, but I do not recall.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not present, then, at any subsequent call?

Mr. LOEB. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Some reference has been made to Mr. Frasch?

Mr. LOEB. Herman Frasch?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Are you acquainted with him?

Mr. LOEB. I met him, I think, on the occasion of his call at the White House.

The CHAIRMAN. How long ago?

Mr. LOEB. I should say it was much after 1904, Senator. It seems to me it was in the last two years of the President's last term. He called there. He said he wanted to pay his respects to the President. He had up at the time some matters connected with the importation of sulphur—some tariff question connected with Sicilian sulphur.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LOEB. He informed me that he had been to the State Department and to the Treasury Department to discuss this sulphur question with them, and he came to the White House simply to pay his respects to the President. I arranged an audience for him.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what business he is in now?

Mr. LOEB. He is still largely engaged in the sulphur business; I happen to know that. He now resides in Paris, and he took up with me, as collector of customs, the question of his nonresidence to exempt him from baggage duty. I have met him once in New York since I left here. He told me at this interview that he was at that time, or had formerly been, a salaried employee of the Standard Oil Co., and he knew of my being in Ohio at one time connected with the Manhattan Oil Co., of Lima.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Loeb, is there anything that you know, any fact or circumstance, bearing upon the subject of campaign funds or relating to that subject, with reference to the campaign of 1904, to which your attention has not been called? And if so, state what it is.

Mr. LOEB. Senator, as you know, my lips have been sealed as far as discussing or writing about the close and intimate relations that I have had with Col. Roosevelt, and only the subpoenaing of this committee could unseal my lips. In answer to your question I will assert that it would be just as easy to prove the moon is made out of green cheese as to impugn Col. Roosevelt's integrity as to campaign contributions, or as to any other private or official acts of his.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but I want to know—of course you know the general scope of this inquiry?

Mr. LOEB. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Relating to the campaign fund of 1904, and especially with reference to the fund known as the Harriman fund

and the Standard Oil contribution, and to avoid any question as to whether any matter has been omitted in the course of the inquiry made of you, I asked you this question, whether you now recall any fact or circumstance bearing on this subject which I have not inquired of, or which you have not testified about.

Mr. LOEB. I know, Senator, of no further facts that would be of use to the committee. My knowledge of all the campaigns of Col. Roosevelt up to the time that he left the White House of course was very intimate, but I do not know a single thing in connection with any of the matters under investigation other than I have testified to, sir, that would be of any value to you.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Loeb, you spoke now of your lips being sealed with regard to these matters heretofore. You referred, I suppose, to your position in the public service. Why were your lips closed?

Mr. LOEB. I mean I had regard for the ethics which should apply to the position of a man who has occupied such a post of confidential relationship as I have to the President.

Senator OLIVER. As I understand, this is the first time you have given to the public your knowledge in regard to this Harriman controversy?

Mr. LOEB. It is; yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Now, there was a very bitter controversy that arose between Col. Roosevelt, or President Roosevelt he was at that time, and Mr. Harriman with regard to this matter, and Mr. Sheldon volunteered to state to the world his knowledge. I do not understand why, knowing what you did—what you have yourself testified to—why you did not at that time come out and state what you knew about it.

Mr. LOEB. I did not consider it necessary, Senator. It seemed to me that Col. Roosevelt had covered the matter fully.

Senator OLIVER. Yes; but evidently Mr. Sheldon thought that something else was due from him. I thought you would come to the rescue as well.

Mr. LOEB. You never would have heard from me, Senator, if the committee had not summoned me.

Senator OLIVER. Now, Mr. Loeb, I want to ask you—I can easily understand that you feel that this interview between President Roosevelt and Mr. Harriman was entirely on Mr. Harriman's initiative.

Mr. LOEB. It was; yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Now, how do you reconcile that with the letter written by President Roosevelt on the 10th of October alluding to this very trouble in New York, in the beginning—I am quoting:

When you wrote me before I did not feel the situation was such that I was warranted in asking you to take the trouble to come down here, but in view of the trouble over the State ticket in New York I should much like to have a few words with you. Do you think you can get down here within a few days and take either lunch or dinner with me?

Now, that letter on October 10 was followed on the 12th by one from Mr. Harriman saying that he was giving a very large part of his time to correcting the trouble over there, etc., but winding up that he would—

take occasion the first of next week to run down to see you, and think by that time the conditions will be very much improved.

Then on the 14th, two days afterwards, the one from Col. Roosevelt, or President Roosevelt, saying that the suggestion had come to him in a roundabout way that Mr. Harriman did not think it very wise to come to Washington in the closing hours of the campaign. Now, do you not think that those letters and Mr. Harriman's visit formed the connecting links of one enterprise?

Mr. LOEB. I think they indicate solely that Mr. Harriman found out on October 20, when he telegraphed me to call him up on the long-distance telephone, that the New York State committee needed funds.

Senator OLIVER. Does it not indicate that he found out that President Roosevelt was right in stating that the condition in New York was such that Mr. Harriman had better come down and have an interview with him, and does not that mean that the interview between those two men was upon the initiative of President Roosevelt and not upon the initiative of Mr. Harriman?

Mr. LOEB. I do not think so, Senator.

Senator OLIVER. Well, I would leave the documents to speak for themselves. I have nothing further.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Loeb, I will not go over what Senator Oliver has, but to still aid you in forming an opinion upon the question—if you appear as an expert on that question—do you undertake to tell the committee that after reading the letter of October 14, 1904, Mr. Harriman did not have the right to think that he was still invited to appear at the White House if he thought it would not cause trouble for him to appear?

Mr. LOEB. Why, I think——

Senator PAYNTER. Is not that the plain inference and meaning of the letter?

Mr. LOEB. It was open to Mr. Harriman to call me up at any time.

Senator PAYNTER. I am not talking about calling you up. I will come to that a little later. I am talking about this letter of October 14. I will read it to you, in order that you may express an opinion upon it:

If you think there is any danger of your visit to me causing trouble, or if you think there is nothing special I should be informed about or no matter in which I could give aid, why, of course, give up the visit——

and so forth.

Now, did not that leave Mr. Harriman to exercise his judgment as to whether or not he should come in obedience to the previous invitation to talk over the matters mentioned in the letter of October 10?

Mr. LOEB. No, sir; Mr. Harriman's conversation with me over the telephone——

Senator PAYNTER. I am not talking about a conversation over the telephone. I am talking about this letter. We will come to that a little bit later.

Mr. LOEB. I do not think I am called upon, Senator, to construe that letter.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not think it will affect the committee's opinion in the least if you do express your opinion, but it has been proceeding along that line; that is the reason I asked you. I will

abandon that, if you do not care to do it. You say he called you up about the 20th?

Mr. LOEB. He telegraphed me on the 20th.

Senator PAYNTER. But he called you up three or four——

Mr. LOEB. And I called him up on the telephone in accordance with his request in the telegram.

Senator PAYNTER. Now, before that time—Col. Roosevelt's letter to Harriman was October 14, in which he suggested that it came to him in a roundabout way, etc.—certain things—now, after that did you not receive this letter of October 15, 1904, from Mr. Millar?

Mr. LOEB. Mr. Millar; yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. In which Mr. Millar said that as soon as Mr. Harriman returned he would come to Washington to see the President?

Mr. LOEB. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. And you were requested to lay it without delay before the President?

Mr. LOEB. Yes, sir; I advised the President.

Senator PAYNTER. So the President was advised in one day after he had written, or at least two days, of a letter written to you on the 15th of October, following the one he had written to Mr. Harriman on the 14th, that Mr. Harriman still expected to come in obedience to his invitation.

Mr. LOEB. Would you mind reading his letter?

Senator PAYNTER. Certainly.

OCTOBER 15, 1904.

DEAR MR. LOEB: Referring to the President's letter of the 14th instant to Mr. E. H. Harriman, the contents of which I have communicated to him in the country, kindly say to the President that owing to the death of Mrs. Harriman's brother, Mr. William H. Averell, at Rochester, Mr. Harriman will not return to the city until after the funeral, which is to be held on Tuesday, and on his return he will go down to Washington to meet the President.

Requesting that you lay this information before the President without delay, I am,

Yours, very truly,

ALEX. MILLAR, *Secretary*.

So you laid that before the President?

Mr. LOEB. I did.

Senator PAYNTER. Did that not advise the President?

Mr. LOEB. I construed his request to me over the telephone to be in the shape of an emergency——

Senator PAYNTER. I will get to that in a moment. Suppose we get to this first. So the President was advised by this that Mr. Harriman would be there soon after his return from the funeral, and that was in reply to the President's letter of the 14th of October; and then you state that you received a telegram from Mr. Harriman about the 20th. That would be five days after this was written.

Mr. LOEB. On the 20th.

Senator PAYNTER. On the 20th; wanting to fix a time to see the President?

Mr. LOEB. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Were you surprised when you got that telegram, in view of the fact that his secretary had written you this letter and asked you to lay it before the President?

Mr. LOEB. I do not recall that I was surprised, Senator.

Senator PAYNTER. Would that suggest that he was coming on his own initiative, when he telegraphed you on the 20th to fix a time for having an interview with the President?

Mr. LOEB. I say he called me up and told me he wanted to see the President.

Senator PAYNTER. But you knew about this letter that had been received a few days before that.

Mr. LOEB. I may have forgotten entirely about that letter. I used to get 500 letters a day.

Senator PAYNTER. You could not be surprised that Mr. Harriman contemplated a visit, could you, in view of this information that had been conveyed by his secretary?

Mr. LOEB. Not at all. My present memory is that I rather expected Mr. Harriman was coming down about that time.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, you had reason to do it from this, had you not?

Mr. LOEB. And when he called me up on the telephone I was not surprised that he wanted to come down, but I asked him what the subject was he wanted to see the President about, because Mr. Harriman talked with the President on a great many subjects.

Senator PAYNTER. So that you were just following your usual custom in making that inquiry?

Mr. LOEB. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Were you present during the interview between the President and Mr. Harriman?

Mr. LOEB. I think I was. Perhaps Mr. Harriman remained a minute or two after I left. I went right to the telephone and got Mr. Cortelyou. It may have been two or three minutes before I could make the connection, but I gave Mr. Cortelyou the message. And when I came back out of the telephone booth Mr. Harriman was leaving the President, and I told Mr. Harriman that I had given the message to Mr. Cortelyou and Mr. Cortelyou had said he would be glad to see him, and meanwhile would take the matter up with Mr. Bliss and see what could be done.

Senator PAYNTER. That was the question of getting and turning the money over to the Republican State committee?

Mr. LOEB. Having the national committee turn over the funds to the Republican State committee.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all I desire to ask.

Senator POMERENE. Just a question or two. Mr. Loeb, as I understand it, two letters were written and two telegrams sent to Mr. Cortelyou saying, in substance, that "if money has been subscribed by the Standard Oil Co., I want it returned." There is no answer, written or otherwise, to any of those messages. Thereupon you call up Mr. Bliss and when you ask him about it he is a little miffed and in a general sort of way, in substance, says: "Cortelyou's letter is being carried out in spirit."

Mr. LOEB. That is the public announcement.

Senator POMERENE. That is, I take it, that no promises will be attached to any gift that comes in. That is the letter you refer to, is it not?

Mr. LOEB. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Well, that was not a direct answer, was it?

Mr. LOEB. Well, you did not complete the statement.

Senator POMERENE. No; I understand. And then you call up Mr. Cortelyou.

Mr. LOEB. Pardon me, Senator. Mr. Bliss definitely stated then that no contribution had been received from the Standard Oil Co. and none would be received.

Senator POMERENE. Is there anything in that to be miffed about?

Mr. LOEB. Why, afterwards, when it developed in my talk with Mr. Cortelyou that Mr. Cortelyou had already spoken to Mr. Bliss and got Mr. Bliss's answer, I assumed that Mr. Bliss felt a little miffed that I should ask him the question. I did not say to Mr. Bliss that I had endeavored to get Mr. Cortelyou at all.

Senator POMERENE. Then you, apparently, are not satisfied with that and you call up Mr. Cortelyou and Mr. Cortelyou says to you, in effect: "Why, I have asked Mr. Bliss and he says there isn't any and I do not know of any." Now, does not that remind you a little of the story of the young lady who when she says coyly, no, she means yes?

Mr. LOEB. No; not at all, Senator, because the President asked me to communicate with Mr. Cortelyou, the chairman of the national committee, the responsible man in charge of that campaign, and I communicated with Mr. Bliss, in the failure to get Mr. Cortelyou, because I wanted to get some word from the national committee.

Senator POMERENE. When you had been so explicit about sending so many communications, why did you not carry it on a little further and have a written communication signed by Mr. Bliss and Mr. Cortelyou on this subject?

Mr. LOEB. Because we regarded the verbal assurance of both Mr. Bliss and Mr. Cortelyou as sufficient, and dropped it. We had other things to do, Senator. That was a busy time in the campaign, just about that time.

Senator POMERENE. You were a little hard up, too?

Mr. LOEB. I should think the gentlemen of the press will bear me out in the statement that I was pretty busy.

Senator POMERENE. I haven't any doubt about it. And the campaign committee was just a little hard up just about that time, was it not?

Mr. LOEB. I had no knowledge as to whether the campaign committee was hard up or well off.

Senator POMERENE. Now, as you look at these facts as they have been detailed to you to-day, does it not occur to you that that money was received and it was not returned?

Mr. LOEB. It does not.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

Mr. LOEB. The information that I received from Mr. Cortelyou and Mr. Bliss, both of them gentlemen of the highest character and whose word I would take at any time, was sufficient for me, Senator, and it would have been for you, too.

Senator POMERENE. And Mr. Sheldon comes in here and says positively that there was a contribution of this character on the books which were exhibited to him, and that there was no memorandum of any refunder of that \$100,000.

Mr. LOEB. I know nothing about that, Senator. If you will pardon me, as I read his testimony, I do not think he stated it positively.

Senator POMERENE. Let me suggest that you read it over again.

Mr. LOEB. In the account I read of it he does not.

Senator POMERENE. Did you read the testimony or simply what appeared in the papers?

Mr. LOEB. What appeared in the papers.

Senator POMERENE. With all due respect to our newspaper friends, they do not get the full story sometimes.

Mr. LOEB. I subscribe to that.

Senator POMERENE. That is, I am assuming that you have given a full statement of what was in the paper. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. Loeb was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will take a recess until Monday morning at 10 o'clock.

Thereupon, at 5 o'clock p. m., the committee took a recess until Monday, October 7, 1912, at 10 o'clock a. m.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1912.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. for the purpose of resuming the consideration of the resolutions S. 79 and 386.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Oliver, Paynter, and Pomerene.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. We will call Mr. Hammerling first.

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS N. HAMMERLING, PRESIDENT AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN NEWSPAPERS, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Louis N. Hammerling, of New York City, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name in full, residence, and occupation to the stenographer.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Louis N. Hammerling, president American Association of Foreign Newspapers, World Building, New York.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say your business is, Mr. Hammerling?

Mr. HAMMERLING. I am the president of the Association of Foreign Newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee desires to call your attention to the fact that, under the resolutions, they have no jurisdiction of the present presidential campaign, and have heretofore excluded evidence of this present campaign, our only jurisdiction covering the pre-convention campaigns. I call your attention to this because an effort was made the other day to put in evidence as to the present campaign, but was excluded by the committee, and a reference to that evidence, or suggested evidence, would, of course, open up an issue that the committee is not authorized to inquire into.

Now, with that explanation, the committee desires you to testify to anything that you know concerning the use of funds, or contribution of funds, for the campaign preceding the conventions, as to each candidate.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Mr. Chairman, the only thing I can talk of, then, is on the question of Mr. Roosevelt's manager for the preliminary campaign advertising in the foreign papers belonging to the association of which I am president, and he paid for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that is within the jurisdiction.

Mr. HAMMERLING. In New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know to what extent he so advertised?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was paid and what was the nature of the advertising?

Mr. HAMMERLING. In New York City, about \$5,500.

The CHAIRMAN. That was paid?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And your position with reference to the advertising in these papers would give you the information as to what was paid, I take it?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many papers would that include; do you know?

Mr. HAMMERLING. It included about 30. I was in Europe at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. About 30?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the nature of those advertisements?

Mr. HAMMERLING. Well, for delegates—to vote for Roosevelt delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any other fact or circumstance connected with the obtaining or use of funds in the preconvention campaigns to which your attention has not been called?

Mr. HAMMERLING. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be all.

Mr. HAMMERLING. Thank you.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN J. HANNAN.

John J. Hannan was called as a witness and, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name, please.

Mr. HANNAN. John J. Hannan.

The CHAIRMAN. Your address?

Mr. HANNAN. Milwaukee.

The CHAIRMAN. And occupation?

Mr. HANNAN. Clerk of the Committee on Census of the Senate.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this paper "Exhibit Hannan No. 1."

The paper referred to was marked "Exhibit Hannan No. 1," and is as follows:

HANNAN EXHIBIT No. 1.

Statement of receipts and expenditures of the Progressive Republican campaign committee which conducted the campaign for the Republican nomination in behalf of Robert M. La Follette:

RECEIPTS.

From Gifford Pinchot:

July 18, 1911.....	\$1,000.00
Nov. 6, 1911.....	5,000.00
Jan. 8, 1912.....	4,000.00
	<hr/> \$10,000.00

From Amos Pinchot: Aug. 11, 1911.....	10,000.00
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CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

541

From William Kent:	
Sept. 7, 1911-----	\$5,000.00
Dec. 5, 1911-----	5,000.00
	<hr/> \$10,000.00
From Charles R. Crane:	
Dec. 14, 1911-----	5,000.00
Jan. 20, 1912-----	5,000.00
Feb. 8, 1912-----	5,000.00
Mar. 14, 1912-----	2,500.00
Apr. 14, 1912-----	2,500.00
May 13, 1912-----	1,500.00
June 17, 1912-----	2,000.00
	<hr/> 23,500.00
From Alfred S. Baker: Nov. 27, 1911-----	2,000.00
From William Flinn: Jan. 8, 1912-----	1,000.00
From E. A. Scripps: May 6, 1912-----	450.00
From Rudolph Spreckles: May 14, 1912-----	3,000.00
From Mrs. Glendower Evans:	
Nov. 8, 1911-----	\$100.00
Apr. 15, 1912-----	176.28
	<hr/> 276.28
From J. C. Welliver: Nov. 10, 1911-----	50.00
From J. E. Fruit: Dec. 1, 1911-----	100.00
From J. D. Hodder: Apr. 15, 1912-----	50.00
From Robert M. La Follette:	
Mar. 27, 1912-----	500.00
Apr. 2, 1912-----	1,000.00
	<hr/> 1,500.00
From contributors who gave in amounts up to \$25-----	281.50
From interest on bank balances-----	47.15
From sales of furniture-----	172.65
From newspapers for news letter-----	42.00
Loan by Medill McCormick: Oct. 2, 1911 (repaid)-----	1,000.00
Loan by Asle J. Gronna: May 4, 1912 (repaid)-----	500.00
	<hr/>
Total-----	63,969.56

DISBURSEMENTS.

Pay roll (Washington headquarters)-----	\$10,817.03
Office rent (Washington headquarters)-----	1,783.65
Office supplies (Washington headquarters), including all purchases of furniture-----	2,504.21
Printing-----	6,862.28
Postage-----	6,178.00
Expenses paid through Fred Wylie: Consisting of cash items for expressage, postage, clerk hire, and sundry office supplies, which were paid by him-----	1,167.74
Field work: Under this head are included the expenses which were incurred in the sending of speakers and organizers into the several States, railroad transportation, hall rents, amounts paid to those in charge of local organization work-----	11,519.87
Walter L. Houser: Including all expenses in Washington and in the trips he made over the country-----	6,749.98
Chicago headquarters-----	10,450.00
Telegraph-----	1,033.35
Telephone-----	518.57
Express and freight-----	680.12
Expenses of the Chicago conference, held on Oct. 16, 1911-----	638.75
Expenses national convention headquarters, June, 1912-----	1,558.13
Medill McCormick, payment of loan-----	1,000.00
Asle J. Gronna, payment of loan-----	500.00
	<hr/>
Total expenditures-----	63,961.68
Balance in bank-----	7.88
	<hr/>
Total-----	63,969.56

The CHAIRMAN (Hannan Exhibit No. 1 was shown to the witness). Mr. Hannan, what is Hannan Exhibit No. 1?

Mr. HANNAN. It is a statement of the receipts and disbursements made in behalf of the nomination of Robert M. La Follette at the Chicago convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Reporter, mark this paper "Hannan Exhibit No. 2."

Senator POMERENE. I did not understand that—a statement up to what time?

Mr. HANNAN. It is a statement of the expenditures of the campaign that was made in behalf of Senator La Follette for the Chicago nomination.

Senator POMERENE. Up to and including that?

Mr. HANNAN. Yes, sir.

The paper referred to was marked "Hannan Exhibit No. 2," and is as follows:

HANNAN EXHIBIT NO. 2.

Office pay roll, Washington headquarters.

Aug. 15, 1911, A. M. Spofford-----	\$30. 00
Aug. 17, 1911, Isabel Martin-----	25. 00
Aug. 19, 1911, Loretta Nash-----	12. 50
Aug. 26, 1911, Nanette L. Milliken-----	6. 75
Aug. 26, 1911, A. Marie McCready-----	8. 00
Aug. 26, 1911, Loretta Nash-----	15. 00
Sept. 2, 1911, Nanette L. Milliken-----	6. 25
Sept. 2, 1911, Loretta Nash-----	15. 00
Sept. 2, 1911, A. Marie McCready-----	12. 00
Sept. 2, 1911, Mildred W. Martin-----	10. 00
Sept. 2, 1911, F. M. Wylle-----	50. 00
Sept. 2, 1911, Gordon J. Anderson-----	3. 00
Sept. 9, 1911, Nanette L. Milliken-----	12. 00
Sept. 9, 1911, Mildred W. Martin-----	10. 00
Sept. 9, 1911, A. Marie McCready-----	12. 00
Sept. 9, 1911, Jennie M. Taylor-----	16. 50
Sept. 9, 1911, Loretta B. Nash-----	15. 00
Sept. 9, 1911, Gordon J. Anderson-----	3. 50
Sept. 15, 1911, F. M. Wylle-----	50. 00
Sept. 15, 1911, O. M. Pechin-----	6. 00
Sept. 16, 1911, A. Marie McCready-----	13. 00
Sept. 16, 1911, Jennie M. Taylor-----	14. 50
Sept. 16, 1911, Loretta Nash-----	12. 25
Sept. 16, 1911, Mildred W. Martin-----	10. 00
Sept. 16, 1911, Nanette L. Milliken-----	12. 50
Sept. 16, 1911, Emily P. Bayly-----	18. 00
Sept. 16, 1911, Gordon A. Anderson-----	3. 25
Sept. 16, 1911, G. H. Persons-----	2. 00
Sept. 16, 1911, E. Welton-----	20. 00
Sept. 18, 1911, Isabel Martin-----	5. 00
Sept. 23, 1911, F. M. Wylle-----	50. 00
Sept. 23, 1911, Wilma Nash-----	6. 00
Sept. 23, 1911, Lillian Wilkinson-----	4. 00
Sept. 23, 1911, Nanette L. Milliken-----	12. 00
Sept. 23, 1911, A. Marie McCready-----	12. 50
Sept. 23, 1911, Jennie M. Taylor-----	14. 50
Sept. 23, 1911, Loretta Nash-----	12. 00
Sept. 23, 1911, Mildred W. Martin-----	10. 00
Sept. 23, 1911, Emily P. Bayly-----	12. 00
Sept. 23, 1911, Gordon J. Anderson-----	3. 50
Sept. 23, 1911, J. Harrison Parsons-----	3. 50
Sept. 23, 1911, Isabel Martin-----	3. 00

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

543

Oct. 7, 1911, Loretta L. Nash	\$12. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Jennie M. Taylor	13. 50
Oct. 7, 1911, A. Marie McCready	12. 30
Oct. 7, 1911, Nannette L. Milliken	12. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Emily P. Bayly	12. 30
Oct. 7, 1911, Mildred W. Martin	10. 75
Oct. 7, 1911, Lillian Wilkinson	6. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Julia Kiesecker	5. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, J. H. Parsons	4. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, R. Yowell	7. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Gordon J. Anderson	3. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Belle Hart	11. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Minnie Schroeder	6. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Walma Nash	8. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Elmer Law	2. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Grace Price	5. 25
Oct. 7, 1911, Ruth M. Fouts	5. 25
Oct. 7, 1911, Anna M. Tobin	5. 25
Oct. 7, 1911, Florence L. French	9. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Augusta L. Hamilton	1. 50
Oct. 7, 1911, Mrs. S. C. Arthur	8. 25
Oct. 7, 1911, Lena Bolton	6. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Miss R. L. McGregor	6. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Mars Nusbaum	1. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Elizabeth C. De Courey	3. 75
Oct. 7, 1911, Ada B. Gilliland	4. 50
Oct. 7, 1911, Florence Crowe	3. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Laura Cadett	6. 50
Oct. 7, 1911, Madoline Scott	3. 75
Oct. 7, 1911, Dorothy Crawford	3. 50
Oct. 7, 1911, Florence Shellington	2. 50
Oct. 7, 1911, Katherine Shillington	2. 50
Oct. 7, 1911, Mary McDonnell	4. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Daisy Hartnett	1. 75
Oct. 7, 1911, Anna Marschalk	1. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Mary Reis	1. 50
Oct. 7, 1911, Emily Sutton	1. 50
Oct. 7, 1911, Hilda C. Warner	3. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, R. El. Boothby	1. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Anna Harlowe	2. 25
Oct. 7, 1911, A. H. Nash	1. 25
Oct. 7, 1911, Miss Williams	10. 25
Oct. 7, 1911, Mary E. McElhone	1. 25
Oct. 7, 1911, Miss H. N. Herbert	3. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Ruth Ullmer	1. 25
Oct. 7, 1911, Pauline T. Corson	2. 50
Oct. 7, 1911, Sue Rowzee	3. 40
Oct. 7, 1911, Marie R. Clement	12. 50
Oct. 7, 1911, Etta Remsburg	4. 40
Oct. 7, 1911, Miss E. Harper	3. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Rina Geddes	6. 25
Oct. 7, 1911, Miss McGarvey	8. 50
Oct. 7, 1911, A. Chapplear	12. 75
Oct. 7, 1911, Carrie L. Jones	10. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Mrs. F. M. Wylie	4. 10
Oct. 7, 1911, A. W. Prescott	11. 50
Oct. 7, 1911, Pearl Reid	13. 00
Oct. 9, 1911, A. R. Rowles	2. 25
Oct. 9, 1911, E. W. Crawford	22. 50
Oct. 11, 1911, Amanda Miller	6. 30
Oct. 12, 1911, Walter Fahy	58. 00
Oct. 12, 1911, Pauline Rosson	3. 10
Oct. 14, 1911, Loretta L. Nash	12. 00
Oct. 14, 1911, Jennie M. Taylor	13. 50
Oct. 14, 1911, A. Marie McCready	12. 00
Oct. 14, 1911, Nannette L. Milliken	12. 00
Oct. 14, 1911, Emily P. Bayly	12. 00

Oct. 14, 1911, Mildred W. Martin	\$10.00
Oct. 14, 1911, Lillian Wilkinson	6.00
Oct. 14, 1911, R. Yowell	6.00
Oct. 14, 1911, Gordon J. Anderson	3.00
Oct. 14, 1911, Belle Hart	9.00
Oct. 14, 1911, Minnie Schroeder	6.00
Oct. 14, 1911, Wilma Nash	6.00
Oct. 14, 1911, A. R. Rowles	2.75
Oct. 14, 1911, Elmer Law	3.00
Oct. 14, 1911, Florence L. French	10.00
Oct. 14, 1911, Miss S. C. Arthur	9.00
Oct. 14, 1911, Laura Cadett	7.00
Oct. 14, 1911, Mary McDonnell	7.50
Oct. 14, 1911, R. E. Boothby	6.00
Oct. 14, 1911, Annie Harlowe	7.50
Oct. 14, 1911, Etta Remsburg	8.00
Oct. 14, 1911, Pearl Reid	9.00
Oct. 14, 1911, Marie R. Clement	8.00
Oct. 14, 1911, Bert M. Williams	9.00
Oct. 14, 1911, F. M. Wylie	75.00
Oct. 14, 1911, Mrs. F. M. Wylie	4.00
Oct. 14, 1911, M. A. Chapple	2.50
Oct. 14, 1912, Elsie Harper	4.35
Oct. 14, 1911, Bernice L. Calhoun	2.00
Oct. 14, 1911, Carrie L. Jones	2.75
Oct. 14, 1911, Mary B. Kesselring	2.30
Oct. 14, 1911, A. H. Nash	1.25
Oct. 21, 1911, Loretta L. Nash	12.00
Oct. 21, 1911, Jennie M. Taylor	12.50
Oct. 21, 1912, A. Marie McCready	12.00
Oct. 21, 1911, Nannette Milliken	12.00
Oct. 21, 1911, Emily P. Bayly	12.00
Oct. 21, 1911, Mildred W. Martin	8.35
Oct. 21, 1911, Lillian Wilkinson	5.50
Oct. 21, 1911, R. Yowell	6.00
Oct. 21, 1911, Belle Hart	9.00
Oct. 21, 1911, Minnie Schroeder	6.00
Oct. 21, 1911, Wilma Nash	6.00
Oct. 21, 1911, Elmer Law	3.00
Oct. 21, 1911, Florence L. French	7.50
Oct. 21, 1911, Miss S. C. Arthur	9.00
Oct. 21, 1911, Laura Cadett	7.00
Oct. 21, 1911, Mary McDonnell	9.00
Oct. 21, 1911, Annie Harlowe	7.50
Oct. 21, 1911, Etta Remsburg	7.50
Oct. 21, 1911, Pearl Reid	7.50
Oct. 21, 1911, Marie R. Clement	7.50
Oct. 21, 1911, Bert M. Williams	9.00
Oct. 21, 1911, Ada B. Gilliland	3.50
Oct. 21, 1911, Harold D. Barnes	5.50
Oct. 21, 1911, Mrs. M. A. Rice	3.75
Oct. 21, 1911, Hilda Warner	5.00
Oct. 21, 1911, Helen C. Hicks	1.25
Oct. 21, 1911, J. Harrison Parsons	1.75
Oct. 21, 1911, Gordon J. Anderson	1.00
Oct. 27, 1911, F. M. Wylie	75.00
Oct. 30, 1911, George Kolb	18.00
Oct. 28, 1911, Mrs. Jennie M. Taylor	17.40
Oct. 28, 1911, A. Marie McCready	12.90
Oct. 28, 1911, Nannette L. Milliken	12.60
Oct. 28, 1911, Emily P. Bayly	10.60
Oct. 28, 1911, Mildred W. Martin	10.60
Oct. 28, 1911, Lillian Wilkinson	6.25
Oct. 28, 1911, R. Yowell	7.00
Oct. 28, 1911, Belle Hart	9.00
Oct. 28, 1911, Minnie Schroeder	4.50
Oct. 28, 1911, Wilma Nash	6.40

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

545

Oct. 28, 1911, Elmer Law-----	\$3. 50
Oct. 28, 1911, Miss S. C. Arthur-----	9. 25
Oct. 28, 1911, Laura Cadett-----	7. 30
Oct. 28, 1911, Mary McDonnell-----	9. 50
Oct. 28, 1911, Annie Harlowe-----	7. 50
Oct. 28, 1911, Etta Remsburg-----	4. 40
Oct. 28, 1911, Pearl Reid-----	7. 50
Oct. 28, 1911, Marie R. Clement-----	7. 50
Oct. 28, 1911, Bert M. Williams-----	9. 00
Oct. 28, 1911, Ada B. Gilliland-----	6. 00
Oct. 28, 1911, Harold B. Barnes-----	6. 15
Oct. 28, 1911, Mrs. M. A. Rice-----	7. 50
Oct. 28, 1911, Hilda Warner-----	8. 26
Oct. 28, 1911, Miss M. A. Brooks-----	5. 00
Oct. 28, 1911, Neita Carrick-----	3. 35
Oct. 28, 1911, H. M. Herbert-----	1. 75
Oct. 28, 1911, Walter Fahy-----	25. 00
Oct. 28, 1911, Lynn B. Haynes-----	62. 50
Oct. 28, 1911, E. W. Crawford-----	34. 50
Oct. 31, 1911, Lourie Wetln-----	100. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, A. Marie McCready-----	12. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, Nannette Milliken-----	12. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, Jennie M. Taylor-----	12. 50
Nov. 4, 1911, Emily P. Bayly-----	8. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, Mildred W. Martin-----	10. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, Lillian Wilkinson-----	6. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, R. Yowell-----	7. 50
Nov. 4, 1911, Belle Hart-----	11. 25
Nov. 4, 1911, Minnie Schroeder-----	6. 25
Nov. 4, 1911, Elmer Law-----	4. 25
Nov. 4, 1911, Miss S. C. Arthur-----	9. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, Laura Cadett-----	7. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, Mary McDonnell-----	9. 75
Nov. 4, 1911, Etta Remsburg-----	7. 50
Nov. 4, 1911, Pearl Reid-----	7. 75
Nov. 4, 1911, Marie R. Clement-----	7. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, Bert M. Williams-----	9. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, Ada B. Gilliland-----	7. 50
Nov. 4, 1911, Harold B. Barnes-----	6. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, Mrs. M. A. Rice-----	9. 50
Nov. 4, 1911, Hilda Warner-----	6. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, M. S. Brooks-----	6. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, Neita Corrick-----	10. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, Margaret Hillman-----	2. 25
Nov. 4, 1911, Carrie Jones-----	2. 50
Nov. 4, 1911, E. W. Crawford-----	25. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, Lynn Haines-----	25. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, Walter Fahy-----	25. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, Stella F. Bidwell-----	1. 25
Nov. 4, 1911, Mrs. F. M. Wylie-----	8. 50
Nov. 11, 1911, Jennie M. Taylor-----	15. 00
Nov. 11, 1911, Nannette Milliken-----	12. 00
Nov. 11, 1911, Emily Bayly-----	12. 00
Nov. 11, 1911, Mildred W. Martin-----	10. 00
Nov. 11, 1911, Lillian Wilkinson-----	7. 00
Nov. 11, 1911, R. Yowell-----	7. 00
Nov. 11, 1911, Belle Hart-----	10. 50
Nov. 11, 1911, Minnie Schroeder-----	7. 75
Nov. 11, 1911, Elmer Law-----	4. 25
Nov. 11, 1911, Miss S. C. Arthur-----	9. 25
Nov. 11, 1911, Laura Cadett-----	7. 25
Nov. 11, 1911, Mary McDonnell-----	9. 00
Nov. 11, 1911, Pearl Reid-----	8. 50
Nov. 11, 1911, Etta Remsburg-----	8. 50
Nov. 11, 1911, Marie R. Clement-----	8. 50
Nov. 11, 1911, Bert M. Williams-----	9. 00
Nov. 11, 1911, Ada B. Gilliland-----	7. 50

Nov. 11, 1911, Harold B. Barnes	\$6.30
Nov. 11, 1911, Mrs. M. A. Rice	9.50
Nov. 11, 1911, Hilda Warner	6.25
Nov. 11, 1911, Miss M. S. Brooks	6.00
Nov. 11, 1911, Nelta Corrick	10.40
Nov. 11, 1911, Rosaline McCready	12.00
Nov. 11, 1911, Carrie L. Jones	8.50
Nov. 11, 1911, E. W. Crawford	33.00
Nov. 11, 1911, Lynn Haines	25.00
Nov. 11, 1911, Walter Fahy	25.00
Nov. 11, 1911, Felix Early	18.00
Nov. 13, 1911, Isabelle Martin	2.00
Nov. 14, 1911, F. M. Wylle	15.00
Nov. 14, 1911, F. M. Wylle	60.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Jennie Taylor	15.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Nanette L. Milliken	12.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Emily P. Bayly	12.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Mildred W. Martin	3.50
Nov. 18, 1911, Lillian Wilkinson	7.00
Nov. 18, 1911, R. Yowell	7.25
Nov. 18, 1911, Belle Hart	14.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Minnie Schroeder	7.50
Nov. 18, 1911, Elmer Law	4.25
Nov. 18, 1911, Miss S. C. Arthur	9.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Laura Cadett	7.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Mary McDonnell	9.75
Nov. 18, 1911, Etta Remsburg	7.50
Nov. 18, 1911, Pearl Reid	7.50
Nov. 18, 1911, Marie R. Clement	6.25
Nov. 18, 1911, Bert M. Williams	12.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Ada B. Gilliland	7.50
Nov. 18, 1911, Harold B. Barnes	7.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Mrs. M. A. Rice	9.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Hilda Warner	6.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Miss M. S. Brooks	5.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Nelta Carrick	10.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Carrie Jones	7.50
Nov. 18, 1911, Margaret Dickson	6.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Helen M. Herbert	4.50
Nov. 18, 1911, Frank Law	5.75
Nov. 18, 1911, E. W. Crawford	27.00
Nov. 18, 1911, F. E. Early	18.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Helen F. Monahan	6.75
Nov. 18, 1911, Virginia Wrenn	4.50
Nov. 18, 1911, Madoline Scott	3.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Miss N. W. Bradley	6.75
Nov. 18, 1911, Mrs. E. C. Monahan	6.75
Nov. 18, 1911, Earl A. Owen	6.75
Nov. 18, 1911, Rosalie McGregor	6.75
Nov. 18, 1911, Addie Dean	6.75
Nov. 18, 1911, Anna Tobin	3.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Mrs. K. W. Steel (Stull)	5.50
Nov. 18, 1911, Lucille Agniel	4.50
Nov. 18, 1911, Nannie E. Steger	3.75
Nov. 18, 1911, Walter Fahy	25.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Rosalie McCready	12.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Grace Wall	2.25
Nov. 18, 1911, Miss R. L. McGregor	4.75
Nov. 18, 1911, Miss N. D. McGregor	4.50
Nov. 18, 1911, Miss S. A. McMonigal	3.50
Nov. 18, 1911, Miss A. Heltmiller	2.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Miss E. McClure	1.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Miss N. C. Lanollan	1.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Fred C. Haas	5.00
Nov. 18, 1911, Florence Goodrich	3.50
Nov. 18, 1911, Mary A. Leonard	2.50
Nov. 18, 1911, Dorothy Featherstone	1.00

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

547

Nov. 18, 1911, Miss D. Crawford	\$1. 25
Nov. 18, 1911, Miss K. Shillington	1. 25
Nov. 18, 1911, Florence Shillington	1. 25
Nov. 18, 1911, Martha E. Wallace	1. 50
Nov. 18, 1911, Lynn B. Haines	25. 00
Nov. 18, 1911, Walter Fahy	25. 00
Nov. 24, 1911, Jennie M. Taylor	15. 00
Nov. 24, 1911, Nanette Milliken	12. 00
Nov. 24, 1911, Emily P. Bayly	12. 00
Nov. 24, 1911, Lillian Wilkinson	7. 00
Nov. 24, 1911, R. Yowell	7. 50
Nov. 24, 1911, Belle Hart	9. 00
Nov. 24, 1911, Minnie Schroeder	7. 50
Nov. 24, 1911, Elmer Law	4. 00
Nov. 24, 1911, Laura Cadett	7. 50
Nov. 24, 1911, Mary McDonnell	9. 75
Nov. 24, 1911, Etta Remsberg	7. 50
Nov. 24, 1911, Pearl Reid	7. 50
Nov. 24, 1911, Marie R. Clement	7. 50
Nov. 24, 1911, Bert M. Williams	10. 00
Nov. 24, 1911, Ada B. Gilliland	7. 50
Nov. 24, 1911, Harold B. Barnes	6. 00
Nov. 24, 1911, Mrs. M. A. Rice	9. 00
Nov. 24, 1911, Hilda Warner	6. 00
Nov. 24, 1911, Neita Carrick	10. 00
Nov. 24, 1911, Rosalea McCready	12. 00
Nov. 24, 1911, E. W. Crawford	25. 00
Nov. 24, 1911, F. E. Early	28. 60
Nov. 24, 1911, Frank Law	5. 25
Nov. 25, 1911, Fred Haas	6. 00
Nov. 25, 1911, Walter Fahy	25. 00
Nov. 25, 1911, Madoline Scott	6. 00
Nov. 25, 1911, Walter Fahy	25. 00
Nov. 25, 1911, Lynn Haines	25. 00
Nov. 29, 1911, F. M. Wylie	33. 08
Nov. 29, 1911, F. M. Wylie	41. 92
Dec. 1, 1911, Jennie M. Taylor	15. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, Nannette L. Milliken	12. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, Emily P. Bayly	12. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, Lillian Wilkinson	7. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, R. Yowell	6. 75
Dec. 1, 1911, Belle Hart	9. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, Minnie Schroeder	7. 50
Dec. 1, 1911, Elmer Law	3. 75
Dec. 1, 1911, Laura Cadett	8. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, Mary McDonnell	10. 50
Dec. 1, 1911, Etta Remsburg	7. 50
Dec. 1, 1911, Pearl Reid	7. 50
Dec. 1, 1911, Marie R. Clement	7. 50
Dec. 1, 1911, Bert M. Williams	11. 25
Dec. 1, 1911, Ada B. Gilliland	7. 50
Dec. 1, 1911, Harold B. Barnes	6. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, Mrs. M. A. Rice	9. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, Hilda Warner	6. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, Neita Carrick	10. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, Rosalea McCready	12. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, E. W. Crawford	30. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, F. E. Early	27. 60
Dec. 1, 1911, Madoline Scott	6. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, Fred Haas	6. 75
Dec. 1, 1911, Frank Law	5. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, F. M. Wylie	25. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, Walter Fahy	25. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, Lynn Haines	25. 00
Dec. 2, 1911, Walter Fahy	25. 00
Dec. 8, 1911, Jennie M. Taylor	15. 00
Dec. 8, 1911, Rosalie McCready	12. 00

Dec. 8, 1911, Nannette L. Milliken	\$12. 00
Dec. 8, 1911, Emily P. Bayly	12. 00
Dec. 8, 1911, Lillian Wilkinson	1. 25
Dec. 8, 1911, R. Yowell	8. 75
Dec. 8, 1911, Belle Hart	10. 00
Dec. 8, 1911, Minnie Schroeder	7. 50
Dec. 8, 1911, Elmer Law	4. 50
Dec. 8, 1911, Laura Cadett	8. 00
Dec. 8, 1911, Mary McDonnell	4. 50
Dec. 8, 1911, Etta Remsburg	7. 50
Dec. 8, 1911, Pearl Reid	7. 50
Dec. 8, 1911, Marie R. Clement	7. 50
Dec. 8, 1911, Mrs. M. A. Rice	10. 00
Dec. 8, 1911, Hilda Warner	6. 00
Dec. 8, 1911, Nelta Carrick	10. 00
Dec. 8, 1911, E. W. Crawford	36. 75
Dec. 8, 1911, F. E. Early	26. 40
Dec. 8, 1911, Madoline Scott	6. 00
Dec. 8, 1911, Fred Haas	6. 00
Dec. 8, 1911, Frank Law	5. 00
Dec. 8, 1911, Mary E. Boyd	7. 50
Dec. 8, 1911, Bert M. Williams	10. 00
Dec. 8, 1911, Ada B. Gilliland	8. 00
Dec. 9, 1911, Walter Fahy	25. 00
Dec. 9, 1911, Walter Fahy	25. 00
Dec. 9, 1911, Lynn B. Haynes	35. 00
Dec. 16, 1911, Jennie M. Taylor	15. 00
Dec. 16, 1911, Nannette L. Milliken	12. 00
Dec. 16, 1911, Emily P. Bayly	12. 00
Dec. 16, 1911, Belle Hart	11. 00
Dec. 16, 1911, Minnie Schroeder	7. 50
Dec. 16, 1911, Elmer Law	5. 25
Dec. 16, 1911, Laura Cadett	9. 00
Dec. 16, 1911, Mary McDonnell	11. 25
Dec. 16, 1911, Etta Remsburg	7. 50
Dec. 16, 1911, Pearl Reid	7. 75
Dec. 16, 1911, Marie R. Clement	5. 25
Dec. 16, 1911, Bert M. Williams	10. 00
Dec. 16, 1911, Ada B. Gilliland	8. 00
Dec. 16, 1911, Mrs. M. A. Rice	10. 00
Dec. 16, 1911, Hilda Warner	6. 25
Dec. 16, 1911, Nelta Carrick	10. 50
Dec. 16, 1911, Rosalea McCready	13. 00
Dec. 16, 1911, E. W. Crawford	34. 25
Dec. 16, 1911, F. E. Early	20. 00
Dec. 16, 1911, Madoline Scott	6. 75
Dec. 16, 1911, Frank Law	6. 00
Dec. 16, 1911, Mary E. Boyd	7. 50
Dec. 16, 1911, R. Yowell	9. 00
Dec. 16, 1911, F. M. Wylie	75. 00
Dec. 16, 1911, Lynn Haines	35. 00
Dec. 16, 1911, Beulah Fahy	25. 00
Dec. 16, 1911, Vina Whitham	7. 00
Dec. 19, 1911, W. L. Stoddard	25. 00
Dec. 20, 1911, Jennie M. Taylor	20. 00
Dec. 20, 1911, Emily P. Bayly	17. 00
Dec. 20, 1911, R. Yowell	12. 50
Dec. 20, 1911, Minnie Schroeder	12. 50
Dec. 20, 1911, Elmer Law	9. 50
Dec. 20, 1911, Laura Cadett	13. 00
Dec. 20, 1911, Mary McDonnell	14. 00
Dec. 20, 1911, Etta Remsburg	12. 50
Dec. 20, 1911, Pearl Reid	12. 50
Dec. 20, 1911, Marie R. Clement	12. 50
Dec. 20, 1911, Bert M. Williams	15. 00
Dec. 20, 1911, Ada B. Gilliland	13. 00
Dec. 20, 1911, Mrs. M. A. Rice	15. 00

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

549

Dec. 20, 1911, Hilda Warner	\$11.00
Dec. 20, 1911, Nelta Carrick	15.00
Dec. 20, 1911, Rosalea McCready	17.00
Dec. 20, 1911, E. W. Crawford	30.00
Dec. 20, 1911, F. E. Early	23.00
Dec. 20, 1911, Madoline Scott	11.00
Dec. 20, 1911, Frank Law	10.00
Dec. 20, 1911, Mary E. Boyd	12.50
Dec. 20, 1911, Tina Whitham	11.00
Dec. 20, 1911, Clyde C. Way	18.33
Dec. 20, 1911, Helen G. Watson	11.00
Dec. 20, 1911, Lynn Haines	40.00
Dec. 26, 1911, W. L. Stoddard	25.00
Dec. 26, 1911, F. E. Early	18.00
Jan. 8, 1912, Reginald Yowell	8.00
Jan. 8, 1912, Frank Law	5.50
Jan. 8, 1912, Elmer Law	5.00
Jan. 8, 1912, Pearl Reid	6.50
Jan. 8, 1912, Helen G. Watson	6.00
Jan. 8, 1912, Tina Whitham	6.50
Jan. 8, 1912, Hilda Warner	6.25
Jan. 8, 1912, Madoline Scott	6.00
Jan. 8, 1912, Laura Cadett	8.25
Jan. 8, 1912, Mary McDonnell	10.00
Jan. 8, 1912, Ada B. Gilliland	11.25
Jan. 8, 1912, Margaret Rice	10.75
Jan. 8, 1912, Emily P. Bayly	12.60
Jan. 8, 1912, Mary E. Boyd	11.25
Jan. 8, 1912, Marie Clement	10.00
Jan. 8, 1912, Etta Remsburg	6.50
Jan. 8, 1912, E. W. Crawford	30.75
Jan. 8, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	15.00
Jan. 8, 1912, Bert M. Williams	10.25
Jan. 8, 1912, Rosalea McCready	14.25
Jan. 8, 1912, Clyde C. Way	26.00
Jan. 8, 1912, Welton Yowell	16.00
Jan. 8, 1912, Lillian Wilkinson	7.75
Jan. 8, 1912, L. E. Kruger	23.75
Jan. 8, 1912, Fred Haas	7.00
Jan. 8, 1912, Nelta Carrick	11.50
Jan. 8, 1912, Minnie Schroeder	2.50
Jan. 8, 1912, F. M. Wylie	40.00
Jan. 8, 1912, W. J. Fahy	25.00
Jan. 9, 1912, Lynn Haines	35.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Fred Haas	7.25
Jan. 12, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	15.00
Jan. 12, 1912, E. W. Crawford	25.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Rosalea McCready	12.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Emily P. Bayly	12.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Laura Cadett	8.00
Jan. 12, 1912, L. E. Kruger	23.00
Jan. 12, 1912, C. C. Way	20.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Marie Clement	8.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Mary E. Boyd	8.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Bert M. Williams	10.40
Jan. 12, 1912, Hilda Warner	6.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Madoline Scott	6.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Lillian Wilkinson	7.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Tina Whitham	6.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Minnie Schroeder	7.50
Jan. 12, 1912, Ellen Watson	6.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Margaret Rice	10.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Etta Remsburg	7.50
Jan. 12, 1912, Pearl Reid	5.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Reginald Yowell	8.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Elmer Law	5.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Frank Law	5.50

Jan. 12, 1912, Welton Yowell	\$10. 00
Jan. 12, 1912, Mary McDonnell	11. 00
Jan. 12, 1912, Ada B. Gilliland	9. 00
Jan. 12, 1912, Nelta Carrick	10. 00
Jan. 12, 1912, Lynn Haines	35. 00
Jan. 12, 1912, F. M. Wylie	40. 00
Jan. 16, 1912, Walter Fahy	50. 00
Jan. 20, 1912, Reginald Yowell	10. 75
Jan. 20, 1912, Frank Law	6. 50
Jan. 20, 1912, Elmer Law	6. 25
Jan. 20, 1912, Pearl Reid	10. 00
Jan. 20, 1912, Helen G. Watson	7. 50
Jan. 20, 1912, Minnie Schroeder	8. 00
Jan. 20, 1912, Tina Whitham	6. 75
Jan. 20, 1912, Hilda Warner	7. 50
Jan. 20, 1912, Madoline Scott	8. 25
Jan. 20, 1912, Laura Cadett	10. 00
Jan. 20, 1912, Mary McDonnell	11. 50
Jan. 20, 1912, Ada B. Gilliland	10. 50
Jan. 20, 1912, Margaret A. Rice	12. 25
Jan. 20, 1912, Nelta Carrick	12. 00
Jan. 20, 1912, Emily P. Bayly	13. 00
Jan. 20, 1912, Mary E. Boyd	9. 50
Jan. 20, 1912, Marie Clement	9. 00
Jan. 20, 1912, Etta Remsburg	8. 25
Jan. 20, 1912, E. W. Crawford	27. 25
Jan. 20, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	18. 00
Jan. 20, 1912, Bert M. Williams	10. 00
Jan. 20, 1912, Rosalea McCready	15. 50
Jan. 20, 1912, Clyde C. Way	20. 00
Jan. 20, 1912, Welton Yowell	13. 50
Jan. 20, 1912, Lillian Wilkinson	9. 50
Jan. 20, 1912, L. E. Kruger	28. 00
Jan. 20, 1912, Fred P. Haas	9. 50
Jan. 20, 1912, Virgil H. Bolt	5. 00
Jan. 20, 1912, Lynn Haines	35. 00
Jan. 20, 1912, F. M. Wylie	40. 00
Jan. 20, 1912, Walter Fahy	50. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, Dorothy Crawford	2. 25
Jan. 27, 1912, Florence Shillington	1. 50
Jan. 27, 1912, Sarah Scott	1. 50
Jan. 27, 1912, Chas. Wheland	4. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, Reginald Yowell	8. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, Frank Law	7. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, Pearl Reid	9. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, Helen G. Watson	6. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, Minnie Schroeder	7. 50
Jan. 27, 1912, Tina Whitham	6. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, Hilda Warner	7. 25
Jan. 27, 1912, Madoline Scott	7. 50
Jan. 27, 1912, Laura Cadett	9. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, Mary McDonnell	10. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, Ada B. Gilliland	9. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, Margaret A. Rice	10. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, Nelta Carrick	10. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, Emily P. Bayly	12. 50
Jan. 27, 1912, Mary E. Boyd	8. 60
Jan. 27, 1912, Marie Clement	5. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, Etta Remsburg	7. 50
Jan. 27, 1912, Edgar W. Crawford	28. 25
Jan. 27, 1912, R. G. Robertson	16. 50
Jan. 27, 1912, Bert M. Williams	10. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	22. 50
Jan. 27, 1912, Rosalea McCready	12. 75
Jan. 27, 1912, Clyde C. Way	20. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, Welton Yowell	16. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, Lillian Wilkinson	8. 75
Jan. 27, 1912, L. E. Kruger	26. 00

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

551

Jan. 27, 1912, Fred P. Haas	\$7. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, Virgil H. Bolt	6. 50
Jan. 27, 1912, Lynn Haines	35. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, W. J. Fahy	50. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, F. M. Wylie	40. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, Reginald Yowell	7. 50
Feb. 3, 1912, Frank Law	5. 30
Feb. 3, 1912, Minnie Schroeder	7. 50
Feb. 3, 1912, Tina Whitham	6. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, Hilda Warner	6. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, Madoline Scott	6. 15
Feb. 3, 1912, Laura Cadett	9. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, Mary McDonnell	10. 40
Feb. 3, 1912, Ada B. Gilliland	9. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, Margaret A. Rice	10. 25
Feb. 3, 1912, Nelita Carrick	10. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, Emily P. Bayly	12. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, Mary E. Boyd	8. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, Marie Clement	8. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, E. W. Crawford	26. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	15. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, R. G. Robertson	12. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, Bert M. Williams	10. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, Rosalea McCready	12. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, Clyde C. Way	20. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, Welton Yowell	15. 40
Feb. 3, 1912, Lilliam Wilkinson	7. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, L. E. Kruger	20. 80
Feb. 3, 1912, Fred Haas	7. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, Virgil H. Bolt	5. 10
Feb. 3, 1912, Lynn Haines	35. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, F. M. Wylie	40. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, Bessie Ivery	5. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, Reginald Yowell	7. 80
Feb. 10, 1912, Frank Law	5. 15
Feb. 10, 1912, Helen G. Watson	6. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, Minnie Schroeder	7. 50
Feb. 10, 1912, Tina Whitham	6. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, Hilda Warner	6. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, Madoline Scott	6. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, Laura Cadett	9. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, Mary McDonnell	10. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, Ada B. Gilliland	9. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, Nelita Carrick	10. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, Emily P. Bayly	12. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, Mary E. Boyd	8. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, Marie Clement	8. 50
Feb. 10, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	15. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, R. G. Robertson	12. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, Rosalea McCready	12. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, Clyde C. Way	20. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, Lilliam Wilkinson	7. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, L. E. Kruger	20. 75
Feb. 10, 1912, Fred P. Haas	7. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, Lynn Haines	35. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, F. M. Wylie	40. 00
Feb. 14, 1912, Rosalea McCready	6. 00
Feb. 17, 1912, Frank Law	5. 30
Feb. 17, 1912, Reginald Yowell	6. 75
Feb. 17, 1912, Minnie Schroeder	8. 00
Feb. 17, 1912, Tina Whitham	6. 25
Feb. 17, 1912, Madoline Scott	7. 00
Feb. 17, 1912, Laura Cadett	9. 25
Feb. 17, 1912, Mary McDonnell	10. 25
Feb. 17, 1912, Ada B. Gilliland	9. 00
Feb. 17, 1912, Nelita Carrick	10. 00
Feb. 17, 1912, Mary E. Boyd	8. 30
Feb. 17, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	15. 00

Feb. 17, 1912, R. G. Robertson	\$12. 00
Feb. 17, 1912, L. E. Kruger	15. 65
Feb. 17, 1912, Lynn Haines	35. 00
Feb. 17, 1912, F. M. Wylie	40. 00
Feb. 24, 1912, Hilda Warner	6. 00
Feb. 24, 1912, Lillian Wilkinson	6. 00
Feb. 24, 1912, Emily P. Bayly	9. 00
Feb. 24, 1912, R. G. Robertson	12. 00
Feb. 24, 1912, Cora B. Glancey	6. 75
Feb. 24, 1912, Mary E. Boyd	8. 00
Feb. 24, 1912, Laura Cadett	9. 00
Feb. 24, 1912, Martha E. Brookmire	8. 00
Feb. 24, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	13. 00
Feb. 24, 1912, Madoline Scott	7. 00
Feb. 24, 1912, Tina Whitham	6. 00
Feb. 24, 1912, Mary McDonnell	10. 00
Feb. 24, 1912, Reginald Yowell	6. 00
Feb. 24, 1912, Frank Law	5. 00
Feb. 24, 1912, Ada B. Gilliland	9. 00
Feb. 24, 1912, Lynn Haines	35. 00
Feb. 24, 1912, Minnie Schroeder	7. 50
Feb. 24, 1912, F. M. Wylie	40. 00
Feb. 24, 1912,	
Feb. 28, 1912, Neita Corrick	20. 00
Mar. 2, 1912, R. G. Robertson	16. 00
Mar. 2, 1912, Cora B. Glancey	9. 50
Mar. 2, 1912, Laura Cadett	11. 00
Mar. 2, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	17. 00
Mar. 2, 1912, Martha Brookmire	8. 15
Mar. 2, 1912, Madoline Scott	7. 00
Mar. 2, 1912, Minnie Schroeder	7. 50
Mar. 2, 1912, Reginald Yowell	7. 00
Mar. 2, 1912, Frank Law	5. 50
Mar. 2, 1912, Mary McDonnell	12. 00
Mar. 2, 1912, Lillian Wilkinson	7. 00
Mar. 2, 1912, Hilda Warner	3. 00
Mar. 2, 1912, Emily P. Bayly	4. 00
Mar. 2, 1912, Lynn Haines	35. 00
Mar. 2, 1912, F. M. Wylie	40. 00
Mar. 7, 1912, R. G. Robertson	12. 00
Mar. 7, 1912, Cora B. Glancey	8. 00
Mar. 7, 1912, Laura Cadett	9. 00
Mar. 7, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	15. 00
Mar. 7, 1912, Madoline Scott	7. 00
Mar. 7, 1912, Frank Law	5. 00
Mar. 7, 1912, Lillian Wilkinson	7. 00
Mar. 7, 1912, Mary McDonnell	10. 00
Mar. 7, 1912, Lynn Haines	35. 00
Mar. 7, 1912, F. M. Wylie	40. 00
Mar. 7, 1912, Neita Corrick	12. 00
Mar. 7, 1912, F. E. Early	40. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, Marie Clement	14. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, Reta Remsburg	3. 50
Mar. 16, 1912, Sarah Scott	5. 50
Mar. 16, 1912, Mary Slengland	3. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, Marg. Reardon	3. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, Mrs. R. B. Walsh	2. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, Bert Williams	3. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, Nellie Wood	4. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, R. G. Robertson	25. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, Cora B. Glancey	13. 75
Mar. 16, 1912, Laura Cadett	15. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	15. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, Madoline Scott	11. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, Lillian Wilkinson	11. 50
Mar. 16, 1912, Frank Law	10. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, Mary McDonnell	10. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, Neita Carrick	11. 00

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

553

Mar. 16, 1912, F. E. Early	\$35.00
Mar. 16, 1912, Lynn Haines	35.00
Mar. 16, 1912, F. M. Wylie	40.00
Mar. 16, 1912, Tina Whitham	1.50
Mar. 16, 1912, Etta Remsburg	7.00
Mar. 27, 1912, R. G. Robertson	12.00
Mar. 27, 1912, Cora B. Glancey	9.25
Mar. 27, 1912, Laura Cadett	9.00
Mar. 27, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	17.50
Mar. 27, 1912, Hilda Warner	2.50
Mar. 27, 1912, Margaret Riordan	3.00
Mar. 27, 1912, Madoline Scott	7.25
Mar. 27, 1912, Lillian Wilkinson	7.75
Mar. 27, 1912, Frank Law	8.00
Mar. 27, 1912, Mary McDonnell	11.00
Mar. 27, 1912, Lynn Haines	35.00
Mar. 27, 1912, F. M. Wylie	40.00
Apr. —, 1912, Ethel T. Shore	5.85
Apr. 27, 1912, F. M. Wylie	40.00
Apr. 27, 1912, Frank Law	6.50
Apr. 27, 1912, Minnie Schroeder	7.50
Apr. 27, 1912, Mrs. Taylor	15.00
Apr. 27, 1912, Madoline Scott	7.00
Apr. 27, 1912, Laura Cadett	9.00
Apr. 27, 1912, Margaret Riordan	6.00
Apr. 27, 1912, Cora Glancey	9.00
Apr. 27, 1912, Mary McDonnell	10.00
Apr. 27, 1912, Nellie Wood	4.75
Apr. 27, 1912, Marie Clement	5.75
Apr. 27, 1912, Carl S. Riswold	13.00
May 4, 1912, F. E. Early	20.00
May 4, 1912, F. M. Wylie	40.00
May 4, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	15.00
May 4, 1912, R. G. Robertson	14.00
May 4, 1912, Lynn Haines	35.00
May 10, 1912, Lynn Haines	40.00
May 11, 1912, R. G. Robertson	25.00
May 11, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	15.00
May 11, 1912, Frank Law	7.50
May 13, 1912, F. E. Early	40.00
May 13, 1912, Neita Carrick	10.00
May 17, 1912, F. E. Early	40.00
May 17, 1912, R. G. Robertson	12.00
May 17, 1912, Frank Law	6.00
May 17, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	15.00
May 22, 1912, F. M. Wylie	40.00
May 25, 1912, R. G. Robertson	12.00
May 25, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	15.00
May 25, 1912, F. E. Early	20.00
June 7, 1912, F. E. Early	27.00
June 8, 1912, R. G. Robertson	24.00
June 8, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	30.00
June 8, 1912, Frank Law	2.00
June 11, 1912, R. G. Robertson	12.00
June 28, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	35.00
July 9, 1912, Mrs. Wylie	30.00
July 9, 1912, Isabel Martin	8.00
Aug. 24, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	15.00
Aug. 30, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	15.00
Sept. 7, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	7.50
Sept. 21, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	22.50
Apr., 1912, paid through Fred Wylie	1,100.45
Oct., 1911, paid through Walter Houser	288.20
Oct. 5, 1912, Jennie M. Taylor	45.00
Total	10,817.03

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Hannan Exhibit No. 3."

The paper referred to was marked "Hannan Exhibit No. 3," and is as follows:

HANNAN EXHIBIT No. 3.

Office rent.

Oct. 7, 1911, estate of Daniel S. Evans.....	\$113. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, estate of Daniel S. Evans.....	163. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, estate of Daniel S. Evans.....	6. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, estate of Daniel S. Evans.....	188. 00
Jan. 8, 1912, estate of Daniel S. Evans.....	188. 00
Jan. 8, 1912, George H. Demster.....	10. 00
Feb. 2, 1912, Thurston & Brown.....	45. 00
Feb. 3, 1912, estate of Daniel S. Evans.....	188. 00
Mar. 2, 1912, Thurston & Brown.....	45. 00
Mar. 2, 1912, estate of Daniel S. Evans.....	188. 00
May 1, 1912, Thurston & Brown (paid through Fred Wylle).....	45. 00
May 4, 1912, estate of Daniel S. Evans.....	183. 00
May 4, 1912, Thurston & Brown.....	45. 00
May 17, 1912, estate of Daniel S. Evans.....	148. 84
June 8, 1912, Thurston & Brown (June).....	45. 00
June 11, 1912, estate of Daniel S. Evans.....	138. 00
Sept. 10, 1912, estate of Daniel S. Evans.....	44. 81
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	7, 783. 65

Mr. HANNAN. This is a detail of the expenditures made for office rent.

The CHAIRMAN. I think these are all separate.

Mr. HANNAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Hannan Exhibit No. 4."

The paper referred to was marked "Hannan Exhibit No. 4," and is as follows:

HANNAN EXHIBIT No. 4.

Office supplies and furniture.

July 24, 1911, E. P. Taylor.....	\$50. 00
July 28, 1911, E. P. Taylor.....	50. 00
Aug. 1, 1911, W. B. Moses & Co.....	24. 50
Aug. 14, 1911, Brentano's.....	9. 00
Aug. 15, 1911, L. B. Gertman.....	30. 00
Aug. 18, 1911, Typewriter & Office Supply Co.....	35. 00
Aug. 22, 1911, W. L. Houser.....	8. 00
Aug. 23, 1911, W. B. Holtzclaw.....	3. 50
Aug. 24, 1911, E. Morrison Paper Co.....	12. 00
Aug. 25, 1911, Dulln & Martin.....	11. 95
Aug. 26, 1911, E. Morrison Paper Co.....	43. 75
Aug. 30, 1911, P. D. Morrison Stationery Co.....	11. 95
Aug. 30, 1911, E. Morrison Paper Co.....	33. 95
Aug. 31, 1911, F. H. Edmunds.....	2. 00
Aug. 31, 1911, E. P. Taylor.....	12. 75
Sept. 1, 1911, Demster.....	1. 35
Sept. 2, 1911, Castalla Spring Water Co.....	2. 50
Sept. 2, 1911, F. M. Wylle.....	4. 50
Sept. 5, 1911, Lamb & Tilden.....	1. 20
Sept. 7, 1911, W. B. Holtzclaw.....	3. 50
Sept. 8, 1911, Leo Gertman.....	52. 50
Sept. 9, 1911, Fowler Manufacturing Co.....	1. 00
Sept. 9, 1911, Brentano's.....	6. 00
Sept. 9, 1911, C. G. Sloan.....	2. 50
Sept. 1, 1911, F. M. Wylle.....	2. 82
Sept. 9, 1911, W. B. Holtzclaw.....	6. 50

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

555

Sept. 11, 1911, Yawman & Erbe Co.....	\$4. 20
Sept. 11, 1911, Typewriter & Office Supply Co.....	20. 25
Sept. 12, 1911, W. B. Moses.....	4. 50
Sept. 15, 1911, E. Morrison Paper Co.....	14. 17
Sept. 16, 1911, F. M. Wylie.....	6. 85
Sept. 16, 1911, Leo A. Gertman.....	27. 50
Sept. 19, 1911, E. F. Mud.....	10. 00
Sept. 19, 1911, E. P. Taylor.....	14. 00
Sept. 20, 1911, John J. Hannan.....	15. 00
Sept. 20, 1911, Lamb & Tilden.....	3. 50
Sept. 20, 1911, E. P. Taylor.....	17. 50
Sept. 20, 1911, Southern Supply Co.....	19. 60
Sept. 20, 1911, Wilson & Mayers.....	55. 00
Sept. 23, 1911, E. Morrison Paper Co.....	45. 85
Sept. 23, 1911, F. M. Wylie.....	8. 00
Sept. 23, 1911, Sisters of Mercy.....	3. 00
Sept. 23, 1911, John J. Hannan.....	35. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Brentano's.....	6. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, L. C. Smith.....	10. 65
Oct. 7, 1911, Geo. H. Demster.....	1. 50
Oct. 7, 1911, Typewriter & Office Supply Co.....	93. 45
Oct. 7, 1911, Castalia Spring Water Co.....	6. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, H. Baum & Son.....	31. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, M. H. Hopwood.....	29. 99
Oct. 7, 1911, E. Morrison Paper Co.....	2. 20
Oct. 7, 1911, T. A. Gertman.....	112. 75
Oct. 7, 1911, Lamb & Tilden.....	2. 35
Oct. 9, 1911, W. B. Moses & Sons.....	40. 00
Oct. 9, 1911, Journal Newspaper Co.....	1. 50
Oct. 9, 1911, Chicago Record-Herald.....	3. 25
Oct. 9, 1911, The Bee Publishing Co. (Omaha).....	3. 00
Oct. 9, 1911, St. Louis Times.....	1. 50
Oct. 9, 1911, Kansas City Star.....	2. 60
Oct. 9, 1911, Minneapolis Journal.....	3. 00
Oct. 9, 1911, Indianapolis News.....	2. 65
Oct. 9, 1911, Cleveland News.....	1. 50
Oct. 9, 1911, Boston Post.....	1. 50
Oct. 9, 1911, Cleveland Press.....	1. 50
Oct. 9, 1911, St. Paul Dispatch.....	2. 00
Oct. 9, 1911, Kansas City Post.....	1. 40
Oct. 9, 1911, San Francisco Call.....	4. 00
Oct. 9, 1911, St. Paul Daily.....	1. 25
Oct. 9, 1911, Denver Post.....	1. 95
Oct. 9, 1911, W. B. Holtzclaw.....	3. 50
Oct. 11, 1911, E. T. Coffren.....	1. 90
Oct. 12, 1911, Washington Gas Light Co.....	10. 00
Oct. 12, 1911, H. G. Kneissl.....	82. 25
Oct. 12, 1911, W. F. Roberts Co.....	3. 80
Oct. 14, 1911, Lamb & Tilden.....	2. 16
Oct. 14, 1911, Leo A. Gertman.....	27. 50
Oct. 14, 1911, A. H. & J. R. Rogers.....	2. 00
Oct. 14, 1911, Yawman & Erbe.....	47. 05
Oct. 14, 1911, The Journal Printing Co.....	3. 00
Oct. 14, 1911, St. Louis Post.....	2. 50
Oct. 14, 1911, Boston Globe.....	4. 75
Oct. 14, 1911, Chicago Daily News.....	2. 00
Oct. 14, 1911, Typewriter & Office Supply Co.....	2. 30
Oct. 14, 1911, Cleveland Plain Dealer.....	2. 75
Oct. 21, 1911, W. B. Holtzclaw.....	7. 00
Oct. 21, 1911, Yawman & Erbe.....	17. 20
Oct. 21, 1911, P. D. Morrison Stationery Co.....	4. 35
Oct. 21, 1911, The Capital News Co.....	1. 10
Oct. 21, 1911, Typewriter & Office Supply Co.....	8. 70
Oct. 21, 1911, E. P. Taylor.....	20. 25
Oct. 21, 1911, National Supply Co.....	150. 00
Oct. 21, 1911, The Republican Co.....	5. 00
Oct. 21, 1911, Typewriter & Office Supply Co.....	50. 00

Oct. 28, 1911, W. B. Moses	\$1. 50
Oct. 28, 1911, E. P. Taylor	49. 25
Oct. 28, 1911, R. P. Morrison Co	9. 30
Oct. 31, 1911, Wilson & Mayers	65. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, Geo. H. Demster	3. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, Castalia Spring Water Co	8. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, L. C. Smith & Bros	84. 00
Nov. 4, 1911, Typewriter & Office Supply Co	6. 75
Nov. 4, 1911, National Supply Co	3. 50
Nov. 4, 1911, Capital News Co	5. 50
Nov. 11, 1911, Fowler Manufacturing Co	1. 00
Nov. 11, 1911, H. Baum & Son	4. 00
Nov. 11, 1911, R. P. Andrews Stationery Co	33. 47
Nov. 11, 1911, Typewriter & Office Supply Co	2. 50
Nov. 11, 1911, Arthur F. Carroll	34. 00
Nov. 11, 1911, E. P. Taylor	24. 25
Nov. 11, 1911, L. A. Gertman	1. 25
Nov. 18, 1911, Capital News Co	2. 00
Nov. 18, 1911, Typewriter & Office Supply Co	22. 25
Nov. 18, 1911, W. F. Roberts Co	6. 25
Nov. 18, 1911, Underwood Co	3. 75
Nov. 18, 1911, E. Morrison Co	3. 00
Nov. 18, 1911, Lamb & Tilden	2. 75
Nov. 20, 1911, Chicago Tribune	3. 25
Nov. 20, 1911, St. Paul Daily News	1. 50
Nov. 20, 1911, San Francisco Bulletin	1. 50
Nov. 20, 1911, Cincinnati Inquirer	7. 00
Nov. 24, 1911, W. B. Holtzclaw	14. 00
Nov. 24, 1911, L. C. Smith & Bros	3. 50
Nov. 24, 1911, R. P. Andrews	1. 25
Nov. 24, 1911, Typewriter & Office Supply Co	2. 25
Nov. 24, 1911, H. Baum & Son	15. 00
Nov. 24, 1911, Capital News Co	4. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, Geo. H. Demster	3. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, Typewriter & Office Supply Co	4. 35
Dec. 1, 1911, Remington Typewriting Co	1. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, Wilson & Mayers	5. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, Capital News Co	2. 00
Dec. 8, 1911, Fowler Manufacturing Co	1. 00
Dec. 8, 1911, Boston Herald	1. 50
Dec. 8, 1911, W. B. Holtzclaw	14. 00
Dec. 8, 1911, Castalia Spring Water Co	13. 50
Dec. 8, 1911, Yawman & Erbe	2. 50
Dec. 16, 1911, Typewriter & Office Supply Co	3. 95
Dec. 16, 1911, The Capital News	2. 00
Dec. 16, 1911, Lamb & Tilden	5. 54
Dec. 16, 1911, H. Baum & Son	8. 50
Dec. 16, 1911, O'Bryon Sign Co	3. 00
Dec. 26, 1911, Capital News Co	4. 50
Dec. 26, 1911, W. B. Holtzclaw	10. 50
Dec. 26, 1911, Yawman & Erbe	3. 75
Dec. 26, 1911, W. B. Moses	43. 00
Dec. 26, 1911, Wm. H. Dyer	10. 00
Jan. 8, 1912, R. P. Andrews Co	3. 55
Jan. 8, 1911, Lamb & Tilden	4. 50
Jan. 8, 1911, Castalia Spring Water Co	8. 50
Jan. 8, 1912, Capital News Co	5. 00
Jan. 8, 1912, Geo. H. Demster	4. 00
Jan. 8, 1912, O'Bryon Sign Co	2. 50
Jan. 8, 1912, Typewriter & Office Supply Co	23. 25
Jan. 12, 1912, Fowler Manufacturing Co	1. 00
Jan. 12, 1912, The Capital News	2. 50
Jan. 20, 1912, Arthur F. Carroll	15. 50
Jan. 20, 1912, W. B. Holtzclaw	17. 50
Jan. 20, 1912, E. P. Taylor	5. 00
Jan. 20, 1912, Lamb & Tilden	2. 75
Jan. 20, 1912, Typewriter & Office Supply Co	1. 75

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

557

Jan. 27, 1912, E. Morrison Paper Co.....	\$1. 80
Jan. 27, 1912, R. P. Andrews Stationery Co.....	8. 15
Jan. 27, 1912, Capital News Co.....	2. 50
Jan. 27, 1912, Lamb & Tilden.....	1. 50
Jan. 27, 1912, Yawman & Erbe.....	7. 65
Feb. 3, 1912, Capital News Co.....	2. 50
Feb. 3, 1912, Geo. H. Demster.....	4. 50
Feb. 3, 1912, Yawman & Erbe.....	35. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, Fowler Manufacturing Co.....	1. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, Castalia Spring Water Co.....	10. 50
Feb. 10, 1912, Capital News Co.....	2. 50
Feb. 10, 1912, Wm. J. Dempsey.....	6. 83
Feb. 10, 1912, Lamb & Tilden.....	1. 20
Feb. 10, 1912, Remington Co.....	1. 05
Feb. 17, 1912, Capital News Co.....	2. 50
Feb. 24, 1912, Capital News Co.....	2. 50
Feb. 24, 1912, W. B. Holtzclaw.....	31. 50
Mar. 2, 1912, R. P. Andrews Stationery Co.....	2. 70
Mar. 2, 1912, Geo. H. Demster.....	4. 00
Mar. 2, 1912, Castalia Water Co.....	8. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, Fowler Manufacturing Co.....	1. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, Capital News Co.....	5. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, The Denver Post.....	1. 95
Mar. 27, 1912, Capital News Co.....	5. 00
May 4, 1912, Capital News Co.....	15. 00
May 4, 1912, Geo. H. Demster.....	4. 00
May 4, 1912, Castalia Spring Water Co.....	9. 00
May 4, 1912, R. P. Andrews Stationery Co.....	2. 70
May 17, 1912, Fowler Manufacturing Co.....	1. 00
May 17, 1912, James B. Lambie.....	1. 20
May 17, 1912, Typewriter & Office Supply Co.....	21. 75
May 17, 1912, Morrison Paper Co.....	1. 60
May 17, 1912, Daily News Publishing Co. (Omaha).....	1. 25
May 22, 1912, R. G. Robertson (office expenses).....	12. 28
May 22, 1912, R. G. Robertson (office expenses).....	25. 00
May 22, 1912, Fowler Manufacturing Co.....	1. 00
June 11, 1912, Geo. H. Demster.....	3. 00
July 8, 1912, Fowler Manufacturing Co. (towels).....	1. 75
July 9, 1912, Castalia Spring Water Co.....	3. 00
July 9, 1912, John J. Hannan (labor).....	8. 25
July 18, 1912, Geo. H. Demster (ice).....	1 50
April, 1912, paid through Fred Wylle.....	4. 00
October, 1911, paid through Walter L. Houser.....	10. 50
Total	2, 504. 21

The CHAIRMAN. Hannan Exhibit No. 5.

The paper referred to was thereupon marked "Hannan Exhibit No. 5" and is as follows:

HANNAN EXHIBIT No. 5.

Paper and printing.

Aug. 2, 1911, Public Printer.....	\$149. 33
Aug. 23, 1911, National Publishing Co.....	35. 00
Aug. 30, 1911, Public Printer.....	264. 00
Sept. 7, 1911, Public Printer.....	40. 55
Sept. 7, 1911, Public Printer.....	77. 85
Sept. 12, 1911, National Supply Co.....	3. 50
Sept. 15, 1911, National Supply Co.....	11. 76
Sept. 19, 1911, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	7. 00
Sept. 20, 1911, E. Morrison Paper Co.....	6. 50
Sept. 20, 1911, National Supply Co.....	3. 50
Sept. 22, 1911, Towles Studio.....	105. 00
Sept. 22, 1911, Public Printer.....	417. 40
Sept. 23, 1911, National Publishing Co.....	35. 50

Oct. 30, 1911, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	\$75.82
Oct. 7, 1911, The Towles Studio.....	7.40
Oct. 7, 1911, National Supply Co.....	19.34
Oct. 7, 1911, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	124.68
Oct. 7, 1911, Lanman Engraving Co.....	12.40
Oct. 7, 1911, Thos. P. Moore.....	74.00
Oct. 9, 1911, National Publishing Co.....	43.50
Oct. 14, 1911, Flexotype Co.....	16.28
Oct. 14, 1911, E. Morrison Paper Co.....	1.00
Oct. 14, 1911, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	106.15
Oct. 14, 1911, Thomas P. Moore.....	34.20
Oct. 21, 1911, Thomas P. Moore.....	85.00
Oct. 21, 1911, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	89.13
Oct. 28, 1911, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	168.11
Oct. 20, 1911, Public Printer.....	115.75
Nov. 4, 1911, National Supply Co.....	14.91
Nov. 4, 1911, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	7.66
Nov. 4, 1911, Thos. P. Moore.....	17.60
Nov. 4, 1911, The Rotary Photo Co.....	60.00
Nov. 10, 1911, W. G. Allen.....	24.00
Nov. 11, 1911, The Claflin Printing Co.....	20.00
Nov. 11, 1911, W. M. Benton.....	20.00
Nov. 11, 1911, T. P. Moore.....	60.50
Nov. 11, 1911, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	9.85
Nov. 11, 1911, Bond Paper Co.....	30.40
Nov. 18, 1911, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	56.85
Nov. 18, 1911, Thos. P. Moore.....	84.25
Nov. 24, 1911, Thos. P. Moore.....	15.50
Nov. 24, 1911, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	5.70
Nov. 28, 1911, National Supply Co.....	37.01
Nov. 8, 1911, Morrison Stationery Co.....	86.00
Dec. 1, 1911, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	56.63
Dec. 1, 1911, Harris & Ewing.....	1.00
Dec. 8, 1911, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	167.37
Dec. 8, 1911, Thos. P. Moore.....	24.00
Dec. 16, 1911, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	20.20
Dec. 16, 1911, Thos. P. Moore.....	27.50
Dec. 16, 1911, Lanman Engraving Co.....	2.50
Dec. 26, 1911, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	69.40
Jan. 8, 1912, Rotary Photo. Co.....	110.00
Jan. 8, 1912, Edmonston Studio.....	90.00
Jan. 10, 1912, Public Printer.....	539.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Thos. P. Moore.....	6.00
Jan. 12, 1912, National Supply Co.....	2.75
Jan. 12, 1912, R. P. Andrews Paper Co.....	36.48
Jan. 12, 1912, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	638.92
Jan. 15, 1912, Lanman Engraving Co.....	2.50
Jan. 19, 1912, Gilson Gardner.....	23.50
Jan. 20, 1912, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	157.35
Jan. 20, 1912, Thomas P. Moore.....	180.00
Jan. 20, 1912, R. P. Andrews Paper Co.....	4.80
Jan. 20, 1912, National Capital Press.....	30.00
Jan. 27, 1912, Thomas P. Moore.....	16.69
Jan. 27, 1912, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	98.81
Feb. 3, 1912, Washington Loose Leaf Co.....	10.00
Feb. 10, 1912, Edmonston Studio.....	9.75
Feb. 10, 1912, Towles Studio.....	2.00
Feb. 10, 1912, National Capital Press.....	403.50
Feb. 10, 1912, Thos. P. Moore.....	22.50
Feb. 10, 1912, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	10.46
Feb. 17, 1912, W. G. Allen.....	3.00
Feb. 24, 1912, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	83.42
Mar. 2, 1912, Maurice Joyce Engraving Co.....	25.00
Mar. 16, 1912, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co.....	30.19
Mar. 16, 1912, Thos. P. Moore.....	96.00
Mar. 16, 1912, National Capital Press.....	349.50
Mar. 17, 1912, National Supply Co.....	100.72

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

559

Mar. 17, 1912, Thos. P. Moore-----	\$10. 00
Mar. 27, 1912, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co-----	29. 36
May 4, 1912, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co-----	75. 00
May 4, 1912, Thos. P. Moore-----	75. 00
May 4, 1912, Stenographers' Exchange-----	3. 80
May 14, 1912, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co-----	50. 00
May 14, 1912, Thos. P. Moore-----	154. 65
May 17, 1912, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co-----	100. 50
June 8, 1912, Mathers-Lamm Paper Co-----	175. 00
Aug. 20, 1912, Public Printer-----	18. 85
April, 1912, paid through Fred Wylie-----	308. 80
Total-----	6, 862. 28

Mr. HANNAN. That is a detail of the amounts expended for paper and printing of the Washington headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Hannan Exhibit No. 6."

The paper referred to was marked "Hannan Exhibit No. 6," and is as follows:

HANNAN EXHIBIT No. 6.

Postage.

July 24, 1911, Jno. J. Hannan-----	\$10. 00
Aug. 1, 1911, Jno. J. Hannan-----	10. 00
Aug. 5, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	5. 00
Aug. 19, 1911, E. Whiteside-----	4. 00
Aug. 24, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	25. 00
Aug. 26, 1911, Fred M. Wylie-----	1. 00
Sept. 2, 1911, Jno. J. Hannan-----	5. 00
Sept. 7, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	35. 00
Sept. 13, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	50. 00
Sept. 15, 1911, Medill McCormick-----	30. 00
Sept. 18, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	30. 00
Sept. 19, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	50. 00
Sept. 21, 1911, Jno. J. Hannan-----	10. 00
Sept. 21, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	25. 00
Sept. 23, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	27. 00
Sept. 25, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	50. 00
Sept. 27, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	50. 00
Oct. 10, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	100. 00
Oct. 12, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	100. 00
Do-----	100. 00
Oct. 14, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	100. 00
Do-----	10. 00
Oct. 17, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	100. 00
Oct. 19, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	100. 00
Oct. 21, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	75. 00
Oct. 23, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	100. 00
Oct. 24, 1911, Walter Fahy-----	25. 00
Oct. 25, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	110. 00
Oct. 28, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	50. 00
Oct. 30, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	60. 00
Nov. 3, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	35. 00
Nov. 6, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	50. 00
Nov. 8, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	25. 00
Nov. 9, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	450. 00
Nov. 13, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	50. 00
Nov. 14, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	100. 00
Nov. 16, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	25. 00
Nov. 17, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	220. 00
Nov. 18, 1911, Jno. J. Hannan-----	200. 00
Nov. 18, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	120. 00
Nov. 20, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	20. 00
Nov. 22, 1911, E. W. Whiteside-----	25. 00

Nov. 24, 1911, E. W. Whiteside	\$30.00
Nov. 27, 1911, E. W. Whiteside	25.00
Nov. 29, 1911, E. W. Whiteside	25.00
Dec. 1, 1911, E. W. Whiteside	15.00
Do	10.00
Do	25.00
Dec. 5, 1911, E. W. Whiteside	150.00
Do	40.00
Dec. 12, 1911, E. W. Whiteside	40.00
Dec. 15, 1911, E. W. Whiteside	20.00
Dec. 18, 1911, E. W. Whiteside	10.00
Do	25.00
Dec. 22, 1911, E. W. Whiteside	40.00
Dec. 26, 1911, E. W. Whiteside	40.00
Jan. 9, 1912, E. W. Whiteside	50.00
Jan. 15, 1912, E. W. Whiteside	75.00
Jan. 19, 1912, E. W. Whiteside	50.00
Do	75.00
Jan. 20, 1912, Medill McCormick	50.00
Jan. 22, 1912, E. W. Whiteside	50.00
Do	50.00
Jan. 25, 1912, E. W. Whiteside	50.00
Do	50.00
Feb. 2, 1912, E. W. Whiteside	50.00
Feb. 3, 1912, F. M. Wylie	25.00
Feb. 8, 1912, E. W. Whiteside	20.00
Feb. 9, 1912, E. W. Whiteside	40.00
Feb. 10, 1912, E. W. Whiteside	20.00
Feb. 14, 1912, E. W. Whiteside	30.00
Feb. 16, 1912, E. W. Whiteside	50.00
Feb. 23, 1912, E. W. Whiteside	60.00
Feb. 28, 1912, E. W. Whiteside	60.00
Mar. 7, 1912, E. W. Whiteside	50.00
Do	100.00
Mar. 10, 1912, E. W. Whiteside	200.00
Mar. 18, 1912, E. W. Whiteside	200.00
Mar. 27, 1912, E. W. Whiteside	25.00
Do	25.00
July 9, 1912, John J. Hannan	1.00
Oct., 1911, postage paid through Walter L. Houser	725.00
Apr., 1912, postage paid through Fred Wylie	735.00
Total	6,178.00

Mr. HANNAN. That is a detail of the amount expended for postage for the Washington headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Hannan Exhibit No. 7."

The paper referred to was marked "Hannan Exhibit No. 7," and is as follows:

HANNAN EXHIBIT No. 7.

Office expenses paid in cash through Fred Wylie.

Oct. 7, 1911, F. M. Wylie	\$7.70
Oct. 2, 1911, F. M. Wylie	1.19
Oct. 11, 1911, F. M. Wylie	10.00
Nov. 1, 1911, F. M. Wylie	14.50
Nov. 11, 1911, F. M. Wylie	8.80
Nov. 14, 1911, F. M. Wylie	10.00
Nov. 22, 1911, F. M. Wylie	4.00
Nov. 24, 1911, F. M. Wylie	9.65
Dec. 8, 1911, F. M. Wylie	12.85
Dec. 20, 1911, F. M. Wylie	18.42
Dec. 26, 1911, F. E. Early	44.60
Dec. 26, 1911, F. M. Wylie	11.25

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

561

Dec. 29, 1911, F. W. Wylle-----	\$800. 00
Jan. 8, 1912, F. M. Wylle-----	31. 79
Jan. 15, 1912, F. M. Wylle-----	27. 75
Jan. 20, 1912, F. W. Wylle-----	13. 00
Jan. 27, 1912, F. M. Wylle-----	18. 10
Feb. 3, 1912, F. M. Wylle-----	25. 00
Feb. 10, 1912, F. M. Wylle-----	18. 50
Feb. 17, 1912, F. M. Wylle-----	11. 10
Feb. 24, 1912, F. M. Wylle-----	12. 50
Mar. 2, 1912, F. M. Wylle-----	25. 00
Mar. 7, 1912, F. M. Wylle-----	10. 00
Do -----	100. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, F. M. Wylle-----	17. 04
Apr., 1912, paid through Fred Wylle-----	105. 00
Total -----	1,167. 74

Mr. HANNAN. That is a detail of the office expenses that were paid in cash items by Mr. Fred Wylie, who was in charge of the office force.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Hannan Exhibit No. 8."

The paper referred to was marked "Hannan Exhibit No. 8," shown to witness, and is as follows:

HANNAN EXHIBIT No. 8.

Field work.

Aug. 7, 1911, John J. Hannan, trip to New York-----	\$50. 00
Aug. 10, 1911, W. I. Nolan, Minnesota-----	200. 00
Sept. 12, 1911, John J. Hannan, trip to New York-----	50. 00
Sept. 23, 1911, John J. Hannan, western trip-----	100. 00
Sept. 20, 1911, W. H. McGrann-----	20. 00
Oct. 4, 1911, John J. Hannan, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio-----	125. 00
Oct. 7, 1911, Thomas L. Hicks, Pennsylvania list-----	100. 00
Oct. 24, 1911, John S. Donald, trip to New England-----	150. 00
Oct. 25, 1911, J. E. Little, North Carolina-----	250. 00
Oct. 28, 1911, W. H. McGrann-----	62. 50
Nov. 6, 1911, Herbert Williams, Ohio organization-----	50. 00
Nov. 6, 1911, A. Lapin Cohen, Michigan organization-----	300. 00
Nov. 6, 1911, Geo. P. Hampton, grange organization-----	300. 00
Nov. 8, 1911, Thomas S. Hicks, Pennsylvania list-----	35. 36
Nov. 11, 1911, Walter Fahy, Boston trip-----	25. 00
Nov. 15, 1911, Walter Fahy, Wyoming list-----	25. 00
Nov. 18, 1911, E. A. Morse, trip to North Dakota-----	70. 02
Nov. 20, 1911, Walter S. Field, Oklahoma organization-----	50. 00
Nov. 25, 1911, Mary B. Sutton, part of Jno. S. Donald's New Eng- land expense-----	4. 75
Nov. 28, 1911, Walter Fahy-----	28. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, W. H. McGrann-----	55. 00
Dec. 1, 1911, J. E. Little, North Carolina organization-----	200. 00
Dec. 8, 1911, Ole Sageng, trip to North Dakota-----	100. 00
Dec. 13, 1911, John J. Hannan, Pittsburgh trip-----	25. 00
Dec. 19, 1911, Thomas McCusker, Oregon organization-----	500. 00
Dec. 20, 1911, F. M. Wylle, cash to Hannan for expenses trip to Penn- sylvania and New Jersey-----	100. 00
Dec. 22, 1911, Walter Fahy-----	25. 00
Dec. 22, 1911, F. M. Wylle, cash to Hannan for mileage books-----	50. 00
Dec. 26, 1911, Walter L. Houser-----	500. 00
Dec. 26, 1911, Mary B. Sutton, railroad tickets for Hannan and others on Ohio trip-----	110. 00
Dec. 26, 1911, F. E. Early-----	12. 40
Dec. 27, 1911, F. M. Wylle, expenses on Ohio speaking trip-----	100. 00
Jan. 1, 1912, R. O. Woodruff, expense Bay City (Mich.) meeting-----	90. 50
Jan. 1, 1912, Fred J. Buckhout, expense Saginaw (Mich.) meeting-----	42. 50
Jan 2, 1912, S. Wessellus, rent hall, Grand Rapids, Mich-----	100. 00

Jan. 2, 1912, F. P. Robards, expenses Owosso meeting-----	\$85. 00
Jan. 3, 1912, M. R. Labbee, expenses Kalamazoo meeting-----	50. 00
Jan. 3, 1912, F. P. Robards, expenses Grand Rapids meeting-----	70. 00
Jan. 9, 1912, W. H. McGrann-----	55. 00
Jan. 19, 1912, Clyde C. Way, trip from South Dakota-----	40. 00
Jan. 19, 1912, Walter S. Field, Oklahoma organization-----	150. 00
Jan. 23, 1912, Frank A. Harrison, Oklahoma organization-----	100. 00
Jan. 23, 1912, Ole Sageng, trip to North Dakota-----	24. 45
Feb. 2, 1912, W. H. McGrann-----	55. 00
Feb. 2, 1912, E. A. Morse, trip to Ohio-----	26. 90
Feb. 8, 1912, William S. Pearson, North Carolina organization-----	250. 00
Feb. 12, 1912, James Manahan, trip to Nebraska-----	29. 00
Feb. 14, 1912, Frank A. Harrison, Nebraska-----	150. 00
Feb. 14, 1912, Frank A. Harrison, Nebraska-----	50. 00
Feb. 14, 1912, John J. Hannan, mileage book-----	20. 00
Feb. 14, 1912, John J. Hannan, Ohio-----	14. 50
Feb. 15, 1912, George S. Loftus, Minnesota-----	300. 00
Feb. 19, 1912, William S. Pearson, North Carolina organization-----	50. 00
Feb. 20, 1912, Frank A. Harrison, Nebraska-----	150. 00
Feb. 22, 1912, H. N. Tucker, North Dakota organization-----	500. 00
Mar. 2, 1912, W. H. McGrann-----	55. 00
Mar. 2, 1912, E. A. Morse, trip to Michigan-----	41. 82
Mar. 5, 1912, Willard Hotel Co., expense of Fred Howe-----	12. 60
Mar. 7, 1912, Mary B. Sutton, expense of Hannan to Chicago-----	75. 00
Mar. 11, 1912, John J. Hannan, additional expense of Hannan's Chi- cago trip-----	30. 00
Mar. 14, 1912, John J. Hannan, trip to Cleveland-----	25. 00
Mar. 16, 1912, Thomas Kenton Kase, California-----	500. 00
Mar. 21, 1912, Thomas McCusker, Oregon-----	400. 00
Mar. 25, 1912, John J. Hannan, Dakota and Nebraska trip-----	200. 00
Mar. 27, 1912, E. E. Browne, North Dakota trip-----	87. 50
Apr. 2, 1912, W. H. McGrann-----	55. 00
Apr. 2, 1912, Thomas McCusker, Oregon-----	400. 00
Apr. —, 1912, Lindell Hotel, Nebraska-----	50. 00
Apr. —, 1912, Lincoln headquarters, Nebraska-----	200. 00
Apr. —, 1912, Commercial Club, Nebraska-----	75. 00
Apr. —, 1912, Frank A. Harrison, Nebraska-----	275. 00
Apr. —, 1912, Lincoln Star, Nebraska-----	23. 00
Apr. —, 1912, Frank A. Harrison, Nebraska-----	175. 00
Apr. —, 1912, Frank A. Harrison, Nebraska-----	100. 00
Apr. —, 1912, Plankinton House, general-----	26. 25
May 7, 1912, W. H. McGrann-----	55. 00
May 13, 1912, Frank A. Harrison, Nebraska-----	71. 47
May 17, 1912, E. A. Morse, Nebraska trip-----	104. 30
May 17, 1912, R. E. Woodmansee-----	1. 50
May 17, 1912, John J. Hannan, expenses of Ohio trip-----	150. 00
May 22, 1912, John J. Hannan, expenses of Jersey trip-----	50. 00
May 25, 1912, R. G. Robertson, expenses Hannan to South Dakota-----	200. 00
May 25, 1912, Gilbert E. Roe, South Dakota expenses-----	200. 00
June 1, 1912, John J. Hannan, South Dakota expenses-----	150. 00
June 4, 1912, John J. Hannan, hall rents and auto bills, South Dakota-----	199. 98
June 4, 1912, F. S. Holbrook, tickets from Huron to Chicago-----	50. 00
June 5, 1912, Grand Pacific Hotel, tickets to Washington and New York-----	50. 00
June 9, 1912, "The White Leader," South Dakota, printing-----	4. 00
June 9, 1912, A. A. Adams, rent of hall, White, S. Dak-----	6. 00
June 9, 1912, A. B. Blake, South Dakota organization expenses-----	279. 55
June 9, 1912, Bowen Publishing Co., South Dakota-----	30. 00
June 11, 1912, John J. Hannan, trip to Wisconsin and Chicago-----	125. 00
June 28, 1912, W. H. McGrann-----	110. 00
July 9, 1912, Gilbert E. Roe, part of expenses in South Dakota-----	50. 00
July 18, 1912, John J. Hannan, trip to Madison-----	100. 00
Aug. 5, 1912, Gilbert E. Roe, expenses Hannan to New York-----	25. 00
Aug. 9, 1912, W. H. McGrann-----	55. 00
Sept. 7, 1912, John J. Hannan, trip to Chicago, Madison, and Wash- ington, D. C-----	85. 00

Sept. 7, 1912, Grand Pacific Hotel-----	\$20. 00
Sept. 10, 1912, John J. Hannan-----	50. 00
September and October, 1911, paid through Walter L. Houser-----	366. 02
Total-----	11, 519. 87

Mr. HANNAN. This is a detail of the amounts which were expended for certain organizers and speakers, hall rents, and railroad fares of such people as we sent through the country from Washington headquarters, under the heading of "Field work."

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Hannan Exhibit 9."

The paper referred to was marked "Exhibit Hannan, No. 9," handed to the witness, and is as follows:

HANNAN EXHIBIT, No. 9.

WALTER L. HOUSER.

All money paid to Walter L. Houser, including his expenses in Washington and of the several trips he made over the country. In the expense of these trips are included hall rents, advertising, and other expenses of political meetings:

Aug. 22, 1911, Walter L. Houser-----	\$8. 00
Sept. 2, 1911, Walter L. Houser-----	1, 000. 00
Sept. 23, 1911, Walter L. Houser-----	500. 00
Oct. 2, 1911, Medill McCormick, check-----	1, 000. 00
Oct. 17, 1911, Walter L. Houser-----	700. 00
Nov. 10, 1911, J. C. Welliver, check-----	50. 00
Nov. 27, 1911, A. S. Baker, check-----	2, 000. 00
Jan. 30, 1912, Walter L. Houser-----	500. 00
Feb. 9, 1912, Walter L. Houser-----	500. 00
Feb. 28, 1912, Walter L. Houser-----	500. 00
Mar. 2, 1912, Mary B. Sutton-----	35. 00
Mar. 18, 1912, Fred Wylle-----	20. 00
Mar. 25, 1912, Mary B. Sutton-----	216. 70
Mar. 27, 1912, paid through Fred Wylle-----	500. 00
May 22, 1912, Mary B. Sutton-----	110. 00
May 22, 1912, Walter L. Houser-----	1, 000. 00
	8, 639. 70
Less amounts accounted for in pay roll, field work, postage, and other accounts-----	1, 889. 72
Total-----	6, 749. 98

Mr. HANNAN. This is a detail of all money paid to Walter L. Houser, and was expended by him in the various trips which he took over the country. Mr. Houser was traveling practically all of the time that he was with the campaign, which started in July, 1911, and ran up to the convention in 1912.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this paper "Hannan Exhibit No. 10."

The paper referred to was marked "Hannan Exhibit No. 10," shown to witness, and is as follows:

HANNAN EXHIBIT No. 10.

Chicago headquarters.

Nov. 1, 1911, Walter S. Rogers-----	\$500. 00
Nov. 6, 1911, Walter S. Rogers-----	500. 00
Nov. 14, 1911, Walter S. Rogers-----	500. 00
Nov. 20, 1911, Walter S. Rogers-----	500. 00

Nov. 27, 1911, paid through Walter L. Houser-----	\$500.00
Dec. 1, 1911, Walter S. Rogers-----	500.00
Dec. 12, 1911, Walter S. Rogers-----	500.00
Dec. 18, 1911, Walter S. Rogers-----	500.00
Dec. 26, 1911, Walter S. Rogers-----	500.00
Dec. 30, 1911, Walter S. Rogers-----	500.00
Jan. 3, 1912, Walter S. Rogers-----	500.00
Jan. 4, 1912, Walter S. Rogers-----	1,000.00
Jan. 12, 1912, Walter S. Rogers-----	500.00
Jan. 19, 1912, Walter S. Rogers-----	500.00
Jan. 20, 1912, Walter S. Rogers-----	500.00
Jan. 29, 1912, Walter S. Rogers-----	500.00
Feb. 8, 1912, Walter S. Rogers-----	700.00
Feb. 17, 1912, Walter S. Rogers-----	250.00
Mar. 2, 1912, Walter S. Rogers-----	500.00
Mar. 16, 1912, Walter S. Rogers-----	500.00

Total ----- 10,450.00

Mr. HANNAN. This is a detail of the amount of money which was sent from the Washington headquarters to the Chicago headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Hannan Exhibit No. 11."

The paper referred to was marked "Hannan Exhibit No. 11," shown to witness, and is as follows:

HANNAN EXHIBIT No. 11.

Telegraph.

Sept. 2, 1911, Postal Telegraph Co-----	\$16.29
Oct. 14, 1911, Western Union Telegraph Co-----	6.79
Oct. 21, 1911, Postal Telegraph Co-----	24.52
Nov. 18, 1911, Western Union Telegraph Co-----	9.78
Nov. 18, 1911, Postal Telegraph Co-----	51.80
Dec. 16, 1911, Postal Telegraph Co-----	80.85
Dec. 26, 1911, Western Union Telegraph Co-----	15.16
Jan. 12, 1912, Postal Telegraph Co-----	84.74
Jan. 19, 1912, Walter S. Field (Oklahoma)-----	1.88
Feb. 3, 1912, Western Union Telegraph Co-----	2.47
Feb. 17, 1912, Postal Telegraph Co-----	89.93
Mar. 2, 1912, Western Union Telegraph Co-----	33.61
Mar. 7, 1912, James B. Adams-----	8.00
Mar. 16, 1912, Western Union Telegraph Co-----	15.52
Mar. 16, 1912, Postal Telegraph Co-----	172.53
May 17, 1912, Postal Telegraph Co-----	52.35
May 17, 1912, Western Union Telegraph Co-----	47.75
Aug. 8, 1912, Postal Telegraph Co-----	319.38

Total ----- 1,033.35

Mr. HANNAN. This is a detail of the amounts spent for telegrams.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this paper "Hannan Exhibit No. 12."

The paper referred to was marked "Hannan Exhibit No. 12," shown to witness, and is as follows:

HANNAN EXHIBIT No. 12.

Telephone.

Aug. 19, 1911, Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co-----	\$5.20
Sept. 1, 1911, Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co-----	6.00
Oct. 7, 1911, Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co-----	16.40
Nov. 4, 1912, Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co-----	19.30
Dec. 1, 1911, Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co-----	34.45
Jan. 8, 1912, Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co-----	100.31

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

565

Feb. 10, 1912, Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.....	\$132. 40
Mar. 17, 1912, Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.....	52. 89
May 17, 1912, Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.....	86. 40
May 17, 1912, Mrs. H. G. Dalley.....	10. 75
July 9, 1912, Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.....	54. 47
Total.....	518. 57

Mr. HANNAN. This is a detailed account of the amounts paid for telephone.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this paper "Hannan Exhibit No. 13."

The paper referred to was marked "Hannan Exhibit No. 13," shown to witness, and is as follows:

HANNAN EXHIBIT No. 13.

Express, freight, and drayage.

Aug. 4, 1911, Adams Express Co.....	\$8. 20
Aug. 26, 1911, F. M. Wylie.....	. 45
Jan. 24, 1912, National Capital Press.....	38. 52
Jan. 27, 1912, National Capital Press.....	18. 32
Feb. 2, 1912, National Capital Press.....	29. 79
Feb. 5, 1912, F. J. Dickinson (Adams Express).....	9. 18
Feb. 10, 1912, National Capital Press.....	7. 21
Feb. 17, 1912, Adams Express.....	16. 24
Feb. 17, 1912, National Capital Press.....	34. 63
Feb. 20, 1912, F. J. Dickinson Express.....	51. 63
Feb. 21, 1912, F. J. Dickinson Express.....	54. 00
Feb. 24, 1912, F. J. Dickinson Express.....	29. 98
Feb. 27, 1912, F. J. Dickinson Express.....	8. 28
Feb. 29, 1912, F. J. Dickinson Express.....	9. 14
Mar. 7, 1912, National Capital Press.....	17. 23
Mar. 14, 1912, United States Express Co.....	50. 40
Mar. 16, 1912, Adams Express Co.....	12. 57
May 7, 1912, United States Express Co.....	7. 40
May 8, 1912, United States Express Co.....	2. 75
May 15, 1912, United States Express Co.....	5. 75
May 22, 1912, United States Express Co.....	6. 05
April, 1912, paid through Fred Wylie.....	262. 50
Total	680. 12

Mr. HANNAN. This is a detail of the amounts paid for express, freight, and drayage.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Hannan Exhibit No. 14."

The paper referred to was marked "Hannan Exhibit No. 14," shown to witness, and is as follows:

HANNAN EXHIBIT No. 14.

Chicago conference.

Oct. 12, 1911, Walter Fahy.....	\$75. 00
Oct. 14, 1911, Chicago conference.....	200. 00
Oct. 17, 1911, Heyer Dup. Co.....	30. 00
Oct. 25, 1911, Walter Fahy.....	10. 00
Dec. 18, 1911, Lindsay & Smith.....	323. 75
Total	638. 75

Mr. HANNAN. This is a statement of the expenses of the Chicago conference that was held on October 16, 1911.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Hannan Exhibit No. 15."

The paper referred to was marked "Hannan Exhibit No. 15," shown to witness, and is as follows:

HANNAN EXHIBIT No. 15.

Chicago convention.

June 19, 1912, Geo. S. Loftus, for buttons and badges-----	\$70. 00
June 20, 1912, Grand Pacific Hotel-----	50. 00
June 22, 1912, Geo. S. Loftus, for buttons, badges, and printing-----	118. 14
June 22, 1912, Victor Rogers-----	23. 30
June 24, 1912, Grand Pacific Hotel-----	1, 084. 69
Do. -----	100. 00
June 25, 1912, Edw. J. Walsh (stenographer)-----	31. 00
July 20, 1912, for decorating Chicago headquarters during convention--	50. 00
Sept. 7, 1912, John J. Hannan, bill for auto service during Chicago convention week-----	25. 00
Total -----	1, 558. 13

Mr. HANNAN. Exhibit No. 15 is a detail of the expenses incurred in connection with the Chicago convention in June, 1912.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark these papers "Hannan Exhibit No. 16."

The papers referred to were marked "Hannan Exhibit No. 16," shown to the witness, and are as follows:

HANNAN EXHIBIT No. 16.

Expenditures made through Chicago headquarters.

RENT.

Nov. 4, Willoughby & Co., November-----	\$100. 00
Dec. 1, Harris Safe Deposit Co., December-----	100. 00
Feb. 13, Harris Safe Deposit Co., January and February-----	200. 00
Mar. 19, Harris Safe Deposit Co., March-----	100. 00
Apr. 16, Harris Safe Deposit Co., April-----	100. 00
	<hr/> \$600. 00

OFFICE FURNITURE AND SUPPLIES.

Nov. 4, Marshall-Jackson, stationery-----	7. 15
Nov. 4, Globe-Wernicke Co., cabinets-----	11. 45
Nov. 4, N. W. Ayer & Son-----	5. 60
Nov. 4, R. Sabath Desk Co., desk-----	16. 50
Nov. 4, Wm. A. Rowe, furniture-----	32. 50
Nov. 4, Gravel Springs Co., water-----	7. 50
Nov. 4, Chicago Safe & Merchandise Co., tables and chairs--	64. 50
Nov. 4, National Life Insurance Co., desks and chairs-----	25. 00
Nov. 8, Curtis Publishing Co., Post-----	1. 50
Nov. 9, The Commoner, subscription-----	3. 00
Nov. 24, P. F. Collier & Son, subscription-----	5. 00
Dec. 1, Fort Dearborn Vault Co., light, November-----	3. 00
Dec. 1, J. M. Hiller, ice-----	2. 00
Dec. 1, R. Sabath Desk Co., desk and chairs-----	25. 75
Dec. 1, Louis F. Post, subscription-----	8. 65
Dec. 1, Eugene M. Barnhoft, lettering doors-----	5. 50
Dec. 1, Abel & Davis, buzzers-----	5. 50
Dec. 1, Pownors Book Store, dictionary-----	6. 50
Dec. 1, Fort Dearborn Vault Co., carpenter work-----	52. 43
Dec. 1, Globe-Wernicke Co., files and cabinets-----	57. 49
Dec. 1, Underwood Typewriter Co., rent machine-----	9. 50
Dec. 2, Marshall-Jackson, stationery-----	34. 80
Dec. 2, U. S. Clipping Bureau, clippings-----	6. 40
Dec. 5, office expenses, petty cash-----	25. 00
Dec. 6, F. Schultz, newspapers-----	1. 96

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

567

Dec. 11, office expenses, petty cash	\$25. 00
Dec. 14, office expenses, petty cash	25. 00
Dec. 16, office expenses, petty cash	25. 00
Dec. 19, office expenses, petty cash	25. 00
Dec. 21, office expenses, petty cash	50. 00
Dec. 30, office expenses, petty cash	40. 00
Do	25. 00
Jan. 2, office expenses, petty cash	25. 00
Jan. 3, office expenses, petty cash	25. 00
Jan. 3, The Outlook Co., magazine	3. 00
Jan. 4, Fred Schultz, newspapers	1. 90
Jan. 13, office expenses, petty cash	25. 00
Jan. 15, office expenses, petty cash	50. 00
Jan. 18, office expenses, petty cash	50. 00
Jan. 23, Rand McNally, maps	52. 00
Jan. 23, Devoe & Reynolds, cardboard	2. 10
Jan. 23, Barnes-Crosby, cuts	30. 20
Jan. 23, Marshall-Jackson, stationery	14. 25
Jan. 23, Peterson Carbon Paper Co., carbon paper	10. 75
Jan. 23, J. M. Hiller, ice	2. 00
Jan. 26, office expenses, petty cash	50. 00
Feb. 3, office expenses, petty cash	25. 00
Feb. 13, office expenses, petty cash	25. 00
Feb. 13, Chicago Towel Co., towels	2. 75
Feb. 13, F. Schultz, newspapers	1. 65
Feb. 14, Chicago Safe & Merchandise Co., desk and table	30. 75
Feb. 17, office expenses, petty cash	25. 00
Feb. 19, Monarch Typewriter Co., typewriter	16. 50
Feb. 26, J. M. Hiller, ice	2. 00
Feb. 26, Fort Dearborn Safety Co., light	6. 00
Mar. 1, U. S. Clipping Bureau, clippings	20. 00
Mar. 1, Julius Bender, file cabinet	13. 50
Mar. 1, Marshall-Jackson, stationery	13. 75
Mar. 6, Monarch Typewriter Co., duplicator	35. 00
Mar. 19, office expenses, petty cash	35. 00
Mar. 19, Marshall-Jackson, stationery	2. 43
Mar. 19, Fort Dearborn Safety Co., light	3. 00
Mar. 19, J. M. Hiller, ice	2. 00
Mar. 23, office expenses, petty cash	10. 00
Apr. 3, office expenses, petty cash	10. 00
Apr. 15, Montague Mailing Machine Co., mailing machine	36. 40
Apr. 15, Marshall-Jackson, stationery	5. 30
Apr. 15, J. M. Hiller, ice	2. 00
Apr. 15, Chicago Towel Supply Co., towels	2. 75
Apr. 15, Fort Dearborn Safety Co., light	3. 00
Apr. 15, Gravel Springs Co., water	7. 50
Apr. 15, Globe-Wernicke Co., file	3. 00
Apr. 15, U. S. Clipping Bureau, clippings	17. 42
Apr. 15, Monarch Typewriter Co., rent and ribbons	4. 75
Apr. 15, Remington Co., rent and ribbons	6. 75
Apr. 15, Underwood Co., stencil paper	7. 50
<hr/>	
\$1, 356. 08	

SALARIES.

Nov. 4, Augusta Forsberg	\$20. 23
Nov. 4, R. M. Buck	100. 00
Nov. 11, A. Forsberg	19. 60
Nov. 11, Burton Mosely	4. 67
Nov. 11, George Stephens	25. 00
Nov. 13, James Markham	75. 00
Nov. 18, George Stephens	44. 54
Nov. 18, Burton Mosely	7. 00
Nov. 18, A. Forsberg	18. 70
Nov. 20, R. M. Buck	150. 00
Nov. 21, R. M. Buck	95. 73
Nov. 25, pay roll	125. 00
Dec. 2, pay roll	125. 00

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

569

Feb. 26, Western Union Telegraph Co., January service.....	\$38.02
Feb. 26, Postal Telephone Co., January service.....	18.39
Feb. 26, Chicago Telephone Co., labor.....	2.50
Mar. 19, Chicago Telephone Co., service.....	26.13
Mar. 19, Western Union Co., service.....	26.44
Mar. 19, Postal Telegraph Co., service.....	12.72
Apr. 15, Illinois Tunnel Co., service.....	21.00
Apr. 15, Chicago Telephone Co., service.....	24.43

\$348.76

FIELD WORK.

Nov. 8, Frank A. Harrison, Northwest.....	\$100.00
Nov. 8, R. M. Buck, Wisconsin.....	100.00
Nov. 11, currency, Atlanta.....	100.00
Nov. 20, M. R. Labbee, expense.....	50.00
Nov. 20, Frank A. Harrison, expense.....	100.00
Nov. 21, currency, berth.....	7.50
Nov. 25, Peter A. Miller, Michigan.....	15.00
Nov. 29, A. H. Smith, expense.....	64.62
Nov. 29, A. Lapin Cohen, expense.....	100.00
Dec. 2, M. R. Labbee, Georgia.....	56.40
Dec. 2, M. R. Labbee, expense.....	6.40
Dec. 6, Frank A. Harrison, expense.....	50.00
Dec. 9, M. R. Labbee, expense.....	15.44
Dec. 9, Frank R. Harrison, expense.....	191.40
Dec. 11, R. M. Buck, trip.....	20.10
Dec. 14, E. A. Miller, Michigan.....	50.00
Dec. 14, A. Lopin Cohen, Detroit.....	50.00
Dec. 14, R. M. Buck, Detroit.....	24.00
Dec. 14, Frank B. Robards, trip.....	39.85
Dec. 16, M. R. Labbee, expense.....	20.85
Dec. 21, Frank B. Robards, traveling expenses.....	40.67
Dec. 22, J. C. Daley, luncheon.....	50.00
Dec. 27, H. E. Vogell, hall expense.....	50.00
Dec. 26, Frank P. Robards, expense.....	200.00
Dec. 26, M. R. Labbee, Danville.....	15.00
Dec. 29, National Amusement Co., Peoria.....	50.00
Dec. 30, M. R. Labbee, Kalamazoo.....	50.00
Jan. 2, Oakes Club, Austin, Ill.....	20.00
Jan. 2, C. S. Horn, band.....	45.00
Jan. 3, E. B. Fletcher, Danville.....	200.00
Jan. 3, Peter A. Miller, Ann Arbor.....	25.00
Jan. 3, R. M. Buck, Austin, Ill.....	51.00
Jan. 3, J. A. Henry, expense.....	10.00
Jan. 3, The Wabash R. R. Co., Illinois trip.....	110.08
Jan. 3, C. R. I. & P. R. R., Illinois trip.....	89.75
Jan. 3, Illinois Traction System, Illinois trip.....	215.00
Jan. 3, Chicago, Ottawa & Peoria Ry., Illinois trip.....	100.00
Jan. 3, E. B. Fletcher, expense.....	200.00
Jan. 5, Ieland Hotel, expense.....	40.45
Jan. 10, Peter A. Miller, Ann Arbor.....	25.00
Jan. 12, Frank P. Robards, Michigan.....	66.76
Jan. 18, R. M. Buck, Washington, D. C.....	36.50
Jan. 22, M. R. Labbee, Illinois trip.....	10.00
Jan. 22, J. W. Haythorne, jr., Illinois trip.....	10.00
Jan. 23, M. R. Labbee, Illinois trip.....	25.00
Jan. 23, Peter A. Miller, Ann Arbor.....	25.00
Jan. 26, George B. Stephens, Springfield.....	25.00
Jan. 26, currency, Springfield.....	28.00
Jan. 31, R. M. Buck, Fargo, N. Dak.....	50.00
Feb. 3, Orchestra Hall, expense.....	252.00
Feb. 3, R. M. Buck, Fargo Express.....	20.00
Feb. 14, R. M. Buck, Springfield.....	74.95
Feb. 14, M. R. Labbee, Springfield.....	34.53
Feb. 14, George B. Stephens, Springfield.....	11.45
Feb. 15, J. W. Haythorne, expense.....	30.00

Feb. 19, Frank P. Robards, Michigan-----	\$200. 00
Feb. 24, M. R. Labbee, Danville-----	35. 00
Feb. 24, R. M. Buck, Ohio-----	35. 00
Feb. 26, Illinois Traction System, Illinois trip-----	71. 74
Mar. 1, C. A. Ingram, Illinois trip-----	67. 68
Mar. 1, currency, Ohio trip-----	20. 00
Apr. 19, A. C. Bass, circulation-----	20. 00
	<hr/> \$1, 729. 06

MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES.

Nov. 4, W. S. Rogers, cash advanced-----	\$20. 00
Nov. 4, R. M. Buck, cash advanced-----	25. 00
Nov. 25, George B. Stephens, cash advanced-----	1. 55
Nov. 25, Augusta Forsberg, cash advanced-----	2. 95
Dec. 1, Earnst Hertzberg, labor-----	13. 00
Dec. 1, library bureau, expense-----	32. 50
Dec. 20, currency, railroad investigation-----	100. 00
Dec. 22, currency, employees of building-----	5. 00
Dec. 23, M. R. Labbee, miners' supplies-----	15. 00
Dec. 30, currency, expense-----	25. 00
Jan. 17, currency, cash advanced-----	95. 00
Jan. 18, currency, cash advanced-----	200. 00
Jan. 23, currency, cash advanced-----	300. 00
Feb. 19, Chicago Telephone Co., labor-----	140. 74
Mar. 1, Walter S. Rogers, cash advanced-----	650. 00
Mar. 6, Western Newspaper Union, news service-----	400. 00
Apr. 15, Western Newspaper Union, news service-----	692. 50
	<hr/> 2, 718. 24

Total expenditures----- 14, 276. 35

Received from Washington headquarters-----	10. 450. 00
Excess of expenditures over receipts from the Washington head- quarters-----	3, 826. 35
Charles R. Crane contributed-----	3. 184. 40
Small contributions amounted to-----	641. 95

Total all contributions----- 14, 276. 35

Mr. HANNAN. Exhibit 16 is a detailed accounting rendered to me by Mr. Walter S. Rogers, in charge of the Chicago headquarters, and accounts for the money that is included in the exhibits already filed.

Senator POMERENE. As I understand you, this Exhibit 1 is a resumé of all of the other exhibits?

The CHAIRMAN. It is, and it is also the receipts. I think, Mr. Hannan, you might read Exhibit 1, as to the receipts, so that they will be shown at this time.

Mr. HANNAN. Very well. [Reading:]

From Gifford Pinchot, July 18, 1911, \$1,000; November 6, 1911, \$5,000; January 8, 1912, \$4,000.

From Amos Pinchot, August 11, 1911, \$10,000.

From William Kent, September 7, 1911, \$5,000; December 5, 1911, \$5,000.

From Charles R. Crane, December 14, 1911, \$5,000; January 20, 1912, \$5,000; February 8, 1912, \$5,000; March 14, 1912, \$2,500; April 14, 1912, \$2,500; May 13, 1912, \$1,500; June 17, 1912, \$2,000.

From Alfred S. Baker, November 27, 1911, \$2,000

From William Flinn, January 8, 1912, \$1,000.

From E. A. Scripps, May 6, 1912, \$450.

From Rudolph Spreckles, May 14, 1912, \$3,000.

From Mrs. Glendower Evans, November 8, 1911, \$100; April 15, 1912, \$176.26.

From J. C. Welliver, November 10, 1911, \$30.

From J. E. Fruit, December 1, 1911, \$100.

From J. D. Hodder, April 15, 1912, \$50.

From Robert M. La Follette, March 27, 1912, \$500; April 2, 1912, \$1,000.

From contributors who gave in amounts up to \$25, \$281.80.

From interest on bank balances, \$47.15.

From sales of furniture, \$172.65.

From newspapers for news letter, \$42.

Loan by Medill McCormick, October 2, 1911, \$1,000.

Loan by Asle J. Cronna, May 4, 1912, \$500.

Making a total of \$63,989.56.

The CHAIRMAN. What relation did you occupy to the preconvention campaign in behalf of Senator La Follette?

Mr. HANNAN. I might be called the treasurer of that campaign. I handled all of the money that was contributed to national headquarters, and spent it.

The CHAIRMAN. And the facts set forth in the several exhibits, Hannan No. 1 to Hannan No. 16, inclusive, are within your personal knowledge?

Mr. HANNAN. All with the exception of the expenditures made through the Chicago headquarters, which is an accounting by Walter S. Rogers to me.

The CHAIRMAN. That was accounted for to the headquarters in Washington?

Mr. HANNAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As to the accounting and the money that was sent, that is within your knowledge?

Mr. HANNAN. Yes, sir; within my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. You will swear that these several exhibits within your knowledge are true to the best of your knowledge and belief?

Mr. HANNAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Hannan, this statement shows that Mr. Charles R. Crane contributed \$22,500.

Mr. HANNAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Hooker, who seems to have been treasurer of the Progressive Party in the city of New York, when he was on the stand testified that he had been informed that Mr. Crane had given \$70,000 to the La Follette campaign fund. Have you any information that Mr. Crane gave any money other than what you have stated here?

Mr. HANNAN. The only money that I know of that Mr. Crane gave other than is stated there, but which money did not come through me, was \$3,184.40 that is accounted for in the accounting of the Chicago headquarters.

Senator PAYNTER. There was a Chicago headquarters, then, as well as a Washington headquarters?

Mr. HANNAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Who was in charge of the Chicago headquarters?

Mr. HANNAN. Mr. Walter S. Rogers.

Senator PAYNTER. Was he treasurer, or was he the manager; what was his official title?

Mr. HANNAN. He had charge of the headquarters and acted as the treasurer. At least, my checks were all made to him, and I suppose he was treasurer as well as manager.

Senator PAYNTER. You have not entered that \$3,000.

Mr. HANNAN. I have not entered that in my receipts, because it did not come to me. But I have included a statement of it in Exhibit 16, the last exhibit filed.

Senator PAYNTER. These exhibits which you file show a distribution of the \$3,000 which was paid into the Chicago headquarters?

Mr. HANNAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. But you did not credit the fund with the amount in this account you submit here?

Mr. HANNAN. No, sir; it did not come through me.

Senator PAYNTER. Do these exhibits which you have filed here show all the expenses of the Chicago headquarters, as well as of the Washington headquarters?

Mr. HANNAN. Yes, Senator.

Senator PAYNTER. The total contributions, then, to the fund amounted to \$63,969.56.

Mr. HANNAN. Yes, sir; that is, to the fund that was handled by me.

Senator PAYNTER. By you?

Mr. HANNAN. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. And there should be added to that the \$3,000 that was contributed by Mr. Crane at the Chicago headquarters?

Mr. HANNAN. To get the total of the two headquarters.

Senator PAYNTER. That is what I mean. How much more, according to your information, was contributed to Chicago headquarters? What, if any, was contributed to Chicago headquarters as to which you have made no statement, except the Crane contribution?

Mr. HANNAN. I made a statement also in that Exhibit 16 as to some six hundred and eighty and odd dollars. I do not recall the exact number, as recorded by Mr. Rogers, in small contributions, to the Chicago headquarters.

Senator PAYNTER. So there was less than \$5,000 contributed to the Chicago headquarters?

Mr. HANNAN. There was \$3,826, as I remember, in addition to what was sent from our Washington headquarters to the Chicago headquarters.

Senator PAYNTER. That included the Crane contribution?

Mr. HANNAN. That included Mr. Crane's contribution.

Senator PAYNTER. Then the six hundred and odd dollars in small contributions, according to Mr. Rogers's report?

Mr. HANNAN. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. Were there any other sums contributed to Chicago headquarters other than those you have just mentioned?

Mr. HANNAN. I do not know of any.

Senator POMERENE. Were any funds contributed to the La Follette campaign other than those you have accounted for here, to your knowledge?

Mr. HANNAN. Yes; there were other funds. There were other funds in the States, but I have no accounting of those funds.

In New Jersey, I believe, there was about \$1,600 contributed. Mr. J. E. Pope, whose office is at 90 West Street, New York, I am sure will be glad to answer for any contributions that were made in the Jersey campaign, as he handled the same.

There was some money raised in Ohio. I had no accounting of it. Mr. Walter W. Pollock, of Cleveland; Mr. J. A. Barbour, of Toledo; and Dr. Clark T. Elder, of Columbus, could tell of those, as they raised the funds in their respective localities.

The CHAIRMAN. How about Fackler?

Mr. HANNAN. I was coming to that. Then Mr. John D. Fackler, of Cleveland, was for a time in charge of the La Follette campaign in Ohio, and he raised some funds and expended them. What they were I do not know; I have no accounting of them. There was some money raised in Minnesota. Mr. George S. Loftus, of the Corn Exchange Building, of Minneapolis——

Senator POMERENE. George F.?

Mr. HANNAN. George S. Loftus. He can give an accounting of that. In Nebraska the expenses of the Omaha meeting that was held by La Follette were paid by the local committee without any assistance from other sources. What it amounted to I do not know. All the other expenses were paid nationally. In North and South Dakota there was some money raised locally, but how much I do not know. Mr. H. N. Tucker, of Courtney, N. Dak., could account for some, and A. B. Blake, of Huron, S. Dak. I am not advised that any money was raised locally in Oregon, but if there was it could be accounted for through Mr. Thomas McCusker, of the Lumbermen's Building, of Portland, I believe, and the expenses of the California meeting were largely borne by Mr. Rudolph Spreckels, who has not made any accounting to me, but who, I am sure, under a subpoena of this committee, would gladly account for what he expended. Now, so far as my knowledge goes, that includes everything.

Senator POMERENE. Just another question or two. If there had been any other contributions than those you have already given by Mr. Charles R. Crane, would you likely have knowledge of it?

Mr. HANNAN. Yes, sir. They would come to me.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know it was testified to by Mr. Hooker that Mr. Crane had up to the time of a certain conversation between the two contributed \$70,000 to the La Follette campaign, and that he was contributing thereafter at the rate of \$4,000 a week? Did you know anything about any such arrangement as that?

Mr. HANNAN. There was no such arrangement. There was no such amount contributed.

Senator POMERENE. That is all I care to ask.

Mr. HANNAN. I want to say in addition to these State funds that I have testified to that Mr. La Follette received personally a contribution of \$2,500 from Mr. Rudolph Spreckels, and he received \$400 from another man in San Francisco whose name I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. How much was the last?

Mr. HANNAN. \$400. This was received some time in the early part of the year, and was used by Mr. La Follette to defray his personal expenses on his speaking trips—to help defray them.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any fact or circumstance bearing on or relating to the question of contributions for the campaign funds prior to the conventions to which your attention has not been called, that you have in mind?

Mr. HANNAN. No, sir.

Mr. Hannan was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES R. CRANE, OF CHICAGO, ILL.

Charles R. Crane, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN: Will you give your name, address, and occupation?

Mr. CRANE. Charles R. Crane; Chicago, Ill.; iron manufacturer.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Crane, you are acquainted with Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin, are you?

Mr. CRANE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And Gov. Wilson, of New Jersey?

Mr. CRANE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state what, if any, contributions you made, first, in behalf of Senator La Follette for his preconvention campaign up to and including the convention in June.

Mr. CRANE. \$26,684.40.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all you made, directly or indirectly, to his preconvention campaign?

Mr. CRANE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state what, if any, contributions you made to the preconvention campaign in behalf of Gov. Wilson.

Mr. CRANE. \$10,000.

The CHAIRMAN. And is that all you made, either directly or indirectly, in his behalf?

Mr. CRANE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that made in one contribution?

Mr. CRANE. Two.

The CHAIRMAN. When were they made?

Mr. CRANE. One was made on March 28 and the other on April 30.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were they made to?

Mr. CRANE. I think to Mr. McCombs—indeed, I know they were.

The CHAIRMAN. Made by check?

Mr. CRANE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Your contributions to Senator La Follette, I take it, were made at a number of times?

Mr. CRANE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you happen to have a list with you?

Mr. CRANE. Yes, sir [producing paper].

The CHAIRMAN. This will be marked "Crane Exhibit No. 1."

The paper referred to is accordingly marked "Crane Exhibit No. 1," and is as follows:

CRANE EXHIBIT No. 1.

Contributions of Charles R. Crane to preconvention campaign funds.

To the Wilson fund:

Mar. 28, 1912-----	\$5,000. 00	
Apr. 30-----	5,000. 00	
		<u>\$10,000. 00</u>

To the La Follette fund:

Contributions direct to national headquarters—

Dec. 4, 1911-----	5,000. 00	
Jan. 18, 1912-----	5,000. 00	
Feb. 2-----	5,000. 00	
Mar. 7-----	2,500. 00	
Mar. 28-----	2,500. 00	
May 10-----	1,500. 00	
June 11-----	2,000. 00	
		<u>23,500. 00</u>

Contributions to Chicago headquarters—

Feb. 29-----	1,500. 00	
Apr. 17-----	1,500. 00	
Miscellaneous items-----	184. 40	
		<u>3,184. 40</u>

Total, both headquarters----- 26,684. 40

NEW YORK, October 5, 1912.

The CHAIRMAN. What does the exhibit [Exhibit Crane No. 1] now handed to you purport to show?

Mr. CRANE. My contributions to both funds, with the dates and amounts.

The CHAIRMAN. And you say that you made no contribution, directly or indirectly, to either of those causes.

Mr. CRANE. Outside of this statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Outside of what appears on Exhibit Crane No. 1?

Mr. CRANE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mr. Hooker?

Mr. CRANE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hooker testified, with reference to a conversation with you in Chicago, in which he stated that you stated you had made a contribution of \$70,000 to the La Follette campaign, and as I recall it, \$70,000 to the Wilson campaign?

Mr. CRANE. I never had any such conversation with him. I did have a conversation with him about the amounts I had given, but no such sum as \$70,000 was ever mentioned or indicated in any way.

The CHAIRMAN. It appears in the evidence that you stated in a conversation that you not only had given certain sums, but had an arrangement or promise of your own with the intention to make a monthly contribution?

Senator POMERENE. A weekly contribution of \$4,000.

The CHAIRMAN. A weekly contribution.

Mr. CRANE. No; I had been giving money to the La Follette campaign at the rate of about \$5,000 a month. Here [indicating on exhibit] is December 4, \$5,000; January 18, \$5,000; February 2, \$5,000; March 7, \$2,500; March 28, \$2,500; and I told them I had been giving these amounts and was willing to give them if they were necessary, but there was nothing about any \$70,000 contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibit No. 1 is a correct and true statement of the amounts contributed to those two funds?

Mr. CRANE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any fact or circumstance bearing upon or relating to your campaign contributions prior to the conventions of this year which you recall, and to which your attention has not been called?

Mr. CRANE. No, sir; I think not.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Crane, do you remember having a conversation with Mr. Hooker in the Chicago Club?

Mr. CRANE. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Now, Mr. Hooker has said in explicit terms that you told him at that time that you were contributing to Senator La Follette's campaign, which proved very expensive, and that up to that time you had given \$70,000, and were contributing at the rate of \$4,000 a week, and, as I understand, you deny that conversation?

Mr. CRANE. Well, I deny the \$4,000 a week. I did say something, probably, about \$4,000 a month.

Senator OLIVER. Will you state as near as you can what was said at that time in your conversation?

Mr. CRANE. That was all; that I was contributing at the rate of, probably, \$4,000 or \$5,000 a month.

Senator OLIVER. Then, Mr. Hooker also said that you told him that you were contributing at the same time to Wilson, and in the same amount.

Mr. CRANE. Well, I did not say I was contributing the same amount. I was willing to, and I had an equal interest in both campaigns.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Crane, will you tell us if you were contributing to any other candidates or any other parties about that time?

Mr. CRANE. No, sir; Mr. Hooker was, however, around to get me to contribute to one more; that I might as well come in.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Crane, as I recollect the testimony of Col. Roosevelt, he was disposed to criticize you for contributing to two candidates—the La Follette candidacy and the Wilson candidacy.

Mr. CRANE. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I think it is due for you to give the committee and the country your reason for contributing to both.

Mr. CRANE. I did not hear that.

Senator PAYNTER. I say, Col. Roosevelt, in his testimony, was disposed to criticize you, and did criticize you, as I recall it, because you made a contribution to the La Follette campaign and also to the Wilson campaign. I say, I think it is due to yourself and to the country to give your reason for having done so and let the committee and the country judge whether or not you were subject to any criticism for having done so.

Mr. CRANE. I have been interested in the progressive movement for a great many years—way back—and it looked to me as though there was an opportunity for a progressive candidate to be nominated. So I began with Senator La Follette, and then, when Gov. Wilson came along later—it was several months later—I did what I could for him, too. They are both progressive men. With me, the names Democrat and Republican are obsolete. They were both progressives, both having the same program and the method of thought, and I just wanted to have any progressive candidate succeed; I did not care which one it was.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all I desire to ask you.

Senator POMERENE. Under the circumstances, did you contribute to Mr. Hooker?

Mr. CRANE. No; I did not contribute to Mr. Hooker.

Senator POMERENE. In whose behalf was he soliciting?

Mr. CRANE. I suppose the Colonel's.

Senator POMERENE. Can you tell whether you would have been subjected to this criticism if you had contributed to three candidates instead of to two?

Mr. CRANE. Well, I am afraid I would have been run in for monopoly. No; I imagine they thought there was luck in odd numbers.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any further statement to make about these contributions?

Mr. CRANE. No. There are perhaps one or two other little things I might say.

Senator POMERENE. Very well; anything you care to say.

Mr. CRANE. That party accused me all through the West of being at the head of the Bathtub Trust. I have not, nor has any member of my family, any interest at all in stocks or bonds or anything else in what is known as the Bathtub Trust. That is one thing.

There is, perhaps, one more thing, that is that our company as a company hasn't any tariff interest. We do not care whether there is any tariff or whether there isn't one. So that whatever interests I have had have been from my personal side and not from the business side.

Senator POMERENE. Did you say at any time that you had an arrangement to contribute \$4,000 a week to the campaign of Gov. Wilson or to the campaign of Senator La Follette?

Mr. CRANE. No. Our conversation—I remember it definitely, and I did say that I had been contributing that amount to the La Follette campaign, but by the month, not by the week.

Senator POMERENE. Did you tell him at that time what amount you had contributed to each of the campaign funds—that is, to the Wilson fund and to the La Follette fund?

Mr. CRANE. I do not know that I did; indeed, I am not sure that I said anything to him about the Wilson campaign. My contributions to the Wilson campaign began in March, rather late in March.

Senator POMERENE. Just another question, by way of explanation, perhaps. Will you show me that exhibit?

Mr. CRANE. Certainly.

Exhibit shown to Senator Pomerene.

Senator POMERENE. I notice that there is a slight difference in the dates of these contributions as you have given them. I assume these are the dates when you sent the contributions?

Mr. CRANE. When I sent the checks. The checks are dated that date.

Senator POMERENE. And the statements on the other accounts are probably the dates when they were received at headquarters?

Mr. CRANE. That may have been; yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You might probably have subjected yourself to criticism if you had given to Mr. Roosevelt's campaign and to Mr. La Follette, who sought the nomination at the hands of the same convention, possibly?

Mr. CRANE. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Your idea was that if Roosevelt was nominated by the Republicans the country would have a President whose views would be in accordance with your own?

Mr. CRANE. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. And if the Democrats nominated Wilson you would have the same thing?

Mr. CRANE. Yes, sir; the same thing.

Senator OLIVER. Suppose both had been nominated, what would you have done?

Mr. CRANE. I could have put up a shingle as a clairvoyant, then, and gone into a legitimate business.

Senator PAYNTER. So that you would not have been compelled to be very much excited either way over the results of the November election?

Mr. CRANE. No, sir; I think I would have had an easy time.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. Crane was thereupon excused.

**TESTIMONY OF CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL, EDITOR OF THE
COMING NATION, NEW YORK, N. Y.**

Charles Edward Russell, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your name to the reporter.

Mr. RUSSELL. Charles Edward Russell.

The CHAIRMAN. And your residence.

Mr. RUSSELL. My residence is Hotel Broztell, New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. And your occupation?

Mr. RUSSELL. Editor of The Coming Nation.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Russell, last Thursday Mr. Morgan was on the stand and his attention was called to a statement which appeared in the New York Times—I have not the statement, but I read it at the time into the record—as purporting to have been made by you.

Senator POMERENE. What page is that, Senator?

The CHAIRMAN. Page 437. [Reading:]

Wayne MacVeagh was in the office of J. Pierpont Morgan on a social call during the month of October, 1904. He and Mr. MacVeagh were engaged in conversation when a timid secretary interrupted them to tell Mr. Morgan that someone wanted to talk to him on the telephone. Mr. Morgan replied with profane emphasis that he did not wish to be disturbed.

“But,” ventured the secretary, “this call is from Washington.”

At this point Mr. Morgan got up and went into the telephone booth. The conversation lasted about half an hour. Meanwhile Mr. MacVeagh kept hearing expressions so vigorous that they spilled out of the booth. At last Mr. Morgan got up, slammed the door of the booth, and came stamping across the room, his face purple with rage. As soon as he could get his voice he shouted to Mr. MacVeagh:

“What do you think that blank-blank maniac in the White House wants me to do? Raise \$100,000 more for his campaign, after all we did for him.”

Mr. MacVeagh asked Mr. Morgan what he was going to do about it, and Mr. Morgan replied:

“I suppose it will have to be done.”

Did you notice any statement of that kind appearing in the New York Times about the 2d of September?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, sir; I did not see it.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you desire to say as regards this purported statement?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is a report very much embellished, inaccurate in several particulars, of a story I told in a speech that I made at the opening of my campaign on the 1st day of September in New York City. It is embellished in reportorial style.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state what you said in your speech, as you recall it, bearing upon this question.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Archbold had been on the stand before this committee a few days before. His testimony illustrated the standard socialistic doctrine. I was addressing an audience of 3,000 Socialists, and I dwelt upon Mr. Archbold's testimony as illustrating our favorite contention. Then after that I added this:

Now, I will tell you a story of the campaign of 1904, which has never been told before.

Then I related the incident as follows:

I said that the latter part of the campaign of 1904, Mr. Wayne MacVeagh was in the office of Mr. Morgan; that while there in conversation his secretary came and told Mr. Morgan he was wanted on

the phone. Mr. Morgan told the secretary to answer the call. Mr. Morgan's secretary said that this was a matter that was too important, Mr. Morgan alone could attend to it. Mr. Morgan went to the phone and came back and said to Mr. MacVeagh: "What do you think this blank maniac in Washington wants me to do? He wants me to contribute to a campaign fund, \$100,000." Mr. MacVeagh said: "What are you going to do?" And Mr. Morgan said: "I suppose it will have to be done."

That was the anecdote that I related.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you know as to the basis of the statement?

Mr. RUSSELL. The information came to me in this way: In 1910 I was one of the associate editors of Hampton's Magazine. As such I was always consulted about everything of importance that went into the magazine. In the August issue of Hampton's Magazine we published an article which was entitled "Is Roosevelt inevitable?" This was an article that contained——

Senator PAYNTER. I beg your pardon. What year was that?

Mr. RUSSELL. 1910, the August number of 1910. It was an article that contained some matter rather critical to Mr. Roosevelt, and perhaps might be thought derogatory to him. The copies of that issue were on the newstands on the 15th of July. I was in the West at the time and did not return until some time in August.

Mr. Hampton always consulted me closely, and when I came back in August he told me that the following thing had occurred in my absence: He said that sometime along in the latter part of July, and I think perhaps a week after this magazine had appeared on the stand, Mr. Wayne MacVeagh had sent for a representative of the magazine to visit him at his place at Bryn Mawr; that the representative talked with Mr. Hampton about it, and received instructions to go down to Bryn Mawr to see what Mr. MacVeagh wanted to see him about.

He went to Bryn Mawr, and, according to my recollection, he spent an afternoon and part of an evening with him. He returned to the office then and reported what Mr. MacVeagh had said to him. It was Mr. Hampton's idea, and I think also it was the idea of the representative that went to see Mr. MacVeagh, that Mr. MacVeagh was under the impression that Hampton's Magazine was going to print a series of articles about Mr. Roosevelt. Anyway, Mr. MacVeagh told this representative a number of things about Mr. Roosevelt that he had observed and had known himself, and among the rest he told this anecdote as I related it in my speech.

What Mr. Hampton told me about this was that there was some discussion about what use he should make of it. Mr. MacVeagh had told it to the representative for the purpose of publication, and there was some discussion as to what use he should make of it. Mr. Hampton's judgment was that it was not available for our use at that time; that to publish it would give an appearance of hostility to Mr. Roosevelt that we did not have.

So Mr. Hampton took long notes on the report of the representative. These were typewritten and put away in the archives of the magazine relating to what Mr. MacVeagh had said to the representative.

About 10 months after that Mr. Hampton was dispossessed of his magazine and ruined, and I ceased to have any connection with it.

It was then Mr. Hampton's idea that perhaps some time in the future the subject of campaign contributions might be a current topic, and that this information given to us by Mr. MacVeagh would be available. At the time my campaign opened the subject was a current topic and it was available. Of course, coming from a man like Mr. MacVeagh, whose character is so high, it never occurred to Mr. Hampton or to me to doubt its being given for publication, and there was no reason why it should not be published. I made it public in the way I have told you. Before I said anything about it I went to Mr. Hampton and compared notes with him—I mean mental notes, refreshed my recollection with his. After I had made the speech I saw him, and he said that my version of it was perfectly correct, and I have since had another reason to think it was correct. The representative that went from Hampton's Magazine to see Mr. MacVeagh is a very well-known writer, a man of the highest possible character, a man whose word has never been doubted, and a man whose accuracy is almost proverbial in journalism.

Senator PAYNTER. Will you give his name in that connection?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I had hoped that question would not be asked of me. The gentleman's employment is in danger, in my judgment, if his name should be made public. I am entirely at the service of the committee.

Senator PAYNTER. I shall not insist on an answer at this time and the committee will discuss, in view of your statement, as to what it should do.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is the extent of my information on the subject.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, but you said a moment ago that some subsequent event has strengthened your belief relative to it.

Mr. RUSSELL. Oh, I said another thing. I have talked since with the representative who went to see Mr. MacVeagh. After my speech was published and attracted such unexpected attention I talked with the representative that went to see Mr. MacVeagh, and I am convinced from what he told me that my story was substantially correct. It did contain some errors. For instance, I understand that the telephone in Mr. Morgan's office is not in a booth and is not directly near him. I should like to say that I did not represent Mr. Morgan as being in a boiling rage and did not represent him as shouting from the booth, or any of those embellishments that appeared in this version that has been read.

I am also told that Mr. Morgan's office is quite open and is not of a private and secluded character, and there might possibly be some other flaw of a minor character in the narrative; but I think that the substance of it is quite correct.

The CHAIRMAN. After this statement appeared in the Times of the 2d, Mr. MacVeagh, as I understand it, printed something in answer to your statement, and you subsequently made a statement in reply to his?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall Mr. MacVeagh's statement and your reply to his statement?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir; I remember those.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the nature of Mr. MacVeagh's statement?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. MacVeagh said I had been misled, and that Mr. Morgan never used violent or profane language, but he did not deny the essence of the story. I have since written to Mr. MacVeagh a summary of exactly what I said at the Star Casino and also of what I said in a subsequent speech in Brooklyn, going over the same matter. I sent it to Mr. MacVeagh, and asked him if he would please point out any error that there might be in it. He wrote me a very courteous and pleasant reply, but he did not mention any error in my summary.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you realize the position it leaves a man in who has denied this statement to say that a man of high repute made it and has withheld the name of the man who made it?

Mr. RUSSELL. I don't think I understand your question.

The CHAIRMAN. I say, do you realize the position in which it leaves a man who has denied these circumstances in toto to say that your opinion is confirmed upon the testimony of a man of high repute and yet withhold the name of your informant?

Mr. RUSSELL. Oh! Well, Mr. Chairman, I said I was at the disposition of the committee in regard to the naming of my informant, but I hoped that the committee would not ask for the name because it would deprive him, in my judgment, of his employment or injure him in his business; that is all. If the committee presses for the name, of course I should have to give it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Russell, the committee appreciates the force of what you say with reference to its effect and would very gladly relieve the situation of the necessity of the naming of your informant if they could, but the committee can not see its way clear to leave as important a matter as this resting in that attitude, and we will ask for the name of your informant. I think the committee can not avoid asking that you give the name.

Mr. RUSSELL. The name of the representative of Hampton's Magazine that went to see Mr. MacVeagh, at Mr. MacVeagh's request, and subsequently made a report to Mr. Hampton, which Mr. Hampton referred to me, is Mr. Judson C. Welliver.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any fact or circumstance touching upon or relating to campaign contributions of the presidential campaigns of 1904 or 1908 and the congressional campaigns of 1904 or 1908 and the pre-convention campaigns of 1912, to which your attention has not been called, which you have in mind or now recall?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Russell, I would like to make a little clearer the purport of Mr. MacVeagh's letter to you. You stated that you had written to him?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. And asked him to point out any inaccuracies in your statement?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. And that he had replied courteously, but had failed to point out anything?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Was there anything in his letter in the nature of acknowledgment of the correctness of the statement?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, sir; he did not deal with the summary I sent to him at all. His letter dealt mostly with other matters. He knew my father, and the letter had something to do with his recollections of my father.

Senator OLIVER. His letter, then, was simply a courteous acknowledgment of yours, without going into the matter?

Mr. RUSSELL. He did not go into this summary that I sent him at all.

Senator OLIVER. Have you his letter?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, sir. Might I make the additional statement to the committee that it has been widely represented that I charged that Mr. Roosevelt asked Mr. Morgan for a contribution? I never charged anything of the kind. I never said anything of the kind. While I was making my speech at the Star Casino I saw that the reporters down underneath were somewhat excited when I told that story, and after I got through one of them came to me and asked me to embellish and enlarge upon it. I said I could not do it, but I took occasion to warn him that I had not a particle of knowledge as to who it was that talked over the telephone. I had no information whatever. It may have been any one of 10,000,000 men, and I told him particularly that I had nothing to connect Mr. Roosevelt with it. The next day all the papers came out and charged me with charging Mr. Roosevelt as demanding money of Mr. Morgan. I never thought of it, and a wide misapprehension was gained in that way.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Roosevelt was President then, was he not?

Mr. RUSSELL. In 1904; yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. And this report refers to that what in the White House? What is the expression? I don't recall.

Mr. RUSSELL. Maniac, I believe.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you mean that would refer to many people?

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, it might refer, I think——

Senator PAYNTER. I mean by that, many people in the White House?

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, I would not be competent to judge about that. I don't know.

Senator PAYNTER. I just wanted to see whether or not an inference could be drawn that there was somebody in the White House other than the President about whom such a remark could be made.

Mr. RUSSELL. Perhaps my application of the story——

Senator PAYNTER. You made a charge, and I wanted to try to get at the facts, and what inference could be drawn as to whom Mr. Morgan meant, if the conversation took place. Of course, you have no knowledge of that?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, sir. My application of the story was entirely different from any of these.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not tell the committee you did not have Mr. Roosevelt in mind when you were making that speech.

Mr. RUSSELL. No, sir; I don't tell them, but I did not have anything of that kind in mind.

Senator PAYNTER. You did not have Mr. Loeb in mind, did you?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You did not have any of the secret-service men in the White House in mind when you said that?

Mr. RUSSELL. No; but I thought it might possibly be Mr. Cortelyou or Mr. Bliss that was using the telephone; and I think yet it might possibly have been Mr. Bliss or Mr. Cortelyou, or any one of a number of other gentlemen.

Senator PAYNTER. At that time, I think, Mr. Cortelyou was Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, no.

Senator PAYNTER. He had resigned his position?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Another thing; I did not know that that telephone call came from Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say?

Mr. RUSSELL. I did not know that the telephone conversation was with anyone in Washington. I don't know that it was. There is nothing to indicate it was.

Senator PAYNTER. I understand you have no personal knowledge of it.

Mr. RUSSELL. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you ever talked with Mr. MacVeagh on the subject?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Could you furnish the committee a copy of the statement which you sent to Mr. MacVeagh?

Mr. RUSSELL. Only from memory.

Senator PAYNTER. And a copy of the letter which you wrote him?

Mr. RUSSELL. Only from memory.

Senator PAYNTER. And a copy of his reply?

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, that would have to be from memory.

Senator PAYNTER. Or can you furnish the originals?

Mr. RUSSELL. I think I couldn't furnish anything except from memory.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you keep a copy of the letter that you sent?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You were seeking to get confirmation of your statement made in your speech?

Mr. RUSSELL. No. I feel very friendly toward Mr. MacVeagh, on account of his friendship for my father, and I wanted simply to assure him that I would not say anything of that kind on unsubstantial grounds.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you keep a copy of the statement which you sent him?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. And did not keep a copy of your letter?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you preserved the letter which he wrote you?

Mr. RUSSELL. I do not think I have. I receive a great many letters, and I am traveling all the time, every night and every day——

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Russell, will you do this: Will you examine your papers when you return to New York, and if you have a copy of the letter which you wrote him and a copy of the statement which you sent him and his reply, will you furnish this committee those papers?

Mr. RUSSELL. With pleasure; if I can find Mr. MacVeagh's letter I will forward it. If the committee wishes me, I can write from my memory pretty close to what I wrote to Mr. MacVeagh.

Senator PAYNTER. Could you give us Mr. Hampton's initials?

Mr. RUSSELL. Ben B.

Senator PAYNTER. And his present address?

Mr. RUSSELL. American Tobacco Co., 115 Fifth Avenue.

Senator PAYNTER. Could you give us Mr. Welliver's address?

Mr. RUSSELL. I think he is with the Washington Times.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all I care to ask you.

Senator POMERENE. You said, I believe, that after the publicity of this anecdote that you talked with Mr. Hampton?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And also with the representative who was sent to see Mr. MacVeagh?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And they both confirmed the statement as you have given it?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Hampton did, without reservation. He said it was perfectly correct in every particular. The representative said it contained errors, and that my memory evidently was somewhat at fault; but I understood him that substantially the thing was as I have told you, but that there were some errors in it.

Senator POMERENE. What were the errors to which he referred?

Mr. RUSSELL. He did not specify. He said this: "You have told this on the basis of your memory, and your memory is a little at fault in some particulars."

Senator POMERENE. You are, I believe, the Socialist candidate for governor?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir; of the State of New York.

Senator PAYNTER. When you experienced a disinclination, not on your account, that you did not want to tell the name of the gentleman who had given this information as to the interview with Mr. MacVeagh, I had a feeling at once that I would be very sorry to force you to give any information that might affect anyone in the newspaper fraternity or in any private business. Now, I want to call out a fact or two. Mr. Welliver was then employed by the Hampton Magazine, was he not?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. It was his business to go and seek this interview when the proprietor and his employer asked him to do it?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. That obligation rested upon him, and an equal obligation rested upon him to make a report of the interview?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. And it was in obedience to his work as a newspaper man that he made that report?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Upon reflection, do you think any reasonable employer now, whatever his views might be upon any political question, or whatever his business relations might be, could possibly blame Mr. Welliver for doing his duty as he did under those circumstances?

Mr. RUSSELL. I would not think so, for one minute, if Mr. Welliver had not assured me to the contrary. That is the reason.

Senator PAYNTER. I wanted to exonerate his employer from a suspicion that he would allow the facts which you have told to affect Mr. Welliver's relations with him. It is more to make a speech in advocacy of Mr. Welliver's course than to obtain information for the committee that I asked these questions. I do not know Mr. Welliver personally at all.

Mr. RUSSELL. I would like to add that all of this information has come to me in a roundabout way. I have no personal knowledge of it whatever. But it was at least official, because I was one of the editors of the magazine and the information came to me officially. I have no personal knowledge of it at all.

Mr. Russell was thereupon excused.

**TESTIMONY OF JUDSON C. WELLIVER, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
NEWSPAPER MAN.**

Judson C. Welliver, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name in full for the record.

Mr. WELLIVER. Judson C. Welliver.

The CHAIRMAN. Your residence?

Mr. WELLIVER. Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Your occupation?

Mr. WELLIVER. Newspaper man.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard the testimony of Mr. Russell, which has just been delivered?

Mr. WELLIVER. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. You may make such statement as you desire with reference to the alleged interview between Mr. Morgan and the White House.

Mr. WELLIVER. If the chairman will permit me just one word preliminarily, I want to say that I have no compunction of any sort whatever about testifying here to what I know about this matter. On the other hand, I am very glad of the opportunity to do so, in the circumstances that have arisen. For reasons that may be obvious and may not require explanation, I had hoped I might not have to testify in this matter. As it has come up to-day, I am very glad to do so.

In the summer of 1910 I was employed on Hampton's Magazine, of which Mr. Russell was one of the editors. Some time, I think, in September of that year, Mr. Wayne MacVeagh wrote me, asking me if I would come to his home at Bryn Mawr, Pa., to talk with him. At my earliest convenience thereafter I did.

Mr. MacVeagh had read an article of mine, to which Mr. Russell has already alluded, in the magazine, and desired to talk with me concerning Mr. Roosevelt. I spent a considerable part of a long afternoon with him, and I got a very accurate view, I think, of his mental attitude toward Col. Roosevelt at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did the interview take place?

Mr. WELLIVER. The interview took place at Mr. MacVeagh's farm home, at Bryn Mawr, Pa.

I do not know whether the committee has any concern about my general impression of Mr. MacVeagh's attitude of mind or not. He represented himself as having been for many years the friend of

Col. Roosevelt and his adviser. He indicated that in the latter time he had considerably changed his attitude toward Mr. Roosevelt, and had developed the opinion that Mr. Roosevelt was a very dangerous citizen.

In the processes of the conversation, the general purpose of which, I think, on Mr. MacVeagh's part, was to interest me in writing possibly a biography of Mr. Roosevelt, this incident that Mr. Russell has made in somewhat overstated form—has made employment of in his address which he has recounted here—came up.

My conversation with Mr. MacVeagh occurred over two years ago, and has not been in my mind at all until the incident of Mr. Russell's speech. Therefore, I make no pretense of being able to recount it accurately. I would very much rather, indeed, have testified on this subject with Mr. MacVeagh present, so that his story and mine could go in the record together. I think, however, I will do him no injustice whatever in my recollection of it.

Mr. MacVeagh said, as I recall, that one forenoon, in the latter part of October, 1904, he was in Mr. Morgan's private office in New York. He added that he and Mr. Morgan had been well acquainted; I gathered, rather intimate friends for years. A secretary entered the room and asked Mr. Morgan if he could not step to the telephone. Mr. Morgan was disposed to demur. I presume gentlemen in Mr. Morgan's situation do not ordinarily answer telephone calls. At any rate, the secretary explained that it was a call from Mr. Harriman, who was insistent on having conversation directly with Mr. Morgan.

Mr. Morgan finally went to the telephone, and after a few moments returned, apparently more or less displeased with the results of his telephonic conversation. Mr. MacVeagh said that Mr. Morgan, apparently more or less displeased, said, "What do you suppose that man in the White House"—whether Mr. Russell is correct about attributing the use of the word "maniac," I will not pretend now to remember. At any rate, it was in no wise a complimentary characterization, I am sure. "What do you suppose that man in the White House wants? It seems that Mr. Harriman has gone off down there to Washington at the President's invitation, to dine with him; and now he comes back here, and the President wants him to raise more campaign funds. He telephones over here that he wants \$50,000 from me; that he is going to give \$50,000, and he wants me to give \$50,000."

He said that Mr. Morgan proceeded to an expression of the opinion that it was all nonsense; that there was no need of raising any more campaign funds; that everything was all right.

Mr. MacVeagh facetiously observed that he assumed the payment of an additional fifty thousand to the expenses of the campaign would not harass Mr. Morgan financially, and Mr. Morgan admitted that he suspected his solvency would stand the strain. But he seemed aggrieved to be compelled to pay any more money.

My recollection—and on this point Mr. MacVeagh may correct me—is that Mr. MacVeagh represented that after some exchange of this sort Mr. Morgan did write a check for \$50,000 and he sent it forthwith to Mr. Harriman's office. That recollection is quite clear in my mind. Mr. MacVeagh and Mr. Morgan may entirely disagree

with me, and if they do, I would say that their recollection is better than mine, for the reasons already indicated.

That was the substance of the conversation. I went back, precisely as Mr. Russell has already told; I went back to my New York office and reported this matter to my superiors in the organization. My recollection is that Mr. Hampton made some memoranda of the thing. Since this incident came up I have asked Mr. Hampton if these memoranda are accessible. They apparently are not, the property having gone through an apparent financial cataclysm and been dissipated.

Mr. Russell's narration in his address, of course, represents something that has been in his mind for a long time, and perhaps was not so much impressed upon it at the time as it was upon mine. I have told it as it remains with me, conceding that my recollection may be corrected by these gentlemen who are still more intimate with the details.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you certain that Mr. MacVeagh stated that Mr. Harriman's name was used in that conversation?

Mr. WELLIVER. I am very positive.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. MacVeagh indicate about the time that this occurred?

Mr. WELLIVER. He indicated that it occurred in the latter part of October, as I recollect.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Welliver, is there any other fact or circumstance bearing upon or relating to contributions to campaign funds in the presidential or congressional campaigns of 1904 and 1908 and the preconvention campaign of 1912 that you now recall or have in mind to which attention has not been directed?

Mr. WELLIVER. No; I think I have no information that would be of use to the committee.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Welliver, you are still engaged in newspaper writing?

Mr. WELLIVER. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. With what journal are you connected at present?

Mr. WELLIVER. I am connected with the Munsey newspapers and the Munsey magazines.

Senator OLIVER. That is all.

Mr. WELLIVER. If the chairman and the committee will permit me, I do not know that I need to emphasize what I said earlier, that I have no misgivings whatever about the security of my employment by reason of any testimony I may give here.

Senator OLIVER. I do not think you need have.

Senator PAYNTER. In that connection I will say that when I asked the name of the gentleman who visited Mr. MacVeagh I had no idea who it was, because I had never heard of it. I want to add, too, in that connection, that it therefore follows it was not at your instance I made the remarks I have.

Mr. WELLIVER. Any employment that was contingent on such a circumstance would be quite unfortunate.

Senator POMERENE. If I understand your statement correctly, it is that Mr. Morgan reported to Mr. MacVeagh that Mr. Harriman said the President—or in some terms designated the President—was anxious that more money should be raised, and asked him to raise it?

Mr. WELLIVER. That is substantially the remark.

Senator POMERENE. So that the only substantial difference between the statement as you give it and the statement given by Mr. Russell is that you state the talk was with Mr. Harriman and that he reported the President wanted more money raised. Mr. Russell's statement is that Mr. Morgan stated the President had asked to have more money raised.

Mr. WELLIVER. That seems to be the most striking difference between the two stories.

Mr. Welliver was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will take a recess until 1.30 o'clock.

Thereupon, at 12 o'clock noon the committee took a recess until 1.30 o'clock p. m.

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled at the conclusion of the recess, at 1.30 o'clock p. m.

TESTIMONY OF OGDEN L. MILLS.

Ogden L. Mills, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Please state your name in full, your residence, and occupation.

Mr. MILLS. Ogden L. Mills; 15 Broad Street; lawyer.

The CHAIRMAN. What relation, if any, did you have to the pre-convention campaign in behalf of President Taft for renomination this year?

Mr. MILLS. In the spring of this year I was treasurer of the Republican county committee of the county of New York. As soon as it was decided that there was to be a primary fight in New York County I took the position that the party funds in my custody belonged to all the Republicans in the county, and could not, therefore, be used in the furtherance of the interests of any one faction. Therefore the funds in my custody were not used in the primary fight, with one exception. Owing to the primary fight on March 26 it was necessary to increase the office force of the county committee. It was also necessary to send out certain literature, and it was also necessary to employ a large force of men to prevent fraud. All the money expended by me for these various purposes was received by the eastern branch of the National Taft Bureau. I submit—

The CHAIRMAN. First, you had better take it the other way. Please hand the paper in and it will be identified, and then you can describe the paper. The paper will be marked "Exhibit O. L. Mills, No. 1."

The paper referred to is accordingly marked "Exhibit O. L. Mills, No. 1," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT O. L. MILLS No. 1.

RECEIPTS.

Mar. 15, 1912, Taft National League-----	\$1,303.50
Mar. 21, 1912, Taft National League-----	1,650.00
Mar. 23, 1912, Taft National League-----	2,632.14
	<hr/>
	5,585.64

DISBURSEMENTS.

Mar. 15, 1912:

Secretary county committee, postage on circulars to enrolled voters in eighteenth congressional district.....	\$185.00
Max M. Hahn, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	45.00
Harry Weiss, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	45.00
George Kluberanz, services in examining Roosevelt petitions....	45.00
Roy R. Lee, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	45.00
Percy J. Michelbacher, services in examining Roosevelt petitions..	45.00
J. F. Keyser, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	35.00
Anthony J. Perota, services in examining Roosevelt petitions....	35.00
Abraham Safir, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	35.00
Fred C. Hamann, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	30.00
R. Dalessandro, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	25.00
Edward Weigand, services in examining Roosevelt petitions....	21.00
Thomas Morrison, services in examining Roosevelt petitions....	18.00
Jacob Shapiro, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	15.00
John J. Stephenson, services in examining Roosevelt petitions....	15.00
Wm. J. Dover, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	15.00
Max Toffler, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	15.00
Samuel Williams, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	12.00
Jake Tirnauer, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	10.00
Isaac Wisnewitz, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	9.00
David Levy, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	9.00
Wm. R. Vaughn, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	9.00
Dave Schaffler, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	9.00
Frank Imandt, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	6.00
Benjamin Yutkowitz, services in examining Roosevelt petitions..	6.00
Wm. A. Le Pard, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	6.00
Jerome Carlebach, services in examining Roosevelt petitions....	6.00
Louis Sussman, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	6.00
Max Cohen, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	5.00
Jacob Gluck, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	5.00
Horace A. Yost, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	3.00
Raddie Edmunds, services in examining Roosevelt petitions.....	3.00
Elkan L. Wasserman, services in examining Roosevelt petitions..	3.00

Mar. 22, 1912, secretary county committee, postage on special letter to enrolled Republicans..... 500.00

Mar. 25, 1912, Business Address Co., postage stamps..... 40.00

Mar. 26, 1912:

Louis Zeltner, services in canvassing.....	90.00
Burns Detective Agency, detective service.....	1,300.00
William Orr, services as newspaper publicity man.....	120.00
W. F. O'Neill, services as extra elevator operator.....	11.00
R. A. Robinson, services as extra telephone operator.....	20.00

Mar. 28, 1912:

Percy J. Michelbacher, services in canvassing and examining petitions	60.00
George Kluberanz, services in canvassing and examining petitions.....	15.00
Roy R. Lee, services in canvassing and examining petitions.....	15.00
Jacob F. Keyser, services in canvassing and examining petitions..	15.00
Frank Imandt, services in canvassing and examining petitions..	9.00
Harry Weiss, services in canvassing and examining petitions....	9.00
P. L. Beckerich, services in canvassing and examining petitions..	8.00
W. Eigenmacht, services in canvassing and examining petitions..	8.00
Rocco Dalessandro, services in canvassing and examining petitions.....	15.00
E. Roy Blatchley, services in canvassing and examining petitions.....	5.00
Daniel Ferguson, services in canvassing and examining petitions..	5.00
A. J. Brown, services in canvassing and examining petitions....	5.00
R. E. Chapman, services in canvassing and examining petitions..	5.00
R. C. Nason, services in canvassing and examining petitions....	5.00
L. Sussman, services in canvassing and examining petitions.....	5.00
G. R. Hooper, services in canvassing and examining petitions....	5.00

Mar. 28, 1912—Continued.

Morris O. Smith, services in canvassing and examining petitions_	\$5. 00
J. Kolsby, services in canvassing and examining petitions_-----	5. 00
J. Glick, services in canvassing and examining petitions_-----	5. 00
Edward Montgomery, services in canvassing and examining petitions_-----	30. 00

Apr. 1, 1912:

The Tenny Press, printing_-----	1, 555. 50
Astor Equipment Co., badges_-----	455. 00
Business Address Co., addressing and mailing letters to enrolled Republicans_-----	504. 14

5, 585. 64

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts_-----	5, 585. 64
Disbursements_-----	5, 585. 64

Senator PAYNTER. I understand that all the money you received with reference to the presidential primaries was received from this source?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Exhibit 1?

Mr. MILLS. That represents the money received by me in my capacity as treasurer of the Republican county committee from the New York Taft League, the eastern bureau, and the expenditures of the county committee with reference to the primary fight at the primaries of March 26. I call the committee's attention to the fact that the large part of the expenditures was made for the purpose of checking up the petitions, and that the biggest item on that list of expenditures is one of \$1,500 for the employment of the Burns Detective Agency for the prevention of fraud. The Burns Detective Agency was also employed by the Roosevelt people. I make this statement in view of the charges of fraud before your committee last week.

The CHAIRMAN. How much had the committee on hand when the campaign of 1912—the preconvention campaign—opened? You said you did not consider that to be used for any purpose——

Mr. MILLS. That was not used.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was that?

Mr. MILLS. I am unable to state the exact funds in the county committee at the time. I did not bring that down because it was not spent for this purpose, and was not touched. I should say that we had on hand at that time approximately \$2,000.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been treasurer?

Mr. MILLS. Since April 10.

The CHAIRMAN. And whatever that fund was, it would be within your knowledge?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you think it was approximately \$2,000?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir. I know we had no money on the 1st of January to carry on the expenses of the committee, and to aid the salaries of the office force, I raised the fund in January and February, which approximated \$3,000. Some of that had been expended, and I presume I had on hand about \$2,000.

The CHAIRMAN. And you say that no part of that went into the preconvention campaign?

Mr. MILLS. No, sir; none of that was spent.

The CHAIRMAN. This gives total receipts of your committee as \$5,585.64, does it not?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any auxiliary committee to your committee?

Mr. MILLS. There was the eastern branch of the National Taft Bureau, which was organized by Mr. Timothy Woodruff, of Brooklyn, with John W. Hutchinson, jr., as director and Robert S. Hughes as acting treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that organized?

Mr. MILLS. That was organized, as nearly as I can remember, about March 10, 1912. I was not a member of that committee.

The CHAIRMAN. What territorial jurisdiction did that committee assume to have?

Mr. MILLS. It was the purpose of Mr. Woodruff to have that committee cover the Eastern States, as I understood it at the time, though I think its activities were limited to New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any means of knowing what the amount of funds raised by that committee was?

Mr. MILLS. I have not of my own knowledge, though I think I can give you the amount of funds raised, with reasonable accuracy.

The CHAIRMAN. If you desire to supplement the statement, you may state, to the best of your information.

Mr. MILLS. To the best of my recollection the total funds raised by the eastern branch of the National Taft Bureau was \$24,000—between \$22,000 and \$24,000, with \$24,000 as the outside limit.

The CHAIRMAN. It may not be within the scope of your activities, but I ask you whether you have any knowledge as to the contributors to that fund?

Mr. MILLS. Only in so far as I raised money for that committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the money you raised was turned over, first, to that committee?

Mr. MILLS. The money I raised in my individual capacity, and not as treasurer of the county committee, was turned over to the eastern bureau of the Taft League. There [indicating] is the committee. I was not a member, but I undertook to raise money for them at the request of Mr. Woodruff.

The CHAIRMAN. This will be marked "Exhibit O. L. Mills No. 2."

The paper referred to was accordingly marked "Exhibit O. L. Mills No. 2," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT O. L. MILLS No. 2.

[Advisory committee: Hon. Benjamin F. Tracy, chairman; Otto T. Bannard, Nicholas Murray Butler, Chauncey M. Depew, George R. Sheldon, Edgar L. Marston, Julien T. Davies, William N. Cohen, Carleton A. Chase, William Berri, Hendrick S. Holden, R. Ross Appleton, George Blagden, James R. Sheffield, Richard Young, Andrew D. Baird, Almet R. Latson, Marcus M. Marks, Charles N. Bernheimer, John Henry Hammond; John W. Hutchinson, jr., director.]

EASTERN BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL TAFT BUREAU,
334 FIFTH AVENUE,
New York City, March 14, 1912.

DEAR SIR: Col. Roosevelt is endeavoring to secure a nomination for a third term, contrary to a wisely established precedent, on a platform favoring the recall of judges and the recall of judicial decisions, which, in the opinion of thinking men, would nullify the Constitution and menace the fundamental principles of republican government.

We believe that President Taft, by reason of his wise, constructive, and efficient administration, is entitled to a renomination by the Republican Party.

To bring these facts properly before the electorate and to insure the renomination of President Taft a vigorous campaign is essential. We earnestly solicit your support and ask you to contribute to the necessary expenses of carrying on this work. Checks should be made payable to Robert S. Huse, acting treasurer, care of Redmond & Co., 33 Pine Street, New York City.

Yours, truly,

The CHAIRMAN. What is Exhibit Mills 2?

Mr. MILLS. Exhibit 2 is a circular sent out by the eastern branch of the National Taft Bureau and contains the list of members of the advisory committee.

Senator POMERENE. In the margin, you mean?

Mr. MILLS. In the margin.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you say you raised funds for that committee?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you raise for the committee?

Mr. MILLS. I raised \$7,205.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a statement of it there?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir [submitting a paper].

The CHAIRMAN. This paper will be marked "Exhibit O. L. Mills No. 3."

The paper referred to was accordingly marked "Exhibit O. L. Mills No. 3," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT O. L. MILLS No. 3.

Contributions received by Ogden L. Mills for Taft League.

Feb. 1, 1912, Andrew Carnegie.....	\$1,000
Feb. 5, 1912, Isaac N. Seligman.....	500
Feb. 15, 1912, Otto T. Bannard.....	1,000
Feb. 20, 1912, James B. Ford.....	1,000
Feb. 29, 1912, William D. Sloane.....	200
Mar. 5, 1912, Clarence Mackay.....	1,000
Mar. 14, 1912, James A. Burden.....	200
Mar. 15, 1912, O. G. Jennings.....	250
Mar. 19, 1912:	
Harris, Winthrop & Co.....	500
Do.....	100
George S. Brewster.....	250
Charles L. Bernheimer.....	100
Do.....	5
Mar. 21, 1912:	
Charles D. Norton.....	250
Jacob H. Schiff.....	500
H. S. Black.....	250
Mar. 27, 1912, Louis Marshall.....	100
	<hr/>
	7,205

Mr. MILLS. I want to make an explanation with reference to that—I had better look at it first and give you the exact amount.

The CHAIRMAN. State what Exhibit 3 is and then make any explanation that you desire.

Mr. MILLS. Exhibit 3 is a list of contributors to the eastern bureau of the Taft League, the money having been given to me on behalf of that league, with the one exception of the item of \$600 put down to

Harris, Winthrop & Co., which is an error. Mr. Roger Winthrop raised \$600, which he gave to me, and I do not know the names of the contributors, but I understand he collected that amount in various contributions amounting to \$50 and \$100.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you collect money for your county committee in addition to that you collected for the eastern branch committee?

Mr. MILLS. The fund referred to, that I have already testified to, raised in January and February of that year, before I had any notice of a primary contest in New York County—

The CHAIRMAN. I mean after the contest for the nomination began?

Mr. MILLS. No, sir; I made no effort to raise a particular fund, though I had sent letters out asking for a flat contribution of \$50. Some of those may have come in subsequently to March 1.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is it within your knowledge that the eastern branch committee expended money directly, or did they confine the use of that money to distributing to committees, as they did in your case?

Mr. MILLS. They contributed to committees, and their contributions and the expenditure are all matters of public record. Under the New York law every contribution made by the Taft League to a committee—and they were only made to committees—were filed with the New York Board of Elections and are matters of public record. So that my statement can be verified by looking up the New York records, which will show the total amount received by the various committees—assembly district committees—in New York County. Of course I do not speak for anything outside of New York County. Mr. Woodruff received some money and spent it in Kings County. Of that I know nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, you mean to say, all the money that was expended under your direction was the five thousand and odd dollars appearing in Exhibit A?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir; and the total amount expended in New York County, including the \$5,000, was \$24,000, distributed to the various assembly district committees, though as to that I do not speak of my own knowledge, except in so far as I was told what amount had been raised.

The CHAIRMAN. And you know of no contributions except those which appear in this exhibit that you had anything to do with?

Mr. MILLS. No, sir; the amount raised by me and turned over to the eastern Taft bureau, and the amount received by me in my capacity as treasurer of the county committee, represent the sum total of my activities.

The CHAIRMAN. I assume you are familiar with the New York law?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking this now more for information, as I have not seen the law in its present form. That requires all committees to file statements of primary contests?

Mr. MILLS. For primary expenses, yes, sir—of primary contests, just the same as in the general election.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it apply to a club that was formed in the interest of a candidate? I am not asking you now in any spirit of criticism.

Mr. MILLS. The matter, as I remember it——

The CHAIRMAN. Supposing a couple of hundred men should form a club, call it Taft or Roosevelt, it matters not, and hold meetings and hire halls; would that club be required to file a statement of its receipts and expenditures?

Mr. MILLS. I can not remember definitely the way a political committee is defined under the New York law, but a political committee is required to file with the secretary of state a list of its officers; each political committee is required to have a treasurer, and that treasurer is required under the New York law to file a statement of receipts and expenditures, both with reference to primary contests and a general election. In this particular case, however, there was no purpose of organizing a committee under the New York law. Mr. Woodruff assumed to act as the agent of Mr. McKinley. It was understood that any money received was turned over to him or Mr. Hutchinson, or rather the treasurer of that committee, in his capacity of agent of Mr. McKinley. That money could be transferred to Washington to be expended anywhere or, under the direction of Mr. McKinley, could be expended in New York County. In other words, the money that I raised I understood I was raising on behalf of the Taft fund under the control of Mr. McKinley, and it was absolutely immaterial to me or to the contributors whether that money was spent in California or in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that is all true enough. Now, would the New York law require you to publish a statement of money that you collected, we will say, to be turned over to Mr. McKinley?

Mr. MILLS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So none of this statement, so far as you know—or if you so know you can so state—contained any statement of contributions that might have gone to Mr. McKinley?

Mr. MILLS. No; the filed statement will show just what my filed statements show—an amount received from the Taft bureau. It will show you that amount was expended, but will not show any other source save that of the Taft bureau.

The CHAIRMAN. And would throw no light, then, on the amount which the Taft bureau might have collected in New York for its general use throughout the country?

Mr. MILLS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you happen to go through the reports that were filed by the Taft committees?

Mr. MILLS. No, sir; I have not gone through them.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know, then, whether any of those reports purport to be the reports of clubs, as distinguished from committees?

Mr. MILLS. In every instance those reports—this is to the best of my knowledge, I do not know of my actual knowledge—those reports would be the reports of treasurers of various assembly district committees. New York County is divided up into 36 assembly districts. Each district is an entity in itself, having a leader, a chairman, a district committee, and a treasurer. The treasurer acts as treasurer for that assembly district, the way I act as treasurer for New York County. He would file a statement precisely as I file my statement as treasurer of New York County, showing——

The CHAIRMAN. What I am getting at is—although you have stated you do not know—whether an organization that did not call itself a district committee, or any other committee, but a club, gathering funds and using funds, would be obliged under that law to file a report?

Mr. MILLS. Without any question.

The CHAIRMAN. You think they would?

Mr. MILLS. Any committee—

The CHAIRMAN. I am not speaking of committees.

Mr. MILLS. Well, that would depend on whether your club came under the definition of the New York law, defining a political committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know, either from your observation, or reading of the New York law—and you would not say whether a club of that kind would or would not come within the definition?

Mr. MILLS. I am very clear, sir, that if any three or more men got together and raised money for political purposes and expended money for political purposes in New York State they would be obliged to—

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I was getting at.

Mr. MILLS. To file the name of their treasurer, and that treasurer would properly file a statement of expenditures and receipts.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in a general way, as distinguished from what the precinct or district committees did, what was the occasion of your disbursements?

Mr. MILLS. The largest items there are canvassing—canvassing Roosevelt petitions, in order to see that they were entitled to file the petitions. There were also letters to be sent to the Republicans of New York County and such matters as fell to the county committee as a whole as distinguished from the local needs. For instance, in the employment of detectives. The detectives were employed throughout most of the county, and therefore their bill was sent directly to the county treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. You say sending letters to Republicans? How, generally, did you do that?

Mr. MILLS. I think the item is \$500, so that we could not have sent it very generally.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have watchers at the primaries, as they have at the elections?

Mr. MILLS. No; watchers were employed by each district. The county committee as a whole did not employ any watchers. In fact, most of the money turned over to the various district committees was expended by them in holding meetings, canvassing their district, and for watchers at the polls.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you have any knowledge of assessments, if any were made, upon the delegates to the Chicago convention?

Mr. MILLS. I do not think I quite understand your question.

The CHAIRMAN. I say, would you have any knowledge if assessments were made upon the delegates to the Chicago convention, or would that be done through the national committee?

Mr. MILLS. So far as I know, no assessments were made.

I want to add one thing. There was one further contribution that I would like to mention. I contributed \$400 to the various assembly

district committees in my congressional district for primary purposes, I being a candidate for delegate to the national convention. I did that in my individual capacity.

The CHAIRMAN. That went to the district committees?

Mr. MILLS. Yes; that went to the district committees.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions that were made in New York to the general committee, of which Mr. McKinley was chairman, outside of what you have testified to?

Mr. MILLS. Outside of what has been raised by me I do not know of any.

The CHAIRMAN. Neither in your own observation nor by general repute?

Mr. MILLS. No, sir. I understand Mr. McKinley had raised very little in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that twenty-three odd thousand dollars—

Mr. MILLS. Between \$23,000 and \$24,000.

The CHAIRMAN. We will say \$24,000.

Mr. MILLS. \$24,000.

The CHAIRMAN. That covers the expenditures made in that county?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir. Very clearly I think it does.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Republican voters in a normal enumeration of party alignment is there in that county, if you know?

Mr. MILLS. I think there are 75,000 enrolled Republicans.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in the county New York City is in?

Mr. MILLS. New York County. New York City is in more than one county. There are 75,000 actually enrolled. That is, in New York County. Of course there are a good many Republicans who are not enrolled.

The CHAIRMAN. What other counties than New York County does New York include?

Mr. MILLS. Well, it includes Queens, Richmond, and Kings.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how many enrolled Republicans there are within the limits of New York, including such portions of these other counties as New York embraces?

Mr. MILLS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What do you mean by "enrolled Republicans"?

Mr. MILLS. In order to vote at a primary election in New York a man at the previous election, general election, has to sign a statement that he is a Republican and proposes to support the Republican Party. Unless he does that he is not entitled to vote at a Republican primary.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then, did you have nothing to do with the campaign in New York City except in that portion of the city that is in New York County?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And each county then had a chairman, I assume, whose jurisdiction included so much of the city as was within that particular county?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir. Though in so far as the primary of 1912 is concerned, with reference to the election of delegates to the national convention, I think that the only contests were made in New York County, and possibly one or two in Kings County. So that

New York County is all that would interest you in this particular inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. How many precincts are there in New York County?

Mr. MILLS. Assembly districts are divided into election districts, we call them.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, election districts. I used the word "precincts." Of course I mean an election polling place.

Mr. MILLS. I think there are 850, roughly speaking.

The CHAIRMAN. Polling places?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In that county?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir. I won't vouch for the accuracy of that, but I think that is the approximate number?

The CHAIRMAN. I was asking this more to lay in the record a general description of the matter in New York.

Now, the only committees—that is, if that is the case—that you know of working in the preconvention campaign in New York County last spring was your committee, the district committee, the eastern branch, I think you called it, did you not?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir; I think that is what they call it.

The CHAIRMAN. In so far as it did work there.

Mr. MILLS. There were 36 or 37 district committees or organizations under the Republican county committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are the only committees that you know of that were working for Mr. Taft—

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At the preconvention contest in New York County?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there other papers that you desire to file?

Mr. MILLS. I brought on the list of contributions—I was not treasurer in 1908, but I brought up the list of contributions in the election of 1908 and the expenditures.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, for the county?

Mr. MILLS. For New York County. I was not treasurer in 1904, and I have been unable to locate the papers.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Exhibit O. L. Mills No. 4."

The paper was marked "Exhibit O. L. Mills No. 4," and handed to witness.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state what Exhibit O. L. Mills No. 4 is, Mr. Mills.

Mr. MILLS. That is the treasurer's report—the treasurer of the Republican county committee—the treasurer's report of the general election, November 3, 1908, showing receipts and expenditures made by the Republican county committee of the county of New York.

The CHAIRMAN. The report made by or under your direction?

Mr. MILLS. No, sir. Mr. Otto T. Bannard was treasurer in 1908.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you can not even verify it?

Mr. MILLS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any other fact or circumstance within your knowledge or by common repute relating to or bearing upon the question of funds in the precampaign in New York for the year 1912 of which you have not testified or to which your attention has not been called?

Mr. MILLS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state what they are.

Mr. MILLS. If I may be permitted, I would like, as a preliminary to what I am going to state, I would like to be permitted to answer the statement made before your committee at last week's session.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. MILLS. That 30,000 votes or more were cast for Roosevelt delegates in the March primary—made by Mr. Hooker, I believe—and that they were not counted.

Under the New York primary law the same safeguards are thrown around a primary election as around the general election. The votes cast at a primary election are canvassed and reported by the board of elections. Each party is entitled to be represented in each polling place by one or two watchers, and is entitled to have those watchers in the polling booth at the time the votes are counted. The polls were fully manned by Roosevelt watchers on the 26th of March, and Mr. Roosevelt's delegates got as many as 16,000 votes.

To the best of my knowledge, the primary election on March 26 on the part of the Taft people was as clean an election as ever was held in New York City. The New York County organization has stood consistently for clean politics under the leadership of Herbert Parsons, Lloyd C. Griscom, and Samuel S. Koenig. We have spent as much as \$30,000 in one election in eliminating fraudulent votes by a system of card registration. Every leader and every worker was instructed in this primary to be extremely careful, so that anything he did was not open to misinterpretation, because as early as March, 1912, the week or so or two weeks before the primaries were held, Mr. Roosevelt's followers had already started the cry that they were to be defrauded. On the other hand, during the 10 days before the March primary it was reported to me on numerous occasions that attempts were being made to bribe Taft's captains; that \$100 was being offered to work secretly for the election of Mr. Roosevelt's delegates, and that a bonus of \$150 was offered should the captain deliver his district. These reports were made to me.

Senator POMERENE. When was that?

Mr. MILLS. This was before the primary of March 26. I was unable to verify them, and I let them go for what they were worth, though it is noteworthy that the Burns agency, acting on behalf of both parties, reported only one instance of fraud in the districts in which they were stationed; that is, in one of the Bronx districts they reported an attempt on the part of the Roosevelt people to bribe a Taft captain on the primary day.

On March 25 some one called up Mr. Samuel S. Koenig, chairman of the Republican county committee and informed him that one of his district leaders, the leader of the eighth assembly district, Mr. Louis Friedel, had sold out to the Roosevelt people. Koenig called up Friedel on the phone and put the proposition up to him perfectly straight. Friedel denied it; said he was acting on behalf of Mr. Taft and would continue to be loyal. We took his word for it. The eighth assembly district was one of the two, and only two, districts to go for Mr. Roosevelt. The other one was the seventh assembly district, where there was a factional fight, where there were three tickets in the field, and where Mr. Roosevelt's delegates appeared on two. The vote in the eighth assembly district shows some extraordinary figures,

which can only be explained when we remember that the people who were supposed to look after the Taft interests were under the direction of Mr. Friedel and did not look after the Taft interests, and that the Roosevelt people probably did not have any watchers there at all, in view of the fact that they knew Mr. Friedel would look after their interests.

I submit these figures to this committee for what they are worth.

In a district in which 1,284 voters were entitled to vote, as many as 1,085 went to the polls and voted, which is a higher percentage than was ever cast in any primary election in New York County at any time.

Senator POMERENE. State that again, please.

Mr. MILLS. One thousand two hundred and eighty-four were entitled to vote, and 1,085 did vote.

The figures are all the more extraordinary because the eighth assembly district is in two congressional districts—in the twelfth and in the thirteenth.

In the thirteenth congressional district there was no contest. The delegates to the national convention were the same on both tickets, though it is noteworthy that both gentlemen, Judge Murray and Mr. March, voted for Col. Roosevelt.

In the twelfth congressional district the delegates were J. Van Vechten Olcott and Alexander Wolf on the Taft ticket and Greenbaum and Bloomingdale on the Roosevelt ticket. In this congressional district the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, fifteenth, and sixteenth election districts of the eighth assembly district are in the twelfth congressional district.

It is to the figures in these six election districts that I want to call the committee's particular attention, the six election districts in the twelfth congressional district, in which there was a contest.

In the first election district, 98 names were returned as voting. There was a subsequent investigation made by us, which showed that 20 of those people had not voted or had moved from the district.

In the second election district 93 were returned as having voted, and of this number 55 either did not vote or else they had moved from the district.

In the third election district no votes were cast for the Taft delegates, although the Taft alternates received exactly the same vote as the Roosevelt delegates. This is accounted for by the fact that one of Mr. Friedel's friends was one of the Taft alternates.

In the fourth election district 106 Republicans were enrolled in September, 1911, and 107 voted in the primary election of March, 1912, and of these 107 not one voted for the Taft delegates.

An investigation of the district shows that of these 66 either did not vote or had moved out of town. One man put down as having voted was in the hospital that day, and had his leg amputated.

In the fifteenth election district 39 men were reported as voting, but the inspectors reported 40. Out of these 40 votes the Taft delegates got none, but the Taft alternates again got the same number of votes as the Roosevelt delegates.

In the sixteenth election district 42 votes were cast. Again none of them were cast for the Taft delegates. Ten men in this district reported, upon investigation, that they did not vote or participate in the primaries.

I submit, for your investigation, a duplicate of the poll book of the fourth election district of the eighth assembly district, which is remarkable in that of the 106 votes cast, practically every one of them, with a few exceptions, was cast in alphabetical order; in other words, if this is a correct vote, 106 men came in and voted in alphabetical sequence; that is to say, the A's voted ballots 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5; the B's then voted ballots 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, and so on, down to the last letter in the alphabet, when we found that Mr. Joseph Zuckman voted the one hundred and sixth, or last ballot.

A glance at the city record, published by the city of New York, is also illuminating in so far as it shows what was probably done, because the names in the poll book practically correspond with the names in the city record, in the order in which they are published.

Senator PAYNTER. What do you mean by the city record?

Mr. MILLS. The city of New York publishes every year a list of voters, enrolled Republicans and Democrats.

Senator POMERENE. Does it give the party affiliation?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir; and it shows what enrolled Republicans are entitled to vote. In this particular case, the names here correspond in their order to the list of Republican voters given in the city record; so that, with no Taft watchers, it is perfectly easy to surmise what was done. The city record was taken, the ballots were dropped in one by one, and the names were checked off.

Senator POMERENE. Where was that?

Mr. MILLS. This was in the fourth election district of the eighth assembly district, with the leader Mr. Friedel.

I also desire to call the committee's attention to the fact that the same Mr. Friedel, shortly after the election, resigned from the Republican Party, and was immediately appointed deputy superintendent of markets, and collector of city revenues by Comptroller Prendergast, one of the prominent Roosevelt followers in New York City.

I do not want you gentlemen to believe for one minute that I am insinuating that Judge Duell or Mr. Hooker knew of these things, but I do state that they put the preconvention campaign in New York City in charge of some gentlemen who only know the one kind of politics, and to that extent they were responsible.

Senator PAYNTER. Just there, Mr. Mills, may I ask you a question?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Are those gentlemen of high ideals upon whom that responsibility was placed?

Mr. MILLS. No, sir; well, I do not want to mention their names.

Senator PAYNTER. I withdraw the question, sir.

Mr. MILLS. I do not want to go into that, but I will say that it was commonly reported to me during the two weeks preceding the primaries that one of the Republican leaders who had gone over to Mr. Roosevelt, and did it openly, was handling a large fund for the practical purposes of the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that man?

Mr. MILLS. William Halpin, of the seventh assembly district.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know his address?

Mr. MILLS. No, sir; I do not. I have looked through with interest the report filed by the Roosevelt committee, and I find that Mr. Hal-

pin's name is not mentioned once, so that evidently my informants were mistaken.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think they were mistaken?

Mr. MILLS. The report is correct, as far as I know, in everything excepting one particular. I have been informed on creditable authority that in the sixth assembly district, which has 16 election districts, a sum of \$600 was given out for election-day purposes, and that sum of \$600, as far as I can see, has not been reported.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was your informant in that respect?

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Koenig was my informant. The gentleman who received it——

Senator POMERENE. Give the full name and address to the reporter.

Mr. MILLS. Well, I had better give you the name of the man who received it, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. He might deny it. We would like the name and address of your informant, so we can prove it.

Mr. MILLS. I will give it to you, of course. The man who received this money is Samuel Aronowitz. He received a slip from Mr. Halpin, the gentleman that I referred to, and presented it at the headquarters and received in return for the slip \$600, to be expended in the sixth assembly district, which has 16 election districts, for election-day expenses.

This is interesting, because it means that \$40, approximately, could be expended in that district per election district, or, according to the price usually paid for watchers, eight watchers, at \$5 a day, on primary day. Eight watchers in the 850 election districts in New York County would mean approximately 7,000 watchers, so that if the same basis was followed throughout the county and in the sixth assembly district they did not have any chance in the world of carrying it; that would mean that there were 7,000 paid Roosevelt watchers on primary day, or almost one-half of the 16,000 votes cast for Roosevelt delegates is accounted for in paid watchers. Now, the mere omission of a name that was reported to me as having been paid——

The CHAIRMAN. Who did you say reported it?

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Koenig.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his first name?

Mr. MILLS. Samuel S.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know his address?

Mr. MILLS. Yes; the Republican county committee, 107 West Fortieth Street, New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know any other fact or circumstance bearing upon or relating to contributions or expenditures in that campaign?

Mr. MILLS. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Mills, was all of the \$24,000 of the Roosevelt committee collected in New York County?

Mr. MILLS. I think not. Mr. Woodruff raised some money in Kings County.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, he raised about \$7,000 of it. Who raised the \$17,000, approximately?

Mr. MILLS. I could not tell you that. That circular that is in evidence was sent out, and Mr. Hughes, who acted as treasurer, told me

that that had brought in considerable money; but as to where the rest of the money came from I have no knowledge. I asked them at the end how much they had raised, and I was told, as I remember it, between \$22,000 and \$24,000 had been raised, all told.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all I care to ask the witness.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Mills, it is apparent you believe there was corruption in certain of those election districts.

Mr. MILLS. I think that the poll vote of the fourth election district, and the vote in some of the other election districts, in the eighth assembly district, admits clearly of no other interpretation.

Senator POMERENE. Have you made a report of these facts to the district attorney?

Mr. MILLS. I believe they have been, but election crimes in New York have been prosecuted with varying degrees of success; and, as you can see, we could not bring this home to anyone by legal proof. I do not think we have enough here to do any more than raise the inference. We could not bring that home to anyone, I think. The district attorney asked both the parties to submit all evidence of fraud, and asked the Roosevelt people to submit evidence of their claim that there was fraud, but no evidence has been submitted.

Senator POMERENE. The facts stated by you certainly justify a very rigid investigation, and, if the facts as stated by Roosevelt's representatives here the other day are true, they ought to be rigidly examined.

Mr. MILLS. I do not know that they stated facts.

Senator POMERENE. Well, the charges which were made.

Mr. MILLS. Charges were made, but they have never been verified. We have asked repeatedly that those charges be substantiated. Mr. Whitman, the district attorney of New York County, has written to ask them to substantiate them; Mr. Parsons has asked that they be substantiated, but no answers have ever been received.

Senator POMERENE. You seem to be in active political charge of party affairs in your county. Do you not think it is your duty, as a good citizen, to bring those matters to the attention of the district attorney and have them thoroughly sifted?

Mr. MILLS. I believe, sir, that those matters have been submitted to the district attorney.

Senator POMERENE. I am glad to know it.

Mr. MILLS. But I am not sure of that. I am only concerned with political affairs generally and in my capacity as treasurer of the county committee. Whether that is to be submitted to the district attorney or not would not come within my province.

I want to state now that although we had these facts last April we have never felt that anything was to be gained by charges of fraud and by general "mud slinging." But in view of the persistent attacks made upon the integrity of men who have tried to be honest, and who have tried to stand for the best interests of New York politics, I have thought we ought to make answer before your committee, and I have undertaken to submit these facts for what they are worth.

Senator POMERENE. I made the suggestion I have as one who believes in good clean politics; it does not make any difference who it hits.

I wanted to ask you about this report of 1908, which you have submitted. Who can verify this account?

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Otto T. Bannard.

Senator POMERENE. He lives in New York?

Mr. MILLS. Yes, sir.

I think I should explain as to that city record that it represents the fourth, fifth, and sixth election districts as being separate. They were separate a year ago. In the primary of March, 1912, the fourth, fifth, and sixth election districts have been combined into the fourth election district. The names would be the same, but they would all come under the fourth election district in the city record.

The CHAIRMAN. This report you make to your county is in addition to all State expenditures by State committees?

Mr. MILLS. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And only the amount expended in your county?

Mr. MILLS. Well, the \$5,300 represents the total amount expended by the Republican organization in New York County.

Mr. Mills was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will adjourn until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Thereupon, at 2.35 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, October 8, 1912, at 10 o'clock a. m.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1912.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee reassembled at 10 o'clock a. m., pursuant to adjournment, for the purpose of resuming the consideration of the resolutions S. Res. 79 and S. Res. 386.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Oliver, Paynter, and Pomerene.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. I will say to the press, so that they can accommodate their engagements, that there will be no sessions of this committee a week from to-morrow.

TESTIMONY OF WAYNE MacVEAGH.

Wayne MacVeagh, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. You may give your name and address to the official reporter.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Wayne MacVeagh. My address is Brookfield farm, Bryn Mawr, Pa. In the winter I live in this city.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. MacVeagh, your attention is called to a statement made by Mr. Russell about the 1st of September in regard to an alleged occurrence in the office of Mr. Morgan, where you were said to be present.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state whether you were in Mr. Morgan's office in the month of October, 1904.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Very probably I was, and possibly more than once.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall on any occasion of your being present his being called to the telephone?

Mr. MACVEAGH. No. May I state now what I do know?

The CHAIRMAN. You may state, then, what you desire to say in regard to this matter, your attention having been called to it.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Well, I say I was probably in Mr. Morgan's office in that month once or more, though I have no recollection of being there; but there has been at least a cordial friendship between Mr. Morgan and myself, as there was with his father and is with his son, all our lives, substantially, and I went and came as I saw fit. I am not entitled to say that I was on intimate terms with Mr. Morgan, but I was on very friendly and cordial terms, and was always made very welcome when I went to his office. I never saw or

heard of Mr. Morgan going to any telephone. He sat in the open, as you are behind your desk, except that his desk was a smaller one, where anybody having business with the firm or with him found him perfectly accessible, sitting in the chair, separated by a low fence, but there was no difficulty in getting to him whatever, and whenever I saw fit to I went in and sat on the other side of his small desk and talked with him. But I never saw him use the telephone and never heard of his being called to one.

The CHAIRMAN. During any visit that you made to him during the fall of 1904 state what, if any, conversation was had or what remark he made, if any, concerning campaign contributions or requests for campaign contributions.

Mr. MACVEAGH. He never made any during that month or at any other time whatever to me. I assume Mr. Morgan, like a number of my friends, knew—though I have no basis for the assumption—that I had all my life been vehemently opposed to political contributions. I thought them degrading and corrupting, both to the giver and to the receiver. I was alone in that opinion, almost, but I never hesitated to express it, publicly and privately. At any rate, Mr. Morgan never did mention the subject to me at any time.

The CHAIRMAN. After Mr. Russell made his public statement as it appeared in the Times of September 2, as I recall, a day or two later a statement appeared from you.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And a subsequent statement from Mr. Russell. Later Mr. Russell testified that he wrote you a letter stating his views or understanding of this alleged incident. Did you receive such a letter?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes; but it was in reply to a letter from me. On the morning that that publication appeared in the New York Times it also appeared in the Philadelphia Ledger, and before I had received the Philadelphia Ledger or had seen it I was called on the telephone by different reporters, and also from New York, and told that this statement had been made by Mr. Russell, and I was asked, of course, for interviews.

It had been the habit of my life—a bad habit, I have no doubt—never to be interviewed, but to insist on stating in my own language, over my own signature, with my address where I could be found, to verify it or stand by it, anything I wished to say about any public matter whatever. I therefore answered to every one of them the same thing—as soon as I saw the Ledger and ascertained just what Mr. Russell had said I would send a written letter to the Ledger in time for the evening's paper, with a request that it would strike off copies, as I knew it would, and give them to anybody who wished a copy and communicate to any newspaper that wished to have it. As soon as the Ledger came I called up the editor and said I had read it; it was a mistake, of course, on the part of Mr. Russell, and that I would reply at once, and asked that this courtesy should be extended to me later, which, of course, he said would be done. I wrote the letter and it was published the next morning, and, I supposed, as soon as Mr. Russell saw it he would at once recognize my statement that he had been misled, which I had no doubt he had been, for I had no reason to think then or now that he would misrepresent anything intentionally. Then a reporter called me up one day and

said that Mr. Russell evidently had not taken my letter as I intended it, because he had made a restatement, and in it had said that I had used an expression to a reporter who came out to see me, that I wondered how the leak could have occurred.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever use that expression?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Well, I was going to say that I then wrote Mr. Russell a letter. I had not heard from him, and I had difficulty in getting my letter to him, because he was away from New York, but finally it overtook him, I think, at Utica. In that letter I expressed my regret that he had not seen fit to withdraw the statement he had made, because, in a very long and very active life in the open, involving many collisions of judgment and some embittered controversy, nobody had ever thought it necessary to question any statement of fact I had ever made of my own knowledge, and I would be glad to know if he intended, at this late date, to vex my quiet by assuming that attitude. He wrote me a very nice letter indeed. I haven't it here, but have it at home, and would be glad to send it to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would send that letter to the committee.

Mr. MACVEAGH. And I will be very glad if Mr. Russell, as he no doubt will, should present my letter to it. Of course, I could have made no such statement, because there was no leak; nothing had ever happened of the kind in Mr. Morgan's office, and therefore there could be no use of any such expression. More than that, while two reporters had come all the way to the farm that day to see me, I had represented to them what I had been saying ever since I had been in public life, which was that I had no interview to give, and would not allow myself to be quoted for any purpose by any reporter whatever, but that they would find in the office of the Philadelphia Ledger that evening a copy of my statement on the subject.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a copy of that last letter that you wrote Mr. Russell? Did you retain a copy of it?

Mr. MACVEAGH. I do not think I did, but he has the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I know; but will you look when you get home and see if you have a copy?

Mr. MACVEAGH. I am sure I have not. I did not attach enough importance to it. I thought it ended it, you know, as far as that is concerned. Now, perhaps it would not be quite frank to say that there was no message known to me in which both Mr. Welliver and Mr. Russell might have been misled. It is true that when I received from some source—I do not know from what one, but I assume from the magazine—a copy of Hampton's Magazine containing the article by Mr. Welliver, that article interested me, and I thought I would like to have a talk with him in reference to his preparing, if he was competent to do it, or willing, a perfectly unbiased and impartial political biography of Mr. Roosevelt, beginning with his entrance into politics and continuing to that date, stating both sides of every controversy in which Mr. Roosevelt had been engaged.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you communicate this desire to Mr. Welliver in writing?

Mr. MACVEAGH. No, sir; I asked Mr. Welliver to come to see me. I assumed he had sent me the copy of this magazine, but I had no reason to assume that, except—

The CHAIRMAN. How did you ask him if you did not communicate it in writing?

Mr. MACVEAGH. I say I wrote him to come and see me—I beg pardon—and I assumed he had sent me the magazine, and therefore I would be glad to see him and talk it over. He came. I said, “Mr. Welliver”—whether he remembers it or not, just what I say to all magazine writers and others, that of course I would talk to him as a gentleman, but not for publication; whatever was published coming from me must be over my own signature. I was in the habit of writing for magazines and for newspapers, but always over my own signature, and on that basis I would talk very freely to him, and we had a very agreeable and pleasant interview and discussed various matters. No doubt I said to him what I have said to so many people, that this matter of political contributions seemed to be poisoning the very wells of the national life, and I have no doubt I told him of an incident which did occur, but not for publication, of course, though there was no secrecy attached to it.

The CHAIRMAN. What incident was that?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Now I would like the committee to listen for one moment to my view about that and then decide, and then I am in the hands of the committee. You, as chairman, have reason to know that my sympathies are with the work of the committee. I think it is capable of doing the most important work in American politics in my time by putting an end to what I think is fatal to American democracy unless ended. So I want to give every particle of information I have, and I have none of importance, but I want to submit to the committee for its decision whether these old-established rules of evidence, not technical rules—rules which are very much of the character Sir James McIntosh said proverbs were, “The condensed good sense of nations,” and one of them is—well, let me illustrate. One of them is that where there is a written document, oral testimony shall not be had concerning it.

You have had an illustration of that before the committee recently. No amount of oral testimony could have ever described the agreement which was put in evidence, as I read from your transcript here, by Mr. Flinn—proposed by him to Mr. Quay. That struck me as such a depth of degradation in American politics that nobody would believe it on oral testimony, and for that reason, among others, that rule was established.

Now, there is another rule of the same kind, which is that nobody shall be allowed under oath to put upon a record of a quasi judicial proceeding or a judicial proceeding any testimony which can not by possibility be rebutted. Now, for instance—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. MacVeagh, we can perhaps save some time. This committee recognizes that in this hearing it must receive what is called hearsay testimony. Many of the actors in these affairs are dead, and the only thing the committee can do is to receive such evidence as it can, where there is anything to substantiate it, or to cure it, and then leave those who have to judge of this matter to determine for themselves.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Now, let me give you an illustration there. If a gentleman comes forward after the Senate reassembles and says, “I was told by a very rich man, now dead, in the State of Senator Blank, that he personally gave Senator Blank \$100,000 with which to buy

his seat in the Senate," Senator Blank is put in the position of not being able to prosecute the liar for perjury.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true, of course.

Mr. MACVEAGH. He has no way of rebutting it except by his own oath, and it is an invitation to evil-disposed persons, knowing they are perfectly safe from any injury, to come forward and report things which never occurred.

Now, I heard a conversation—a gentleman, now dead, told me something which he said another gentleman, now dead, told him. Now, as a lawyer who has practiced all his life in all courts from the highest to the lowest, it offends my sense—my common sense; not my technical sense; not my sense as a lawyer, but my sense as a citizen and as a man looking out for the interests of other people, as far as he can—that that is a thing that a committee of the Senate of the United States ought not to ask me to tell, though there is nothing in it why I should not tell and nothing I have the slightest possible objection to telling except on the ground I have already stated, that it is the statement of a gentleman now dead of what was said to him by another gentleman, unhappily also now dead.

Now, the Morgan story I had no difficulty in testifying about, because Mr. Morgan is alive, and Mr. Roosevelt is alive; but in this case both my informant and his informant, as he reported it, are both dead. Now, do you think the committee should go that far?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. MacVeagh, the committee has not in its inquiry this morning, so far, gone outside of the Morgan relation to this situation.

Mr. MACVEAGH. No; I understood that; but I did not wish to mislead the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I was proceeding to ask you some questions with regard to the Morgan transaction.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand you now, you say that at no time during the campaign of 1904, in your presence, in Mr. Morgan's office, did Mr. Morgan go to the telephone, and at no time during the campaign of 1904 did Mr. Morgan make to you any statement concerning contributions made or contributions asked for.

Mr. MACVEAGH. None whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you read Mr. Welliver's testimony of yesterday?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes, sir; and Mr. Russell's also.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state whether you stated to Mr. Welliver, in this interview that you had with him, anything concerning being in Mr. Morgan's office, Mr. Morgan going to a telephone in your presence, or Mr. Morgan saying anything in your presence concerning contributions made or requested during the campaign of 1904.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Not a word at any time. As I stated, it would not be fair to Mr. Russell and Mr. Welliver—certainly not to Mr. Welliver—to pretend that I never had any conversation of the general character he relates, though not in the terms he relates it, with somebody else.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. MacVeagh, that leads, in sequence, to the last analysis of your argument with reference to the legal rules of evidence. Mr. Russell makes a statement here; Mr. Welliver comes

on the stand and makes a statement here, purporting to have come from you.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Which you deny, but in connection with that denial, intimate that there may have been something which justified Mr. Welliver in his statement. Now, illogical as it is, undesirable as it is, to receive the testimony of dead men, you see the effect of this rule upon the living, and while, of course, as a lawyer, I recognize the rules relating to evidence, still, as a member of this committee, I think, especially in view of your statement that it was not very material, something you did not hesitate to repeat, that in justice to Mr. Welliver, whatever was said that justified, or furnished a basis, perhaps, not in reason and logic exactly, for his statement, Mr. Welliver, the living, is entitled to that. Now, I do not know how the balance of the committee feel about that.

Senator OLIVER. I think that Mr. MacVeagh ought to tell his recollection as to what passed between him and Mr. Welliver.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that covers the same point. So it is the desire of the committee that you state in full the conversation between yourself and Mr. Welliver.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Of course I did not attach importance to my part of that conversation, and I do not exactly remember it, but I do remember very well an occurrence which I might well have related to Mr. Welliver, as I can not imagine that he would willfully misrepresent anything, and especially upon oath, nor, of course, would Mr. Russell. I assume he has been misled as to the name, but I did repeat to him an occurrence of this general character, but relating to a totally different person.

Now, as I have already explained to the committee, that person is dead, and the conversation he purported to give as having been held with another person, the other person is also dead. So that it comes through two dead men. But if the committee desires it, as I have told them, perhaps this is as good a place to present it as any, because it is of really very little importance, and there is nothing making me unwilling to tell it in the slightest degree; there never was any secrecy attaching to it.

Now, the facts are simply these: Whether I was in Mr. Morgan's office on the same day—probably I was when nothing whatever occurred about campaign contributions—I was in the office of Mr. Twombly on some day in the latter part, I should say the very latter part of October, 1904. I was there on an errand from—well, Mr. Cassatt, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co., for which I was then acting as counsel in some respects, and we had many talks, and we were on very intimate terms, and were in the habit of lunching together very frequently, Mr. Twombly and I, and we were talking about the matter on which I went to see him at his request, when he was called to the telephone, and he had a telephone booth—

The CHAIRMAN. This was in Mr. Twombly's office?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Mr. Twombly's office in the same building as Mr. Morgan's but on the upper stories, on the seventh floor—Mr. Morgan, is in the Mills Building and there is a communication through a back door with the two buildings—and his secretary came and said that a gentleman wished to speak to him in the telephone

booth. I think the booth was in the secretary's room, as I remember. At any rate, Mr. Twombly told the secretary to take the message himself; he did not want to be interrupted, and the secretary came back and said, "No, the gentleman will only speak with you directly." So I told him, of course, to go, and he excused himself and went. He was not gone very long when he came back and told me that the gentleman to whom he had been talking was Mr. Harriman; that Mr. Harriman had been called to Washington by Mr. Roosevelt, and that he had found Mr. Roosevelt was very anxious for the raising of a considerable additional fund for the campaign; that it had resulted in Mr. Harriman's agreeing to raise, and give to Mr. Bliss, \$240,000; that he had called him up on the telephone and explained that he expected him to provide \$50,000 of it.

Now, I do not remember that Mr. Twombly told me that Mr.—Oh, first he said, "Ned Harriman is going to give \$50,000 himself and he wants me to be responsible for the same amount, and he is looking in another quarter with confidence for the same amount," and either I inferred, or he said something that led me to suppose that was Mr. Morgan that was to give that \$50,000, though I can not now recall definitely whether there was any basis for that other than my own impression, and he said of course Mr. Harriman was acting in the common interest and they would have to give it, though he said, "You know you have been telling me all the time there was no earthly need for money, that Mr. Roosevelt was perfectly sure to be elected; there was no question about it whatever, and that all these contributions that we were giving were waste money." "Still," he said, "I can not let Mr. Harriman, acting in the common interest and in good faith, suffer by what he has done, and of course there is nothing for me to do but to meet his request."

Well, then we had some exchange of sentiments in which I expressed, with perhaps lurid language, my objection to the thing. But that was the substance of it, and really everything that relates to the subject in which you are inquiring. The other was the expressions of personal opinion, which do not have any place here.

The CHAIRMAN. And you think perhaps that that is the extent that you related to Mr. Welliver?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Undoubtedly, because when I went home I told it; there was no secrecy attached to it; everybody then, except me, thought it was a patriotic thing, and I do think it is rather hard on everybody who contributed to jump over the eight years and pretend that the public opinion was the same about it then that it is now. It was not. Mr. Twombly no more thought of asking me not to repeat this than he would of any other casual remark he made. Of course he knew I would not give it to the newspapers because that would be improper, and he knew that I did not talk for publication in the newspapers, and never had, but there was no secrecy of any kind attached to it, and so when I went home, at the lunch table on the Pennsylvania Railroad next day I told Mr. Cassatt and his chief of staff about him, just what had happened. I told it to a great many people, and I can only account for the fact of its becoming public and requiring my presence here—though perhaps mistakenly—that I alluded to it quite recently to Mr. Peabody.

Senator POMERENE. To whom?

Mr. MACVEAGH. To Mr. Peabody, president of the New York Mutual Life. I happen to be a trustee of that institution; I have been a policy holder all my life, and I had been a very bitter opponent of contributions by the life insurance companies in that year, 1904, as being sacred funds that we were putting there for our wives and children, and that nobody had a right to take out and give to a political committee, but nobody else thought so, and that passed away. But Mr. Peabody stated, with perfect frankness in the conference at the board room, that he had been in Mr. Harriman's office one day in 1904 when Mr. Harriman had told him that he had been to Washington, and shown him some letters, and he had been to Washington to see the President.

The President demanded, or at least insisted, or requested, or whatever the language was, that this sum of \$240,000 should be raised and turned over to Mr. Bliss, a large part of it to go to the State committee of New York, and the rest to the State committee of some other States, and that he said he had agreed to do it, and he said, "I thought of it when they were investigating about these contributions" and then I said, "Well, this is an extraordinary coincidence. I was in Mr. Twombly's office"—Oh, he said that Mr. Harriman told him that he had called up Mr. Twombly to assist in raising this fund and had been talking to him over the telephone while Mr. Peabody was sitting there, and I said, "That is one of the extraordinary coincidences of life. I happened to be in Mr. Twombly's office when Mr. Harriman called him to the telephone, and this conversation took place," and there they were eight years afterward, in the board room of the New York Mutual Life telling this to each other.

Now that is the last time I told it, I think, to anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. During the fall of 1904, did you have any talk with Mr. Morgan about contributions to the campaign fund, either made or requested, at any place other than his office?

Mr. MACVEAGH. None whatever. The subject was never introduced by Mr. Morgan or by me, so far as I recall, in my life, and I think I am sure I would recall it. We had many talks on many subjects. Mr. Morgan is not a garrulous man but he is a cordial man to those he trusts and likes, and he was always very cordial to me though I was holding very different views from him on many questions, to his knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. MacVeagh, is there any fact or circumstance bearing upon or relating to the making of contributions, or the request for contributions, or the expenditure of funds during the campaign of 1904, to which your attention has not been called, or to which you have not testified, and which you now do recall, or think of?

Mr. MACVEAGH. There is but a single thing, and that is rather indistinct, and relates again to Mr. Twombly but does not involve Mr. Harriman. Mr. Twombly told me on one occasion that he had been invited to luncheon at the White House with Mr. Frick, and they had, I think, through Mr. Knox—Attorney General Knox as an intermediary—come to luncheon and while he did not say anything he gave me the impression that afterward they had made contributions, both Mr. Frick and himself.

The CHAIRMAN. This luncheon occurred sometime during that fall, and prior to election?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Oh, yes, sir; sometime before the other incident occurred. Now may I suggest that, as in Mr. Harriman's case, there must be a person who was Mr. Twombly's secretary at that period who would have the charge of his check books, and would know where his accounts were kept, and with what brokers he used to transact large business, and that such person could give you actual evidence of what was done. I think the bank records and check books of those gentlemen would be very much better evidence than such evidence as I am giving.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if the committee had in contemplation the procuring of the clerks and bank books, and all that, that would then meet your suggestion, would it?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes, sir; thoroughly.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. MacVeagh, is there any other circumstance or fact bearing upon contributions of that campaign?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Nothing whatever that I recall. I do not think the subject was ever brought up except on those two occasions, and both times with Mr. Twombly, with whom, I may say, I had been in the habit of discussing these questions, both from the moral standpoint and the corporation standpoint.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. MacVeagh, your statement of this incident is in all respects exactly the same, as I recollect it, as Mr. Welliver's statement yesterday, except that it was Mr. Twombly with whom the conversation took place instead of Mr. Morgan?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. So that I presume Mr. Morgan's name was mentioned in that interview, in all probability, was it not?

Mr. MACVEAGH. With Mr. Twombly?

Senator OLIVER. With Mr. Welliver in your conversation.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Oh, no.

Senator OLIVER. I was trying to reconcile the two stories.

Mr. MACVEAGH. No; the reconciliation is due, I think, to the fact that Mr. Welliver confused the two names, undoubtedly.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. MacVeagh, you stated that Mr. Twombly thought or expressed the opinion that he ought to stand with Mr. Harriman, in view of the fact that Mr. Harriman was acting in the common interest?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. What did he mean by that expression?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Mr. Twombly represented the Vanderbilt interests.

Senator PAYNTER. The railroad interests?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes; the railroad interests; the New York Central and its affiliated lines, so far as the Vanderbilts were interested in them; and, indeed, he was, I think I may say, although there is a very much better authority in the room—I think he was a very influential person in the Vanderbilt lines at that time.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Harriman at that time represented or was the dominating force in what railroad systems?

Mr. MACVEAGH. The Union Pacific and the Southern Pacific.

Senator PAYNTER. What was Mr. George J. Gould's position at that time with reference to the railroads?

Mr. MACVEAGH. I do not remember; but in the Missouri Pacific and in probably all other lines in which he has now relinquished his

interests—they were all what would be called trunk lines, trunk-line systems.

Senator PAYNTER. What business was Mr. Frick—H. C. Frick—then engaged in?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Mr. Frick is a very large capitalist, and was the manager for many years of the Carnegie Steel Co., and I think the managing director of the company after he ceased to be an actual manager of it; and he is also a very larger owner of coke furnaces in Pennsylvania.

Senator PAYNTER. Was he the president of any railroad at that time?

Mr. MACVEAGH. No; he was interested in transportation, though.

Senator PAYNTER. I did not recall that he was.

Mr. MACVEAGH. No; he was not. He was simply interested in the—oh, yes—well, he was interested—he was, I think, at that time a large stockholder in the Reading Railroad and in the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Archbold, as has been stated here, was one of the principal officers of the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes, sir. I should say Mr. Archbold and Mr. Rogers, so far as my experience went—I knew them all—were the active men in that company.

Senator PAYNTER. As I understand you, Mr. Twombly told you that he and Mr. Frick had been invited to the White House to luncheon or to dinner?

Mr. MACVEAGH. That is my best recollection.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you understand from him that shortly after that visit to the White House they made large contributions to the campaign fund?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Well, I got the impression that he told me that Mr. Frick did.

Senator PAYNTER. That Mr. Frick did?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes; and I think it was implied by him, though I tried to remember, and I can not, that he did; but I do not know, nor am I positively certain that they did come here to luncheon, but I think so.

Senator PAYNTER. But he discussed the luncheon in connection with a contribution to the national campaign?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Twombly, I believe, is dead?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes; Mr. Twombly is dead, else I would not object for a moment to testifying.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; that is what I understood you. You, of course, mentioned that both were dead, and I thought Mr. Bliss was the other gentleman you had in mind.

Mr. MACVEAGH. No; Mr. Twombly is dead.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. MacVeagh, you do not recall, then, that the name of Mr. Morgan was mentioned in the conversation with Mr. Welliver?

Mr. MACVEAGH. I know it was not; it could not have been, you see. There was no basis.

Senator PAYNTER. Did Mr. Twombly make any mention of Mr. Morgan making a contribution to the campaign?

Mr. MACVEAGH. No; I do not think he did, and yet somehow that day I got the impression in Mr. Twombly's office that Mr. Harriman was expecting Mr. Morgan to furnish the other \$50,000, but I do not know it.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you know at that time that Mr. Morgan had made a contribution of \$100,000?

Mr. MACVEAGH. I do not think I did, but I knew that all men of that class were contributing heavily to Mr. Roosevelt's campaign fund.

Senator PAYNTER. At that time what large business interests was Mr. Morgan dominating or controlling?

Mr. MACVEAGH. He was reported——

Senator PAYNTER. I do not mean indirectly, but I mean——

Mr. MACVEAGH. I think Mr. Morgan himself answered that when he said here to you gentlemen the other day, as reported in the newspapers——although so much is reported in the haste of journalism that is not accurate——that he was the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. He has been a very dominating figure in financial and industrial and transportation interests in America certainly for 25 years.

Senator PAYNTER. And is supposed to have some interest in the United States steel industry?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes. He organized that.

Senator PAYNTER. At that time did he have some connection with it, at the time of these alleged contributions?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Oh, yes.

Senator PAYNTER. He was largely interested at that time?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Undoubtedly.

Senator PAYNTER. Was he largely interested in the railroad systems of the country at that time?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Oh, yes; undoubtedly.

Senator PAYNTER. So Mr. Gould was a railroad man?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Frick was connected with the United States Steel Corporation?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. And other large interests?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Harriman was one of the great railroad men of the country?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. And Mr. Twombly, you say, was with the Vanderbilt systems?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. So the men whose names have been mentioned in connection with that were very influential factors in the control of all these great railroad systems?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes; undoubtedly.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know whether Mr. Morgan took lunch with the President in 1904?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Whether he did what?

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know whether he was invited to the White House to take dinner?

Mr. MACVEAGH. No; I do not.

Senator PAYNTER. During 1904?

Mr. MACVEAGH. No; I never heard that he was.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know whether Mr. Gould was or not?

Mr. MACVEAGH. No; I never heard that he was.

Senator PAYNTER. There has been some mention—it grows out of the Sibley correspondence—about Mr. Archbold having been invited. Do you know whether he was invited, and, if so, whether he accepted an invitation to luncheon about that time?

Mr. MACVEAGH. No; I do not know. I know very little about Mr. Archbold's activities of any kind.

Senator PAYNTER. Who was Mr. Marvin Hughitt?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Mr. Marvin Hughitt was the president of a very great link in the transcontinental system. Now, whether it was the Chicago & North Western or the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. It was the Chicago & North Western.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Chicago & North Western; I thought it was.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know, or did you know at that time, a gentleman by the name of Dodge?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Dodge?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes.

Mr. MACVEAGH. No; I think not. Cleveland Dodge?

Senator PAYNTER. I do not know his given name.

Mr. MACVEAGH. I do not think I did know anybody in that connection at all.

Senator PAYNTER. Was the Dodge you know in any way connected as an attorney with the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. MACVEAGH. You mean Dodd?

Senator PAYNTER. I will look and see just exactly what his name is.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Do you mean S. T. Dodd?

Senator PAYNTER. In a letter that Mr. Harriman wrote to Mr. Roosevelt he stated to him that he had not seen—it may be Dodd instead of Dodge. I will look and see. I may be mistaken as to the name.

Mr. MACVEAGH. I knew Mr. Dodd.

Senator PAYNTER. If you will just excuse me a moment, I will look and see what the name is.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Mr. Dodd was general counsel of the Standard Oil Co.

Senator PAYNTER. I asked Mr. Roosevelt about it, but he did not seem to be able to place Mr. Dodge.

Mr. MACVEAGH. I guess the name is wrong.

Senator PAYNTER. You say there was a Mr. Cleveland Dodge? I will not delay in looking it up.

Mr. MACVEAGH. I never heard of such a person——

Senator PAYNTER. As Cleveland Dodge?

Mr. MACVEAGH. No; I never heard of such a person in that connection.

Senator PAYNTER. It was Senator Oliver who suggested that he might be the person.

Senator OLIVER. It was my recollection that it was Mr. Cleveland Dodge that was alluded to. I think he is connected with Phelps, Dodge & Co., but I am not certain about that.

Senator PAYNTER. Not having expected to ask you about him, I have not looked it up. The given name is not given; it does not appear in this letter, as I recollect it. Now, in a letter which Mr. Harriman wrote to Mr. Roosevelt on June 2, 1904, he said: "I have not been able to get Messrs. Dodge, Hughitt, and Frick, but hope to be able to accomplish it the first part of next week." So you can not recall anyone by the name of Dodge?

Mr. MACVEAGH. No; I do not. But there is a gentleman, a well-known gentleman, Cleveland Dodge, of New York City.

Senator PAYNTER. Cleveland Dodge?

Mr. MACVEAGH. There is such a person, but I do not think I knew him. I would not say that he had any such affiliations, but he may have without my knowledge.

Senator PAYNTER. What is his business?

Mr. MACVEAGH. I thought he was a lawyer and a capitalist, but I may be mistaken in both respects.

Senator PAYNTER. I believe that is all, Mr. MacVeagh.

Senator POMERENE. This was Mr. Hamilton Twombly to whom you have referred?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes; Hamilton McK. Twombly was his full name.

Senator POMERENE. Well, Mr. MacVeagh, it would seem a fair inference from your testimony that these men representing these vast interests were largely interested in 1904 in the election of the Republican ticket.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Well, it would seem so from the testimony I have read before your committee, but I know nothing of their interests except what I have detailed. I take it for granted they were, but I have no personal knowledge that they were.

Senator POMERENE. If these gentlemen, being at the head of these large railway and financial and industrial interests, were to take an active part in a political campaign, they would have, naturally, a tremendous influence on the result, would they not?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Well, yes; I think that may fairly be assumed; they would have a very considerable influence.

Senator POMERENE. In each of these railway systems there are vast numbers of officers and employees. The same is true of the insurance companies and of the large industrial concerns, such as the United States Steel Co. and the International Harvester Co.?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And if these men at the head of these different concerns were aiding in a material way the cause financially, naturally it would affect the results; and it is against such influences in politics I understand you have been opposed for many years.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes; openly.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all I care to inquire.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. MacVeagh, I have just discovered here that it is Cleveland Dodge. He is the gentleman, because he is referred to in another letter by Mr. Harriman to Mr. Roosevelt.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I had failed to recall that fact.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. And Mr. Roosevelt was unable to do it, although this letter was addressed to him. I can quite understand how he might possibly forget the name. When the given name of a gentle-

man is not given I can appreciate how he might be unable to identify him.

Mr. MACVEAGH. You will have no difficulty in finding Mr. Cleveland Dodge, I am sure.

Senator PAYNTER. Is he a prominent man?

Mr. MACVEAGH. I can not tell; I do not know. I know the name is a reputable name and of importance.

The CHAIRMAN. While it is not an issue, still I desire to ask you, Mr. MacVeagh, if you feel that Mr. Welliver violated any confidence subsequent to this interview with you?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Not so far as it has gone, with the one exception. Somewhere in the hasty reading of the testimony it was stated that this was given for publication. That is a mistake; that is a misrecollection. I do not believe I imposed any seal of secrecy upon Mr. Welliver, except that in the beginning that I was speaking to him as a gentleman, and not for publication. That I am very sure I said, because it was the rule of my life to say it to everybody; and in all the correspondence with reporters with whom I have dealt, the many hundreds, that confidence has never been abused.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you not expect that he might and perhaps would take the information which you gave him as the basis for articles which he might write?

Mr. MACVEAGH. No; certainly not. What I expected him to do was to take the conversation just as it was between gentlemen, and not to make it public in any way that would involve me in a controversy, without my previous permission. If he wrote anything, I took it for granted that he would submit it to me, but he did not write anything; that is the best answer, that he didn't understand then that he was at liberty to use this information for publication any more than I was. I did not feel at liberty to use it, to give it to the newspapers. Mr. Twombly imposed no secrecy whatever; Mr. Harriman imposed no secrecy.

The CHAIRMAN. What I desire to get at more particularly is whether you feel Mr. Welliver violated any confidence.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Not at all, so far as he has acted. Not at all. He was at perfect liberty to talk it over with Mr. Hampton and with Mr. Russell.

The CHAIRMAN. And you knew he was a writer?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Certainly. It was in that capacity that I asked him to come to see me.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. MacVeagh, did you give this information with the view that he might be aided in writing this impartial history?

Mr. MACVEAGH. Not at all; but it was only to illustrate the danger of this system; if it ever came to deal with political contributions it would show how dangerous they were.

The object was, as I stated, to get Mr. Welliver to begin a political biography of Mr. Roosevelt from his first entrance into the New York legislature down to that date. I still think if that work was well done, impartially, without prejudice and without partiality, stating both sides of it, it would be a most valuable contribution to American politics; but it has to be done by a journalist who has access to the files of newspapers, because every day presented something new. For instance, take the Paul Morton case; take the Judge Tyner case; take

the Herbert Bowen case; take the Bellamy Storer controversy; take the Gen. Miles reprimand. There are a hundred things that had two sides to it and, of course, every such representative ought to be presented to Mr. Roosevelt for his side, if he had not given it in the newspapers. That is all I wanted done.

Senator POMERENE. Just one question further, if I may.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Certainly; any question at all, I will welcome it.

Senator POMERENE. Do you recall whether Mr. Welliver visited you on that occasion at your invitation or upon his own initiative?

Mr. MACVEAGH. I think at my invitation. I think he had sent me a copy of his article in the magazine, and that thereupon I wrote him of my interest in it and expressed the pleasure I would have in having a full talk with him about the general subject. I will be glad to answer any possible questions, now that the committee has decided that I shall state what one dead man said another dead man told him.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. MacVeagh, that decision was reached in view of the peculiar circumstance under which it was introduced here.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes; I understand it. I do not object to it.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was made by the committee with the full knowledge of the rules regulating the production of evidence.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Oh, yes; I know the committee all know the rules or evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. And it seems to me as if in justice to Mr. Welliver that evidence had to be received here.

Mr. MACVEAGH. Yes, and that was quite right.

Senator PAYNTER. There is another reason why the committee has allowed hearsay evidence, as I understand it, and that is because a witness will sometimes give a name of another person——

Mr. MACVEAGH. Wherever you can do that I think you ought to follow that up to the last extremity. What I have been hoping for was that you would uncover every dollar given for political purposes in 1904, 1908, 1912, and let the country have it, but without passing harsh judgment on the gentlemen who simply acted in the spirit of their environment.

Senator POMERENE. By the way, you have referred to the campaigns of 1908 and 1912. Can you give us any information touching campaign contributions during those campaigns?

Mr. MACVEAGH. None at all. I may say to you, gentlemen, that I was a person suspect, as they say in France; and on all those questions I heard very little, indeed.

Senator POMERENE. That is, you were not taken rapturously into their confidence?

Mr. MACVEAGH. No; and everybody knew it that knew me.

Senator OLIVER. I would just like to ask a personal question, as perhaps these gentlemen do not know or the public does not know that your affiliations have not been, as a rule, with the Republican Party for the last 20 or 25 years.

Mr. MACVEAGH. No; my affiliations have been with my country, Senator.

Senator OLIVER. Those two phrases, in my opinion, are not at all irreconcilable.

Mr. MACVEAGH. I know they are not. I am somewhat like my old college mate and friend, Mr. Depew. Mr. Depew at one time saw fit

to leave the Republican Party, against my earnest protestation, and support Mr. Greeley. I do not think he is any worse man for that; he may be worse on other accounts, but I do not think he is on that account, because he wanted what he thought was the good of the country.

I have done that all my life; I have been what is called an independent. I have looked at the situation and sought what was best for the country.

I supported a Democrat for mayor of Philadelphia and helped to elect him at a time when my name was currently mentioned for the office which I afterwards received—the appointment which I afterwards received. We had just carried Pennsylvania and Philadelphia by a large majority for Gen. Garfield for President, and then in February following we elected Mayor King, a Democrat, as mayor, largely—I won't say that—but with my very earnest assistance in every way, and he was a very pronounced Democrat.

But I may say this, in every case of a presidential election—although this will probably be an exception—a majority of the American electorate have agreed with me as to the best man to be President.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mr. MacVeagh.

Mr. MacVeagh was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Depew, we will now hear you.

TESTIMONY OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, FORMER SENATOR OF THE UNITED STATES FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, you were a Member of the United States Senate in 1904?

Mr. DEPEW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a close friend of Mr. Twombly?

Mr. DEPEW. Very intimate. I will state also, in regard to Mr. Twombly, right here—may I?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; certainly.

Mr. DEPEW. Because his name has been brought in so much. Mr. Twombly was a very active man in a great many enterprises, and a great many of his own not connected with railroads or anything else. He was a very public-spirited man, and one of the most intelligent and able men I ever knew. One thing he hated was publicity, in getting his name in the papers. He never wanted any office, never wanted any place; but if he was deeply interested in somebody who wanted anything, as a friend he would do everything in his power, personally, financially, and work as very few men would to bring about that result. The same way if he thought a particular interest; that is, if the election of any particular man to a State office or a city office or in the General Government would be best for the general interests of the country and for the interest in which he was deeply invested, he would do all he could for him.

He lived on the corner of the street a few doors from me, and I saw him very frequently during the whole of his active life.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, when did you enter the Senate?

Mr. DEPEW. I entered the Senate in—let me see—1898, I think, or 1899.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to your entering the Senate you had been more or less intimately associated with interests in New York, primarily the New York Central Railroad?

Mr. DEPEW. I had been in the New York Central Railroad as attorney, counsel, general counsel, vice president, and president up to that time. I was then, I think, retired from the presidency and became chairman of the board.

The CHAIRMAN. During that time, of course, you became more or less intimate with the leading business men of New York City?

Mr. DEPEW. I knew them all intimately.

The CHAIRMAN. And with the exception of the Greeley campaign, I think you have always been active in the Republican politics?

Mr. DEPEW. I stumped the country for Fremont immediately after graduation, and have stumped the country in every presidential campaign since; and in the Greeley canvass, that was a personal matter of Mr. Greeley's.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, I am not discussing that.

Mr. DEPEW. But I will state that I was cured before the election and returned to my allegiance immediately afterwards, and have been a stand-patter ever since.

The CHAIRMAN. And been active?

Mr. DEPEW. Very active.

The CHAIRMAN. And in close touch with the——

Mr. DEPEW. I think I am the dean of the faculty of those who began in 1856 and have continued up to the present time the work. I opened the campaign with a speech in my own State about four weeks ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, referring first to the campaign of 1904, what, if anything, do you know of contributions made to the Republican national campaign committee in that year?

Mr. DEPEW. Well, what I know is mixed with State and National. I was out on the platform nearly the whole of the campaign and seldom in New York, and I might as well tell the whole story——

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that is what the committee desires.

Mr. DEPEW. Yes; I will state in the beginning that I have been a contributor; unlike Mr. MacVeagh, I have been a personal contributor to every campaign during my active political life, except the first three or four years when I was too poor. But since then I have always contributed what I could afford. At the beginning of the campaign of 1904, Gov. Odell, the chairman of our State committee—I having made a speech at Newburgh, which was one of the first, where he lived—stated the difficulties of the State committee at that time, because very little would come in.

The CHAIRMAN. About when was that?

Mr. DEPEW. That was early in the campaign of 1904, and so I contributed what I supposed to be my fair share for the campaign politically, without any regard to any interests.

The CHAIRMAN. To what committee was that contribution?

Mr. DEPEW. That was the State committee.

The CHAIRMAN. And how much was that?

Mr. DEPEW. I gave him \$10,000. I heard nothing more of the subject until, coming home over Sunday, Mr. Twombly called on me

and told me that Mr. Harriman was raising a fund, I think, of \$200,000, he said.

The CHAIRMAN. As you go along if you will give as nearly as you can the time, we would be glad. About when was this time that you came home and met Mr. Twombly?

Mr. DEPEW. That I can not tell. It was some time in October. You see I was 70 years of age, but I was speaking six hours a day and being very healthy under it. He came to see me, and said—I understood him to say—that Mr. Harriman was raising some \$200,000 to go to the national committee, but to be mainly used for the State committee in order to insure success in the State of New York, and he wanted me to contribute something toward it. Now, I have no recollection—I have been trying to find out what I did contribute, and I can not; but if I did anything, it was not over \$10,000.

I will state right here, incidentally, that I never had any conversation with Mr. Harriman on the subject; never met him, though he and I were warm friends. I had no time. Then toward the close of the campaign I was in for another week-end, when Mr. Twombly came to me and said that there was an emergency call for \$40,000 or \$50,000 more—I do not know which—and they were short \$17,000, which he assessed me, and I gave him a check for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the check made directly to Mr. Twombly?

Mr. DEPEW. To Mr. Twombly.

The CHAIRMAN. That made \$37,000, to the best of your recollection?

Mr. DEPEW. Yes; the best of my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Harriman's name mentioned in the last conversation with Mr. Twombly?

Mr. DEPEW. That it was Mr. Harriman who was raising the money.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the time you gave the \$17,000?

Mr. DEPEW. The \$17,000; yes. I gave the other to Mr. Twombly personally. The fact is the money is credited to him. I think he raised it in that way from friends, besides his own personal contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. What, if anything, was said by Mr. Twombly to you on either of these occasions or at any other time during that fall with reference to the senatorial situation?

Mr. DEPEW. There was nothing said in reference to the senatorial situation until long after the election.

The CHAIRMAN. If I recall it correctly (and if not, you can correct it), you were a candidate for reelection?

Mr. DEPEW. I was.

The CHAIRMAN. The winter following the campaign of 1904?

Mr. DEPEW. Yes, sir. Nothing was said to me about the senatorial election until after the election. After the election everybody was for me, but as a seasoned politician of over 40 years at that time, I knew that when everybody was for you was the time to do the hardest work you knew, and so I utilized forty-odd years on the stump in appealing to every friend I had in the State, and also in appealing directly to the members who had been elected to the legislature, and had secured what I thought, independent of everybody personal to myself, a large majority of the legislature. But in the latter part of December Mr. Twombly came to me and said, "I have received a call from a messenger who comes from State headquarters"—I think—whether he mentioned Mr. Harriman or not I do

not remember—"stating that the majority of the State organization have decided that you can not go back to the Senate, but they feel very kindly toward you, and say they will give you the ambassadorship to France, and I am commissioned to carry back the message. Will you take it?" I said, "Under no circumstances. All the ambassadorships in the world are not equal to the dignity and honor of being a Senator of the United States, and I am dead sure of election, and I would not consider the matter for a minute."

The CHAIRMAN. Had you heard this subject of the ambassadorship discussed or broached prior to this time?

Mr. DEPEW. No, sir; that was the first I had ever heard of it.

Senator POMERENE. That was in December?

Mr. DEPEW. That was in the latter part of December. I will state in the end I was unanimously elected, without any opposition. The next that I heard of it was after the 1st of January, after I was elected. Mr. Roosevelt, the President, asked me to come to the White House one evening to discuss New York appointments. My colleague, Senator Platt, as you know, was then very badly invalided, paralyzed and all that, and after the discussion I said to the President, "I want to express my acknowledgments to you for your tender to me of the ambassadorship to France. "Well," he said, "I never tendered it. How do you make that out?" "Well," I said, "I was offered, as I understood, the ambassadorship to France if I would withdraw from the Senatorship." "Well," he said, "if you had withdrawn you would not have got the ambassadorship to France, because I would not have appointed you. I had another man." Now, I have been, to the damage of my own reputation both in politics and business, a joker all my life, but it occurred to me at the time, to be asked to contribute to a fund which, according to the testimony here, was to be mainly used for the motive of which was largely to get me out of the Senate, was quite a serious joke on me.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a general knowledge of Mr. Harriman's business relations?

Mr. DEPEW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course one very large and important affiliation was the railroad affiliation?

Mr. DEPEW. That was his greatest. Mr. Harriman was a very extraordinary man. He was one of those original men who come up but once in a generation. In nine years he went from a very un-influential position in the railroads to the head of the largest railway system in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether any State improvements were being in process, or in contemplation, in the fall of 1904?

Mr. DEPEW. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Especially with reference to canals?

Mr. DEPEW. No, sir; you mean outside of the State of New York?

The CHAIRMAN. No; within the State of New York.

Mr. DEPEW. Oh, yes; we were enlarging the canal.

The CHAIRMAN. Owing to your closer affiliation, perhaps, this would not be so much under your observation; but, in a general way, what was the extent of that enlargement?

Mr. DEPEW. The State bonded itself for \$100,000,000 to make a barge canal, so that the lake traffic could go through the State by the canal without the expensive transshipments to smaller vessels which

the old style of the canal necessitated, and the object was, from the State point of view, to continue to make New York City the metropolis of the country and to carry the products of the West, or to prevent any diversion of the products from the West from that port to any other port.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you happen to know whether that enlargement was carried out, and to what extent it was carried out?

Mr. DEPEW. It is nearly completed.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you happen to recall when that was begun?

Mr. DEPEW. I can not recall that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall whether it was in contemplation in 1904?

Mr. DEPEW. I think it had been voted long before that.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, aside from the contribution you made in 1904, do you know anything of a contribution made by the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. DEPEW. No; I never heard of that except in this testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know of a contribution being made that fall by Mr. Frick?

Mr. DEPEW. I heard of that; yes; I did hear of that, but not from Mr. Frick. I heard it from Mr. Twombly, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, from Mr. Twombly; but relating to Mr. Frick?

Mr. DEPEW. Relating to Mr. Frick. I mean I heard of the Frick contribution from Mr. Twombly.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the amount of that contribution as the information came to you?

Mr. DEPEW. No, sir; I do not think Mr. Twombly stated the amount. I know Mr. Twombly's idea was that Mr. Frick had made this large contribution not on account of the interests that he was so much interested in—I mean the financial interests—as because he had developed a large interest in public affairs that he wished to be personally largely connected with.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know during that fall of any contribution having been made by Mr. Morgan?

Mr. DEPEW. Only by hearsay.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall when or how you heard of that?

Mr. DEPEW. Well, I think whatever I heard of that was from Mr. Twombly. I never had any conversation with Mr. Morgan about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Senator Depew, did you know during the campaign of 1904, or subsequently learn, of contributions made by what is known as the Sugar Trust?

Mr. DEPEW. I never heard of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Or anyone that you would connect in their large business affiliations with the trust?

Mr. DEPEW. No, sir; I never heard of that.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you now that same question, with that statement, with reference to the Tobacco Trust?

Mr. DEPEW. I never heard of that.

The CHAIRMAN. The Steel Trust?

Mr. DEPEW. I never heard of that.

The CHAIRMAN. The Harvester people, or trust?

Mr. DEPEW. I never heard of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know that fall, or learn subsequently, of a contribution made by Mr. George W. Perkins?

Mr. DEPEW. I never heard of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know that fall of contributions made by the insurance companies?

Mr. DEPEW. Only by hearsay.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your source of information as to the insurance company contributions?

Mr. DEPEW. I really could not recall. I had nothing to do with them, I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any fact or circumstance now within your recollection that bears upon or relates to either contributions or expenditures in the campaign of 1904 to which your attention has not been called or about which you have not testified? If so, what are they?

Mr. DEPEW. I remember the chairman of our State committee said that Senator Platt had raised quite a large sum, which he had done for 20 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that relate to the State or national fund?

Mr. DEPEW. I think that was for the State, and he thought it ought to be turned into the State treasury, where it belonged. Whether it was raised for State or national purposes, I do not know.

So I went to see Senator Platt upon the subject, and he did not want to do it, because, he said, he had for 20 years been in the habit of receiving from intimate friends and associates, and all that, this money for political purposes. I knew that to be true. He thought as he was not yet out of politics and that he was a long way from being dead he could do better than any organization. Finally I persuaded him to go with me to the State committee and pay it over. I think it was somewhere between \$60,000 and \$100,000.

The CHAIRMAN. You used an expression a moment ago—"turned over to the State treasury."

Mr. DEPEW. State committee, I mean.

The CHAIRMAN. I assumed that was what you meant. Is there any other circumstance?

Mr. DEPEW. I do not recall any other.

The CHAIRMAN. There has been more or less testimony here pro and con with reference to the candidacy of Gov. Higgins that fall, being somewhat embarrassed by some opposition, which has been referred to, I think, in one or two instances, as a revolt against him or against the management.

Mr. DEPEW. It was generally understood that our State situation was critical, and that it required extra exertions to save the State. That was generally understood. Why, I have forgotten. The fact of the matter is I was not close enough to it; I was out on the platform all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any fact or circumstance bearing on contributions to the congressional campaign of 1904 that you recall?

Mr. DEPEW. I do not recall any. I recall being asked to contribute, and my impression is I did; but I do not recall it.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, it goes without saying, you understand that in these campaigns there is a national committee and then there is a congressional committee.

Mr. DEPEW. I understand so, because all of them have been to me for 40 years.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not certain whether you contributed to the congressional campaign committee in 1904 or not?

Mr. DEPEW. I am not certain. My impression is I did give something, but I do not recall it.

The CHAIRMAN. In the campaign of 1908, do you know anything about contributions made that year to either the national or the congressional campaign committees?

Mr. DEPEW. I know that I contributed, but I do not remember how much.

The CHAIRMAN. To the best of your recollection, what would you put it at?

Mr. DEPEW. You see, my contributions are divided. I will give, say, \$2,500 to the State committee; I will give a certain amount to our New York county committee; I will give a certain amount to the district committee of the district in which I live; and perhaps something to the other committees. I think my contribution that year ran between \$5,000 and \$8,000.

The CHAIRMAN. In regard to the preconvention campaign of this year, 1912, do you know anything about contributions?

Mr. DEPEW. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you were abroad most of the time.

Mr. DEPEW. I was abroad. I did not get home until after the elections. Oh, no; I was at the national convention. I went abroad immediately after the national convention. But I know nothing of any contributions made specifically for that purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make any contribution to the campaign of 1912 prior to the close of the June convention at Chicago, the Republican convention?

Mr. DEPEW. I made a small contribution, I think, at Chicago for the current expenses. It was only \$500.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all you contributed in 1912 prior to the close of that convention?

Mr. DEPEW. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the only one you know of made prior to the close of that convention?

Mr. DEPEW. That is the only one I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Referring to the presidential and congressional campaigns of 1904, to the presidential and congressional campaigns of 1908, and to the preconvention campaigns of 1912, is there any fact or circumstance in your memory bearing upon or relating to contributions or to the use of funds to which you have not testified?

Mr. DEPEW. I can not recall any.

Senator PAYNTER. Senator, do you remember whether at the close of the campaign of 1904 there was a demand by the Republican State committee of New York upon the Republican national committee for funds, because of some assurance the national committee had given the State committee that it would furnish a given amount?

Mr. DEPEW. No; I do not.

Senator PAYNTER. You say you were making speeches most of the time and therefore were away?

Mr. DEPEW. I was making speeches the whole time.

Senator PAYNTER. But you understood from Mr. Twombly that Mr. Harriman was raising money for the national committee?

Mr. DEPEW. I understood he was raising it through the national committee for the State committee. That is what he told me.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Harriman told you?

Mr. DEPEW. No; I never had any conversation with Mr. Harriman on the subject. Mr. Harriman was a very cordial personal friend of mine, but during that canvass I was so little in New York that I never saw him. But Mr. Twombly, being my neighbor, was the medium through which I was communicating.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all I desire to ask you, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. To be a little more specific, did you have any information to the effect that it was claimed the national committee had agreed to give \$5,000 to the State committee?

Mr. DEPEW. I never heard of it.

Senator POMERENE. During the campaign?

Mr. DEPEW. I never heard of it.

Senator POMERENE. I assume, of course, the national committee and the State committee of New York were working in entire harmony during the year 1904.

Mr. DEPEW. I understood that to be so; yes.

Senator POMERENE. And any moneys which would be contributed to or expended by the State committee would necessarily redound to the benefit of both the State ticket and the national ticket.

Mr. DEPEW. Undoubtedly.

Senator POMERENE. And to the congressional ticket as well?

Mr. DEPEW. Undoubtedly.

Senator POMERENE. Likewise, any funds which may have been contributed to the county committees would, to a certain extent, assist—

Mr. DEPEW. Yes.

Senator POMERENE (continuing). The prospects of the State ticket as well as the national ticket?

Mr. DEPEW. Undoubtedly.

Senator POMERENE. Did you ever see the list of contributors to the national campaign fund?

Mr. DEPEW. I never saw that.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any information as to any contributors other than those you have named since you have been on the stand?

Mr. DEPEW. I do not seem to recall any. I may have heard rumors about them at the time, but in the rush of events they passed out of my mind.

Senator POMERENE. You have testified you heard something of the contributions by the insurance companies?

Mr. DEPEW. Yes; I heard it, but only incidentally.

Senator POMERENE. You learned afterwards—during, I imagine, the insurance investigation—that each of three insurance companies, the Equitable, the New York Life, and the Mutual Life, of New York, contributed \$50,000 to that campaign?

Mr. DEPEW. I have forgotten that testimony, but there was testimony in regard to that in that investigation.

Senator POMERENE. Did you know of any contributions by the General Electric Co.?

Mr. DEPEW. No.

Senator POMERENE. I believe you said you knew nothing of contributions, if any, by the sugar interests?

Mr. DEPEW. No.

Senator POMERENE. Some reference has been made to the New York Central system and to the Harriman systems of railroads. All of these various trunk-line systems contributed to the campaign funds of the Republican Party in 1904, did they?

Mr. DEPEW. That I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know which ones of them did?

Mr. DEPEW. No; I do not. These contributions, as I understand, from these gentlemen who were largely interested, like Mr. Harriman, Mr. Twombly, Mr. Morgan, and so forth, were personal.

Senator POMERENE. These large contributions were made, then, by representatives of these large transportation systems?

Mr. DEPEW. Well, they were not made as representatives, I think.

Senator POMERENE. They were made, according to your understanding, in their individual capacity?

Mr. DEPEW. Yes; in their individual capacity.

Senator POMERENE. You would not see very much difference between contributing as a representative of a railroad system and individually, if the individual was largely interested in that railroad system?

Mr. DEPEW. Yes; I would see a great deal of difference.

Senator POMERENE. What, in your opinion, would be the difference between the two?

Mr. DEPEW. If you are closely associated with those gentlemen and could hear them talk in the confidence of personal conversation you would find that the contributions they made were governed by many motives, and not specifically by the interest they had in particular lines of transportation or industry, except in this: If they believed, as they did in 1896, 1900, 1904, and 1908, that a change of the Government would lead to certain policies which would necessarily check industries or stop development or the investment of their funds in new enterprises or reduce the earnings of the lines in which they were interested, they would contribute like taking out an insurance policy, for the benefit of the general interests in which they were involved and their own investments. That was a belief on their part.

Senator POMERENE. Was that the belief, Senator, during the fall of 1904?

Mr. DEPEW. I think there was that belief in 1904. That is to say, if I may be permitted to say so—

Senator POMERENE. Surely, Senator.

Mr. DEPEW. I am not now discussing the tariff or other economical policies, except to say that these are very practical men, and they are not looking ahead as to what will happen if certain economical policies become effective after the revolutions have occurred, which would necessarily occur in industries, before such policy could take effect.

If that policy would be infinitely better after those revolutions, they do not want it, because what they are looking after is to-day, to-morrow, and next year. In other words, they do not want to try the experiment.

Senator POMERENE. It was during this time that a great many of these larger combinations were being formulated?

Mr. DEPEW. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And as practical men they did not want any interference with the formulation of those combinations?

Mr. DEPEW. That is undoubtedly so.

Senator POMERENE. And that largely influenced these financial gentlemen in making their contributions as they did?

Mr. DEPEW. Undoubtedly.

Senator POMERENE. You understood, did you not, that there was a meeting of some few of these gentlemen representing these larger interests at a period prior to the election, looking to the course that they would pursue with reference to it?

Mr. DEPEW. I never heard of that meeting.

Senator POMERENE. It was a matter of common information among the large financial interests that they were to support the Republican national ticket during that campaign.

Mr. DEPEW. My idea is that there was no combination or meeting or conference among them at all. Mr. Bliss, the national treasurer, held a peculiar and unique position that probably no treasurer of a political organization ever did. He was very largely interested himself in the tariff, being one of the biggest manufacturers in his line of cotton goods there was in the United States. He believed that the Republican Party was tariff and that the Democratic Party was tariff for revenue, and that the result would be the destruction of the industries in which he had his entire fortune and future.

He was an exceedingly active man in all sorts of voluntary enterprises, which brought him in contact with all these people. He was a bank director and all that. He knew intimately, personally, all the large financial men in the country. I think he was the medium of communication between them, without telling either what the other did, but expressing his own view, pressing upon that particular man what he thought he ought to do for his own protection.

Senator POMERENE. That is, those who were interested in the maintenance of the tariff system as it then prevailed had confidence in his judgment, so far as political events were concerned?

Mr. DEPEW. That is absolutely it.

Senator POMERENE. And those men who were interested largely in the transportation companies and systems of the country had a similar confidence in Mr. Bliss's acumen?

Mr. DEPEW. Yes. Mr. Bliss presented with great force that any large disturbance of industrial conditions, such as happened, from any cause whatever, during the years 1904, 1905, and 1906, would necessarily lead to less freight going over the railroads and to a general depression in transportation matters.

Senator POMERENE. And the same may also be said as to these business men who were interested in insurance companies of the country?

Mr. DEPEW. The same, I think, on account of the enormous investments they had of about one thousand millions of dollars in industrial securities.

Senator POMERENE. And the same is true also of the large banking houses?

Mr. DEPEW. The same is true.

Senator POMERENE. At that time the question that concerned many of these gentlemen was whether or not the Sherman antitrust law would be enforced?

Mr. DEPEW. I never heard that discussed.

Senator POMERENE. If an effort had been made at that particular time to have enforced the provisions of the Sherman antitrust law would it have interested these gentlemen?

Mr. DEPEW. The Sherman antitrust law was such a vague thing at that time, so little had been done under it, that I do not think any active practical man thought of it.

Senator POMERENE. That is, there had been so little done under it that no one expected anything to be done under it?

Mr. DEPEW. Yes; and a great many doubted whether it could be done.

Senator POMERENE. Did you regard that really as a genuine doubt, or was the wish father of the thought?

Mr. DEPEW. I think that was a genuine doubt. I think most of the lawyers of these great corporations differed so widely as to what the law meant and what could be done under it that their advice to their clients was that nothing practically could ever come of it.

Senator POMERENE. To take up another branch of the inquiry, you have spoken of Mr. Bliss's interest in cotton goods. What companies was he interested in?

Mr. DEPEW. That I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. You simply state the fact he was very largely interested in that line of production.

Mr. DEPEW. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Cotton manufacturers throughout the country were largely interested in seeing to it that there was no interference with the then current tariff rates on cotton manufactures?

Mr. DEPEW. Undoubtedly.

Senator POMERENE. And the same was true with reference to woolen goods.

Mr. DEPEW. I suppose so; yes.

Senator POMERENE. And the same with reference to steel and iron?

Mr. DEPEW. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And sugar?

Mr. DEPEW. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. As a matter of fact, nothing was done with the tariff proposition during the four succeeding years?

Mr. DEPEW. Not until the Payne bill.

Senator POMERENE. That was at the extra session of Congress after President Taft's inauguration?

Mr. DEPEW. Yes. I may say, although I am not interested in any way with the result of the tariff, personally or financially, I have been a believer in it during my whole political career, and am still, and I voted for the Payne bill.

Senator POMERENE. To go back to another matter, Senator, and I refer to it because there has been some reference to it and a good deal of correspondence, etc.; during this campaign you say that Mr. Twombly contributed largely.

Mr. DEPEW. I judge so.

Senator POMERENE. You and he had been lifetime business associates?

Mr. DEPEW. Personal friends and business associates.

Senator POMERENE. And personal friends?

Mr. DEPEW. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any knowledge as to whether there was an effort on his part, or on the part of Mr. Harriman, during the time that these contributions were being collected, to have you sent abroad as an ambassador?

Mr. DEPEW. Only what I have just told, that late in December, after election, Mr. Twombly came to me and said that a messenger had been to him from—I have forgotten now whether the State organization or Mr. Harriman—saying that I would be beaten for Senator, and to let me down easy I could have the ambassadorship to France.

This, as I said, I rejected because I felt absolutely sure of my election, and because I regarded the position of United States Senator as higher than any position in the world except that of President of the United States.

I never heard of it again until talking with President Roosevelt after I was reelected; I thanked him for the offer. He said that if I had given up the Senatorship for the purpose of taking the ambassadorship, I would not have gotten it, for he would not have appointed me, as he had already decided upon another man.

Senator POMERENE. So that, whatever the plans may have been in the minds of certain political powers in New York, and as to certain financial powers, you were not made cognizant of it until your talk with your friend, Mr. Twombly?

Mr. DEPEW. No; I never heard of it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Senator, unless you have something else in kind.

Mr. DEPEW. No; thank you. I am very much obliged to you, gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will take a recess until half past 1.

Thereupon, at 12 o'clock m., the committee took a recess until 1.30 p. m.

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled at the conclusion of the recess, at 1.30 p. m.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Mr. McHarg, you will be sworn.

TESTIMONY OF ORMSBY McHARG, LAWYER, NEW YORK CITY.

Ormsby McHarg, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name, address, and occupation for the record.

Mr. McHARG. Ormsby McHarg, 115 Broadway, New York City, lawyer.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McHarg, you were interested or active in the preconvention campaign of 1912 in behalf of Col. Roosevelt's nomination, were you not?

Mr. McHARG. I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you charge of any distinctive part of the campaign?

Mr. McHARG. When the campaign commenced, Mr. Chairman—rather I should put it this way: Rather before there was any campaign in the matter, friends with whom I had been associated in politics for a number of years, asked me to make a preliminary survey of the country for the sole purpose of determining what the sentiment was in the country.

That commenced at the time the national committee met here—I have forgotten whether it was the last of November or the early part of December—at least, whenever that was. And starting with that, without any knowledge on the part of Col. Roosevelt, I made an examination of the situation in the country and reported my conclusions to the men, as I have said, with whom I had talked before I started. Then, after that—oh, commencing along in the middle of January—my activities ceased for a period of a month or six weeks.

The attitude we took when the thing started was that it was only fair to those of us who expected that we would find a certain condition of sentiment, to sort, I say, of feel the thing out; and it was for that purpose that the wait was made then, the wait of a month or six weeks, to see what it was.

As I said before, and I think this is a point that ought to be made clear, at least from my standpoint—this was done without the knowledge, so far as I knew, of Col. Roosevelt. It was a matter in which we were interested, and that was the means of getting pretty much in touch with the sentiment of the country. I traveled a good deal over it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McHarg, after this interval were your activities resumed?

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Along what lines?

Mr. McHARG. Then when the headquarters were opened here in Washington, or probably shortly after they were opened—I do not remember the date; I have had no occasion to refresh my memory—a meeting of Roosevelt's friends was held in New York City, and they then asked me if I would not resume activities.

I do not know whether this appears in the record, but I am told that Senator Dixon testified the other day that he hired me to enter the service of Col. Roosevelt.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not recall any such statement.

Mr. McHARG. I want to say I want that disputed; or, rather, I want to dispute that very emphatically, because when the term "hire" is used, compensation is considered.

Nobody hired me to enter the service of Col. Roosevelt at any time, and I have never at any time received one penny of compensation. I want that made clear.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think Senator Dixon used any such expression.

Mr. McHARG. I want that understood. I do not know that it is. It is fair to Senator Dixon, if he did not say it, that it should be made clear now.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not recall it. Now, first, do you know anything about contributions that were made to Col. Roosevelt's pre-convention campaign? This inquiry includes up to the time and including the convention at which he was nominated.

Mr. McHARG. I simply know this, that up to the time that my activities were resumed, which, as nearly as I can place it, was sometime in the early part of April, there had been no occasion for any contributions.

The attitude we took in the matter was this, that it would be perfectly idle to talk about spending money or to use influence. There either was a sentiment in the country for Col. Roosevelt or there was not. Then some of us, without his consent, made representations that we thought if a proper condition was brought to his attention in the country, and he was advised as to what the sentiment was in the country, that he would be compelled to consent to become a candidate. I know this is the line I proceeded on. And I want to say frankly that in the first trip I made I bore my own expenses. I not only gave my time, but bore my own expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. But, Mr. McHarg—

Mr. McHARG. I am coming to the question of contributions. I know nothing at all about any contributions that were made for that purpose. I bore my own expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. Down to and including our inquiry here covers the prenominating expenses or the preconvention expenses, which, in the colonel's case, would be the convention which finally nominated him. Do you know anything of contributions being made in his behalf during that time?

Mr. McHARG. I only know that as I know a lot of things. I know that half a fact when attached to half of another fact somewhere else makes possible a transaction. I know that Mr. Perkins contributed to the campaign. I know it was reported that Mr. Pinchot had; but the general impression that I had was that Mr. Pinchot was bearing his own expenses as he went about.

There were books of account kept, as I understand, by a man named Capt. Gregory, who has just resigned from the Diplomatic Service. He was the man who had charge of the books here, and there were banks here where they made deposits. I presume his books could be procured.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you if you know anything of contributions that were made to the colonel's preconvention campaign?

Mr. McHARG. I say frankly I do not. If you ask me if I knew of any particular fact, I would say no.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, about when did you say you resumed activities?

Mr. McHARG. I judge it must have been about the first week in April, as nearly as I can remember. I had no occasion to remember.

The CHAIRMAN. And you remained in touch with the movement down to and including the first Chicago convention?

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The convention held there in June?

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In a general way, tell the committee where your activities were manifested during that time, what part of the country, what States you went into, if you can recall them?

Mr. McHARG. I presume I was in every State in the South, except Virginia and Texas. I was also in the Western States. While I am speaking of the Western States, I presume I should say that there were no activities on my part; I simply having occasion to pass through them, perhaps more for getting in touch with the situation than anything else.

My activities generally, I might say, were confined to the South; every State, I should say, in the South except Virginia and Texas. I was in every other Southern State.

The CHAIRMAN. Along what line of work more particularly, if any?

Mr. McHARG. When the campaign first started I outlined to the gentlemen who were interested in Col. Roosevelt's candidacy the manner in which I thought would be the proper way to handle what we call the southern situation. I had been in the campaign four years before on a similar mission, and I outlined an exhaustive campaign for getting the delegates in the Southern States. It went down to the point of going into the very precincts. I was satisfied, as I say, that the sentiment was there, and it was simply the means—it was necessary to talk to the leaders in each locality and get them to bring out the local candidates, who in turn would get out the local vote.

I might take an hour to tell you the details of that, but it is what is familiar to every man who has had any experience in practical politics. It goes down to the precinct organizations.

That plan was abandoned. I do not know what the reason was, but it was abandoned. That plan was submitted as a part of the preliminary examination of the South which I said took place sometime along in the early part of January.

That plan, having been abandoned, then the next thing I had to do was—they asked me if I would not take charge of the same situation in the South, and then the question came up of making a very short, quick campaign for the delegates. Some of them had been chosen. A good many delegates had been illegally chosen, as I believed, particularly in the case of Georgia. I got the advice of the city attorney of the city of Atlanta, whose name I can not remember now—I think it is something like Mason. I went to him—I want to call your attention to the fact that I first inquired as to his standing as a lawyer. I found out that he was one of the best lawyers in the State of Georgia—at least was so reputed in Atlanta—and I submitted the question of their own statutes in Georgia to him, and he gave me as his opinion, in the presence of a man named Tillson, who is a brother of Congressman Tillson of Connecticut, that no delegates could be legally chosen in Georgia at the time the Taft delegates were chosen. After considering the matter in the council of the Roosevelt supporters in Georgia, it was decided that if that convention was illegal we had a perfect right to call a new convention throughout the State, which was done.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you an account of your disbursements after you resumed these activities?

Mr. McHARG. No; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you, in your mind, an approximation of what they were?

Mr. McHARG. I can state the entire outside figure of the cost throughout the entire campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that?

Mr. McHARG. It was somewhere between \$25,000 and \$30,000—the total cost in all these States.

The CHAIRMAN. And from whom did you receive that?

Mr. McHARG. I would go to the man who had charge of the accounts here in Washington, Capt. Gregory, and would receipt for money, and drafts were sent from here, and some money was telegraphed. The only dealing I had throughout any of these States was with local attorneys. I think I could remember the names of most of them, but the sum that each one got was comparatively insignificant, and was intended for the purpose of bearing the——

The CHAIRMAN. And you think that total expense was about \$20,000?

Mr. McHARG. Not to exceed \$30,000; I think it would be nearer \$25,000. That covered my own traveling expenses and everything of the kind.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that question, or your answer, rather, to the question, or your understanding of the question, cover down to and after the close, or after the first Chicago convention?

Mr. McHARG. Absolutely the whole thing. It covers all my traveling expenses and everything else.

The CHAIRMAN. All your expenditures?

Mr. McHARG. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. And were any expenditures made in an effort to get these delegates from the South, other than made by yourself, and of which you have knowledge?

Mr. McHARG. Why, I do not know. Of course, Mr. Chairman, I can only testify that I do not know of any except——

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I am asking you.

Mr. McHARG. Except as certain men came sometimes up here to the headquarters and talked to Senator Dixon. Senator Dixon had charge of the situation in North Carolina. North Carolina is the place of his birth, and it was a matter of personal pride with him. He handled the situation there. There was no one else who went into the South except Senator Dixon and myself.

Mr. Chairman, I may say this, that there are others who traveled through the South and who came back simply reporting information that they had received. There were people that I heard afterward—in fact, newspaper accounts gave the names of the individuals who had traveled there. I do not know whether it was a voluntary matter on their part or whether friends in New York had gotten them to do that. I simply say I did not know they were there at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. What part of this \$25,000, if any, was used toward paying the expenses of delegates to Chicago?

Mr. McHARG. Not a penny. Not a penny. As I said, every dollar of that went to lawyers—to a lawyer in each State.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, was any part paid out for the expenses of delegates to local conventions?

Mr. McHARG. That is to say that any particular amount that might be sent to somebody, say, at Atlanta, Ga., whether he would expend any portion of that for delegates there, I do not know. I would simply say I do not know that there was any more than enough money sent to any one of those places to bear what we are apt to

term the legitimate expenses of printing and having to rent halls. This thing extended all over the State. I presume altogether there might have been \$2,500 sent to the State, which would cover the whole State of Georgia. I do not know how many counties there are in the State, but close to 100.

The CHAIRMAN. Sent by you or somebody else?

Mr. McHARG. Sent by me, and some sent by Senator Dixon. I speak of one amount that went there as the total amount in the State. If I am not mistaken, I telegraphed for money once to Atlanta, Ga., from here; but the total amount in the State of Georgia, to my knowledge, and I do not think there was another penny sent there, would be met by saying \$2,500.

The CHAIRMAN. How much, if any, was expended in paying the expenses of delegates at Chicago?

Mr. McHARG. Well, I know nothing about that.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you now what you know.

Mr. McHARG. Not a thing. I do not know a thing about it. I never heard that any money was spent for delegates to the convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you have no knowledge, either through your own disbursing of funds or otherwise, of any being paid for the expenses of delegates, either going to Chicago or at Chicago?

Mr. McHARG. No. My own personal expenses were charged at the hotel in Chicago and paid afterwards by the people who bore the expenses. I do not know even who paid that.

The CHAIRMAN. What efforts do you know, if any, either in your own activities or by any repute, were made to influence the delegates at Chicago?

Mr. McHARG. I do not know anything about that. Men do not discuss that subject with me. I know nothing about that. I have seen stuff in the newspapers, and I understand there is an affidavit presented in the Senate that bore somewhat upon that. It is too idle to discuss. I say men do not discuss that kind of subject with me.

The CHAIRMAN. And you know nothing of that?

Mr. McHARG. Nothing at all. My training in politics is that it does not either pay to lie or buy. I do not know of either one being done, as far as I am concerned, in the Roosevelt campaign. There were charges and countercharges made there, and knowing the men whom the charges were made against, as I have heard them repeated, I have, as a friend ought to, taken the part of the men.

The CHAIRMAN. When the colonel was on the stand he read a letter from you marked "Exhibit R-5," page 484 of the record. Look it over and see what you have to say about it.

Mr. McHARG (referring to the letter). I assume this is the letter I saw printed in the New York papers.

The CHAIRMAN. We are speaking now of the record; we want to have you identify it by the record, of course.

Mr. McHARG. The first letter, Exhibit R-4, I recognize as the substance, at least—and I think it is all—of the letter that he wrote me, and the Exhibit R-5 is the answer.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your answer to him?

Mr. McHARG. My answer to that letter. I would like to examine Col. Roosevelt's testimony preceding that. If the newspaper report of the matter is as it appears here, I think an explanation should be made of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Look over the record and make any statement you desire to make regarding it.

Mr. McHARG. It appears here that Col. Roosevelt uses this language; this is the quotation:

And the only time I saw it charged that such an effort had been made by any specific man was with relation to Mr. Ormsby McHarg.

Col. Roosevelt's letter recites the fact that some one called on him. I think that if any statement were made in the public prints that I would have seen, and I want that emphasized because I talked with Col. Roosevelt about it, and in fact Mr. Oscar Straus happened to see me one day and he said that the stories were around that somebody was trying to create sentiment for Col. Roosevelt by spending money, and he said: "Now, I have understood that you were around the country. I hope that you have not seen fit to try to create sentiment by the expenditure of money."

I said, "Mr. Straus, the attitude we have taken in this matter is it would only be misleading ourselves if we tried to create some fictitious sentiment." I said, "You can rest assured that no money has been spent for any such purpose," and I do not know whether it was he that spoke to Col. Roosevelt or not. The point I make is that it was a matter where there was extra caution in that connection.

The CHAIRMAN. Now is there any fact or circumstances connected with or related to either contribution to or the expenditure of campaign funds in the preliminary campaign of Col. Roosevelt this year to which your attention has not been called, or which you have not testified to, that you now recall? You may make a statement about that.

Mr. McHARG. Mr. Chairman, I want to assume this position to the committee. I am a lawyer. I am accustomed to having men impose confidence in me and I respect that confidence. I am not going to be in the attitude of volunteering anything to the committee, while I am not a reluctant witness in the sense of being recalcitrant. That is the attitude I want to assume. I want to answer any question that is asked me. If I were to volunteer and talk about this thing I might be considered something of a cad, and if I am at all reluctant, I have a terrible secret to cover. I have no secrets, and I would like to have the committee ask me anything they want to. That is the position I want to take before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. After a man has taken an oath to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and then is asked by the examining board, whatever it may be, whether there is anything he knows bearing on the subject, he could hardly be called a cad if in response to that inquiry he stated anything that he did know, could he?

Mr. McHARG. Well, I may differ with possibly the chairman and the whole committee as to the scope of this inquiry. I feel that if there was any wrong that had been done anywhere it would be my duty to volunteer on the stand any statement of that wrong. If no wrong has been done anywhere, I would feel that it would be in the attitude of suggesting and volunteering. I know of no wrong done. I know of nothing that is dishonorable having been done in this campaign, and anything that I might say, branching out into this subject, would be a poor contribution to the literature of the day. I

would sooner be in the attitude of saying I know nothing at all about this matter except in this general line that I have suggested. I went into this campaign voluntarily. My judgment was not influenced at any time, myself. As I have said, my services were free. I do not accept money for my political services. I think my judgment would be warped, and I think for that reason I was asked to do what I did because I do not fool myself if I can help it, and I went into this thing in a perfectly frank and candid way without doing anything that I would be ashamed to talk about, and lots of the incidents were possibly lost sight of in the whole campaign. We had an animated campaign, and as I say, I was moved back and forth over the country and held conferences at different places and suggested how things ought to be done in this place or the other, and aside from that it is just a general sort of thing with me. If I could think of any suggestion having been made to me that was wrong, or in violation of any law, local or national, I would feel it my duty to bring that to the committee's attention. Aside from that, it is a general sort of proposition with me.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. McHarg, without entering into a debate on the subject, it may suggest itself that the committee has no way of inquiring of you of any fact that is not first brought to the attention of the committee, and if you have possession of such a fact, it seems to me that under the oath of a witness, and the request of the committee, it is your duty to give it to the committee.

Mr. McHARG. I say, frankly, nothing occurs to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Then say so.

Mr. McHARG. I did say so, Mr. Chairman. I said it is a general situation with me. If I were to start in and tell everything I did from the time the campaign started until we got through, I do not know what I would be talking about most of the time except general conversations that took place.

The CHAIRMAN. If you confined yourself to the scope of the inquiry, you would be talking about contributions or else about nothing.

Mr. McHARG. I say frankly that not one soul contributed a penny to me. What money I drew was through the committee here. I sent money to lawyers in different States. I think, as I have said before, I could name most of them, and they handled the local situation. Not one penny was spent to influence local sentiment. It was sent there simply to pay expenses locally of holding these conventions. That is the whole thing, and all I do know about it.

The CHAIRMAN. In dealing with that question did you deal with it by States?

Mr. McHARG. That is the only way you could deal with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you recall who the man was in Virginia, if you had a man there?

Mr. McHARG. As I say, Virginia was handled here locally through the office here.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in North Carolina. Did you have any there?

Mr. McHARG. No, sir; I said Senator Dixon handled North Carolina.

The CHAIRMAN. In South Carolina?

Mr. McHARG. Senator Dixon had formed a connection with a colored man there by the name of, if I remember it, W. T. Andrews, a negro lawyer at Sumter, S. C., as I remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send money to him?

Mr. McHARG. Hold on. I gave him \$150. As I remember I think Senator Dixon told me himself that with what I had given him and what he had given him, it made a total, I think of about \$500 or \$600 for the State of South Carolina. It seems the conventions were held early down there, and it is the negro vote that very much predominates in that State, and it seems to have been for Col. Roosevelt from the beginning, as near as I can tell.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the man in Georgia?

Mr. McHARG. A man by the name of W. J. Tilson. He is a brother of Congressman Tilson of Connecticut.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he live?

Mr. McHARG. He lives in Atlanta, Ga. I think his office is in the Atlanta National Bank Building.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in Florida?

Mr. McHARG. In Florida a man by the name of H. L. Anderson, a very prominent lawyer in Jacksonville. He is an old Indiana Republican and has been living there for years. He is a very high class man.

The CHAIRMAN. In Alabama?

Mr. McHARG. In Alabama, that is Oscar R. Hundley, of Birmingham; he and J. O. Thompson, of Birmingham, handled the whole situation in Alabama, so far as I know.

Senator POMERENE. Did you say J. O.?

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In Louisiana?

Mr. McHARG. They took care of themselves down there. The Republican organization down there is made up of very rich men—men like Frank B. Williams and Pearl Wight, old national committeemen. They are very rich men, and they handled the matter themselves. I was in New Orleans, though.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send funds to anyone in Louisiana?

Mr. McHARG. Not a penny, to my knowledge. I know I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Who in Mississippi?

Mr. McHARG. There were two colored men there—W. E. Mollison, of Vicksburg, a very able negro lawyer there, and the other, the money was sent to another negro over at Jacksonville, S. D. Redmond, a very able negro lawyer there.

The CHAIRMAN. Who in Tennessee?

Mr. McHARG. Let me see; I know him very well—H. B. Lindsay. I should say this for Judge Lindsay, that he is a very busy lawyer and took this matter up very reluctantly and said he could not give the time to it that the cause required there. I do not know whether anyone else there contributed anything. W. J. Oliver, of Knoxville, I know has been an ardent Roosevelt man, and I think he and Judge Lindsay very likely handled the matter for that State. That is in the eastern end of the State. So far as the western end of the State was concerned, as I remember it now, the whole situation was so confused that nobody attempted to do anything about it. They had two or three sets of delegates there locally and were fighting around.

The CHAIRMAN. In Kentucky?

Mr. McHARG. I did not spend any money in Kentucky, but money was sent there from time to time, I think, by Senator Dixon from here. I know they found considerable fault because we could not send more. But the situation generally, so far as my dealing with Kentucky is concerned, was handled by Judge O'Rear, who had been a former justice of the court of appeals in the State, and the Republican candidate for governor, I think, the year before.

The CHAIRMAN. In Arkansas?

Mr. McHARG. In Arkansas a man by the name of J. A. Comer.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. McHARG. He lives at Little Rock; a lawyer there.

The CHAIRMAN. In Texas?

Mr. McHARG. I had no dealings in Texas, as I said.

The CHAIRMAN. In Oklahoma?

Mr. McHARG. In Oklahoma there was a contest from only one district. I have forgotten the name of the lawyer who handled it. As I recollect now, his name was Davidson, but I could not say for certain. I did not know him.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you include New Mexico and Arizona in your territory?

Mr. McHARG. Not at all. They have very complete Republican organizations in both of those States. A contest came up from Arizona, and there was an expense in Chicago in the way of printing briefs and things of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. After going over these respective States, could you state approximately what was sent to any of these men; and if so, how much was sent and to what men?

Mr. McHARG. I would say that to Florida there might have been not to exceed \$2,500.

In South Carolina, all I know is what I sent there myself—\$150. Then Senator Dixon tells me that with what he sent it would make five or six hundred dollars all together.

In Alabama not to exceed \$2,500, I think.

In Mississippi, as I remember it, about the same.

In Arkansas about the same.

In Tennessee, as I remember now, the total expense in that State was something like \$7,500 or \$8,000.

In Kentucky, so far as I know, there was not more than a thousand dollars sent there.

In Oklahoma, likely, about \$3,000.

In Virginia I do not think there was to exceed a thousand dollars spent.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you anything to do in West Virginia?

Mr. McHARG. Not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. In Maryland?

Mr. McHARG. No. There were complete Republican organizations there, and in States like that they took care of matters themselves. If they got anything from Senator Dixon, I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not active in the political campaign in 1904?

Mr. McHARG. No; not in the East.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you in touch with the national committee in the campaign of 1908?

Mr. McHARG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the contributions that were made that year?

Mr. McHARG. No; only as I would hear them discussed, in a general way. I had no intimate knowledge at all.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. McHarg, you spoke at the outset to the effect that your activity was in finding out the sentiment of the country. When did that begin?

Mr. McHARG. Immediately following the meeting of the national committee.

Senator OLIVER. That was along in December?

Mr. McHARG. I could not say, Senator; I do not remember the date.

Senator OLIVER. The meeting of the national committee was held in December.

Mr. McHARG. As I remember it, it was the latter part of November or early in December.

Senator OLIVER. With whom did you consult with regard to that trip?

Mr. McHARG. Mr. William A. Ward, of New York State, who is the national committeeman there, has been a very warm friend of mine for years, a man whom I admire very much. He asked me, as a personal favor, to do this, and it was done entirely for him.

Senator OLIVER. Entirely for him?

Mr. McHARG. Yes. When I say "for him," I mean at his request.

Senator OLIVER. Prior to that time, and in reality during that period and for some months afterwards, the Progressives of the country had centered on Senator La Follette as their candidate for President, had they not?

Mr. McHARG. Not being a Progressive that was not—except I know it was a matter of common knowledge. I knew the men who were supporting him, too.

Senator OLIVER. It is a fact, is it not, that he was an active candidate and that a great many of the men who afterwards supported Col. Roosevelt were then supporting Senator La Follette?

Mr. McHARG. Oh, yes; that is a matter of common knowledge.

Senator OLIVER. Do you know anything of the circumstances under which this situation was shifted from Senator La Follette to Col. Roosevelt?

Mr. McHARG. I know it was shifted, and I personally attended meetings where the matter was under consideration. I do not know whether I was one of the juniors whose advice was asked in the matter. I know I contributed my advice. I said I was familiar with the conditions in the country and that, as the matter stood at that time, I thought the men who were supporting Senator La Follette, who indicated in some of these conferences a disposition to change, that it would be very injurious to Col. Roosevelt. I was advocating the case from Col. Roosevelt's standpoint, and I was opposed to the thing being done.

All I know is that they did change. I told them then—I gave as my reason for it—that they would be charged with treachery, and that it would be charged up to Col. Roosevelt. I said this whole thing would ultimately go to the head for the responsibility; and that, so far as I knew, Col. Roosevelt had no hand in the matter.

As to whether he had or not, that is a matter about which I know nothing. But I simply know that at that time I thought Mr. Ward and I were competent to take care of Col. Roosevelt's interest in the preliminary stage, and I opposed very rigorously any changing over.

Senator OLIVER. Neither Mr. Ward nor you had been a supporter of Senator La Follette, as I understand it?

Mr. McHARG. Oh, no.

Senator OLIVER. Who were present at this conference or this talk?

Mr. McHARG. Mr. Brown, of Ohio, who is supporting Col. Roosevelt now. If I am not mistaken, he was the State chairman of Ohio. I think Mr. D. R. Hanna was at the meeting. I think they were there together. Those are the only ones whose names, right off-handed, I remember now.

Senator OLIVER. About how many people were at the meeting?

Mr. McHARG. There were five or six present, as I remember it. It is possible that Mr. Munsey was at the meeting.

Senator OLIVER. Where was the meeting held?

Mr. McHARG. It was held, as I remember it now, at the Manhattan Hotel. That was a sort of rendezvous.

Senator OLIVER. Was there any talk about finances at this meeting?

Mr. McHARG. No; nothing at all.

Senator OLIVER. Was Mr. George W. Perkins at the meeting?

Mr. McHARG. He might have been. All I remember is, as I say, that the matter came up in conference, and that the issue was presented.

Senator OLIVER. About when was this meeting held?

Mr. McHARG. Some time during the month of November, I would say. If I remember it correctly now, it was the early part of November; but I would not attempt to say, for I have no memorandum to aid me in fixing the date. The only relation it would bear is when we got later in the campaign, when we got down here at Washington, the attitude of Senator La Follette toward Col. Roosevelt's candidacy became very acute. The matter was brought up then, and I simply reminded some of the men of the attitude some of us had taken at that time. I think, without doubt, it affected the expense of the campaign materially; I do not know to what extent, though.

As I say, I think it is perfectly proper to say that, so far as I know, or so far as I have ever heard, Col. Roosevelt himself had nothing whatever to do with the matter.

Senator OLIVER. You have already said that, I believe.

Mr. McHARG. Yes; I wanted to make it emphatic.

Senator POMERENE. Nothing to do with what?

Mr. McHARG. Nothing to do with any campaign to switch the sentiment away from Senator La Follette to himself.

Senator OLIVER. This letter that you wrote to Col. Roosevelt on the 5th of March, wherein you state that no promise was made, of money or patronage, in return for support—that was prior to your later activities?

Mr. McHARG. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. Your real activity was in behalf of his delegates?

Mr. McHARG. Yes; in the spring.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. McHarg, what did you do in these different Southern States? What was the method of operation?

Mr. McHARG. The first thing—as I say, the only way you can contest for delegates is to have a real organization that is fighting against what was facetiously characterized four years ago, before the national committee, as a case of the “outs” against the “ins.” The Federal crowd, so to speak, are very strongly entrenched in the South, and it takes considerable of an effort to get anything at all like a hearing on the part of the people who are on the outside. It takes money, and, more than that, it takes a lot of nerve.

The men on the outside are generally pretty good fighters, because it is a case of them trying to get in; not a great deal of merit on either side. The people who are in attempt to justify themselves before the national committee on the ground of regularity.

They have such arrangements, for instance, as this: In the State of Alabama the people who are regulars have the chairman and secretary. They will pass a resolution that, in case any vacancies occur, the chairman shall fill those vacancies constituting the committee.

Senator POMERENE. They are around the pie counter?

Mr. McHARG. Yes; good fellows, though. I am only characterizing the situation.

Senator OLIVER. That is not peculiar to Alabama or the Southern States?

Mr. McHARG. No.

Senator OLIVER. It was operated with very great effect in the State of Washington, was it not?

Mr. McHARG. Yes; it was done all over.

Senator OLIVER. In the preconvention campaign?

Mr. McHARG. Yes. As I say, the fellows who are in on the inside, when they present themselves before the national committee insist that they are regulars. They come up with prima facie credentials, which they think entitle them to a seat.

The other fellows on the outside in a good many instances have to run the gauntlet, as over in Arkansas, of constables selected to guard the doors. Men go away, having had the cold steel shoved up against them, and in some instances having been hit over the head, sometimes with revolvers and sometimes with clubs, and that sort of thing.

Senator OLIVER. The usual course, then, is for the insiders to hold the convention?

Mr. McHARG. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. And the outsiders try to hold another one?

Mr. McHARG. No. Here is what happens: Under the language of the call of the national convention, when more than the requisite number of delegates are certified from a district or the State at large, a contest is deemed a necessity. These men meet there, and it becomes, to them at least, an honest controversy as to who are entitled to a seat and who shall be kept out. The fellows who are kept out say they are just as much in the right as the others, and sometimes they hold a convention in some hall; sometimes they have a theater, and two sets of credentials are sent up. And I say to you frankly, Senator, that one is as much entitled to consideration as the other.

I have taken a very pronounced view of that. I did it four years go. When a gentleman from your own State in the Republican national convention sought to cut down Southern representatives he did what was right, and the convention voted it down. You are going to have that thing coming back in your face as often as you hold

a convention. It brings a reproach on decent men. A man can not move in the South in a presidential campaign without charges being hurled after him that he is going down to buy somebody. Decent men do not know how to look at it, except as a serious situation, and they are not helped very much.

Senator OLIVER. Then your message, or your errand down there, was to convince the so-called outsiders that they were in the right?

Mr. McHARG. To encourage the people who were fighting Mr. Taft. Just to illustrate, there was a State down there where I was satisfied myself the sentiment was strongly for Col. Roosevelt. There were certain other States where I did not have a chance to know about the sentiment, which presented a legal situation, as over in Georgia, where a lot of trumped-up contests were sent to Chicago.

In the case of Louisiana, to illustrate, there were three sets of delegates sent from there. The smaller the vote in the State, the more delegates, the more contestants. It is a notorious fact that one district in Louisiana polled 13 votes for a Republican Congressman two years ago, and they had 12 of those men at Chicago to get seats.

Senator OLIVER. What became of the thirteenth man?

Mr. McHARG. There had to be somebody there to keep house, I presume.

The same thing over in Florida. It presents a ridiculous situation, and to talk about it is only to make one ridiculous.

Senator OLIVER. Senator Dixon testified that no books were kept at the Washington headquarters. You spoke of Capt. Gregory. Did he keep a set of books?

Mr. McHARG. All I know is that he was the treasurer and transacted business with different banks here. I do not know what banks they were. I assume he kept books from the fact that he was the treasurer. He is a very honorable man and I am sure he would not transact business except in the most careful and painstaking way.

Senator OLIVER. Did he have a clerical force there?

Mr. McHARG. There was no need of a clerical force.

Senator PAYNTER. You were talking about insiders and outsiders of the convention. The insiders usually remain on the inside of the hall, I suppose?

Mr. McHARG. They try to.

Senator PAYNTER. And the outsiders generally went on the outside.

Mr. McHARG. It covered them. It is a case of physical endeavor before they get through.

Senator PAYNTER. You were using the terms "insiders" as applied to those in the office who were in sympathy with those who were in, and the outsiders as those who were out but wanted to get in?

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. There is some statement made by a Senator on the floor of the Senate—I have forgotten whom it was—referring to some affidavits made with reference to an effort made to influence some delegates, I think, from Mississippi. You may have seen some account of it in the paper. I do not remember the names.

Mr. McHARG. You mean at the Chicago convention?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes. Somebody made a statement on the floor of the Senate and produced some affidavits that some delegates or gentlemen who wanted to be delegates—no; who were delegates. I

think, from Mississippi to the Republican national convention. Do you recall anything of that kind?

Mr. McHARG. I remember at Chicago that that was the way the newspapers opened up each morning. They charged Senator Dixon with buying delegates, and then they charged Mr. McKinley with buying delegates. I do not believe anybody believed either yarn. I am very positive I did not. It was a condition that they hoped would produce, I do not know what—something favorable, I should think, was the idea of the party who started the yarn.

Senator, I have been in national politics for quite a while, and I have very good eyesight and very good hearing, and I have never seen a dollar handed to a man in my life, and I have never heard of one offered to a man in my life. That is the situation.

Here is the situation in the South. Most of the negro delegates chosen down there are poor men. They contribute some very able campaigners in the North, during the campaign, and the expenses of these men are usually borne to the convention. Now, I do not know anything about the venality of the colored delegates. I do not know that they expect to have their expenses borne, but I know it was done four years ago. I say I know it was done; I know it was a matter of common knowledge that it was done. I do not know who did it; I can not say positively it was done; but it is simply an institution.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. McHarg, did any of the delegates who were selected as Roosevelt delegates, or any of those who were selected as Taft delegates change their positions in the convention, or disobey the instructions which they had received from the conventions or the primaries that sent them to Chicago?

Mr. McHARG. That charge has been made with reference to certain Mississippi delegates, and, as a matter of fact, the men were elected in both conventions in the case of three or four. They were picked out by the regular Republican organization, because no negro could go to the convention from those States, unless those particular ones were recognized; but they were known to be Roosevelt supporters, and they also went there as——

Senator PAYNTER. But were selected as Taft delegates?

Mr. McHARG. Both, in both conventions. In the case of Mississippi, I think there were three or four delegates chosen in both conventions.

Senator PAYNTER. They felt free then to vote for whom they pleased?

Mr. McHARG. I assume so.

Senator PAYNTER. Was there any trouble of that kind from any other Southern States?

Mr. McHARG. I understand so. I do not know how they voted in the convention, but there was talk of a change of delegates in South Carolina and also in Georgia. The newspapers reported a month or so before the convention that three or four, and possibly more delegates from South Carolina would change. They said—well, I can not say just what the newspaper article said; I have only that for it, but they announced these delegates as having been formerly for Mr. Taft, but that they were going to support Mr. Roosevelt.

Senator PAYNTER. I believe I saw an announcement of that sort in the papers.

Mr. McHARG. The same thing occurred in Alabama. There were white men who were elected, I presume, to support Mr. Taft, who announced that they were not going to support him.

Senator PAYNTER. Did they ultimately vote for Mr. Roosevelt?

Mr. McHARG. I think in the case of Alabama one or two of the delegates did vote for him.

Senator PAYNTER. And in Georgia did anybody elected as a Taft delegate vote for Mr. Roosevelt, or anyone elected as a Roosevelt delegate vote for Mr. Taft?

Mr. McHARG. I do not know that, I am sure.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you know any of the delegates from Georgia?

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Can you recall the names of any of them from Georgia—the names of any persons who were delegates?

Mr. McHARG. If I saw the list, I could identify some of them by name.

Senator PAYNTER. Are you able to recall a man by the name of Clark Greer?

Mr. McHARG. Yes; I know Clark Greer.

Senator PAYNTER. Is he a white man or a colored man?

Mr. McHARG. A white man.

Senator PAYNTER. Whom did he vote for at the convention?

Mr. McHARG. All I know is that one Sunday morning—I think the Sunday morning before the convention convened—he gave out a statement that he and three or four others were going to support Col. Roosevelt. I did not attend any of the sessions of the convention, and I do not know how he finally voted. But I know that announcement was made.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know whether he had been selected by Mr. Taft's friends in some convention?

Mr. McHARG. He had been chosen as a Taft delegate. His wife is a postmistress down there.

Senator PAYNTER. So he announced his purpose to vote for Mr. Roosevelt?

Mr. McHARG. Yes. That, I remember, appeared the Sunday before the convention.

Senator PAYNTER. But you do not know how he did vote?

Mr. McHARG. No; I do not.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. McHarg, were you active in Col. Roosevelt's behalf after the date of the letter which has been referred to here?

Mr. McHARG. Yes. I say there was a period of from a month to six weeks, terminating along, I should think, about the early part of April, when they asked me to come over to headquarters here.

Senator POMERENE. You stated in answer to a question which was put to you with reference to the La Follette campaign that you were not a Progressive?

Mr. McHARG. No; I have never been so considered.

Senator POMERENE. Are you supporting Roosevelt now?

Mr. McHARG. Oh, no; I am a regular Republican now.

Senator POMERENE. How is that?

Mr. McHARG. I am a regular Republican now.

Senator POMERENE. That is, since the first Chicago convention?

Mr. McHARG. All the time. I have never been anything but a Republican all my life. I am disposed to be rather proud of the fact that I have always been a regular.

Senator POMERENE. Then, you do not regard these Roosevelt adherents as Republicans?

Mr. McHARG. They do not themselves, and I think I have the right to assume the position they do—that they are not Republicans.

Senator POMERENE. So you are both proud of the fact?

Mr. McHARG. Oh, they are, I know, very proud. I want to say this, that I was very proud to support Col. Roosevelt's candidacy.

Senator POMERENE. Did you keep any account of your expenditures when you were in the South?

Mr. McHARG. Not at all.

Senator POMERENE. Or any other time during the campaign?

Mr. McHARG. No; I never have. If you knew, Senator, how hard it was to get the little money that we had to spend there, especially after the rather pretentious campaign that I had outlined in the first instance, which, I say, was abandoned, you will know that it may have gone a little harder for me to make a thousand dollars go a mile than it would have been for somebody else.

Senator POMERENE. You do not know, then, whether there was any account of the expenditures kept by Capt. Gregory, do you?

Mr. McHARG. I know nothing at all, except that he was recognized as the treasurer here, and I understand he banked money from time to time. I do not even know what banks he kept the money in; I had no occasion to inquire.

Senator POMERENE. Were you paid by check or draft, or how, when money was turned over to you?

Mr. McHARG. No. The money that was sent from here was telegraphed in some instances and in some instances drafts were purchased. At different times, I know, when I would start out on a trip money would be placed in my hands. I would go to him and get the money that I thought would cover my expenses on the trip.

Senator POMERENE. Let us start in at the beginning of the subject matter of your examination. You say that you were at a conference in which the subject matter of the discussion was as to whether or not the La Follette forces should go over to Col. Roosevelt. When was that held?

Mr. McHARG. Do you really want to commence at the beginning of my activities or commence at some subsequent point? You are commencing at some subsequent point when you speak of this thing.

Senator POMERENE. I have referred particularly to this meeting.

Mr. McHARG. That, as I say, happened some time along in January.

Senator POMERENE. In New York?

Mr. McHARG. In New York.

Senator POMERENE. And you have named Dan Hanna and Walter F. Brown as being present?

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. This was directly after Senator La Follette's campaigning in Ohio?

Mr. McHARG. I think what brought the subject up was the action of the committee that met out there. I had supposed that it was an active La Follette committee and that they were friendly to him, but I found that that committee had apparently turned Senator La Follette down.

Senator POMERENE. What committee was that?

Mr. McHARG. I do not know. It was a Progressive committee of some kind.

Senator POMERENE. Who were on the committee?

Mr. McHARG. I do not know anything about it, except as a matter of news. I saw it in the paper.

Senator POMERENE. Who else was present at this meeting in New York?

Mr. McHARG. I said I thought Mr. Munsey was there, and Senator Oliver asked me if Mr. Perkins was there. I can not say whether he was there or not.

Senator POMERENE. Was Mr. Pinchot there or not?

Mr. McHARG. No; he was not.

Senator POMERENE. Either Mr. Gifford Pinchot or his brother, Amos, I believe?

Mr. McHARG. No; neither one.

Senator POMERENE. Neither one of them?

Mr. McHARG. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Well, now, after this meeting, did these gentlemen who were present become active in the support of Col. Roosevelt?

Mr. McHARG. Oh, of course, Mr. Munsey, if he was there, had always been, as I remember it. That is, I knew nothing about it. I do not know anything about his activity, I should say, prior to my connection with Col. Roosevelt's cause. Whether he was supporting Mr. La Follette a year or more ago I could not answer that. I have no information.

Senator POMERENE. Up to this time you were active particularly in Roosevelt's behalf?

Mr. McHARG. Only.

Senator POMERENE. And is that true of Mr. Ward?

Mr. McHARG. Yes. I have no right to speak for him. I only say, so far as I know; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And this activity was begun and continued up to this time, with Col. Roosevelt's approval, was it?

Mr. McHARG. So far as I was concerned, Col. Roosevelt had no more idea about my making that first trip than you had, Senator, and you did not know me at that time.

Senator POMERENE. Was that true also with respect to Mr. Ward?

Mr. McHARG. I could not say; I do not know. If I have the right to state to the committee the inference that I drew from the things he said to me, I would say that he had been pursuing the line that he asked me to pursue—to find out what the sentiment was in the country.

Senator POMERENE. Well, then how soon after this was it that you went South?

Mr. McHARG. I took the first trip I had made before that.

Senator POMERENE. Prior to this?

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I beg your pardon.

Mr. McHARG. That is the reason I asked you awhile ago if you wanted me to commence at the beginning of my activities.

Senator POMERENE. There was a misunderstanding in my mind about the matter. Well, then, was it before this time or afterwards that you began to furnish funds in the South?

Mr. McHARG. Well, that followed. From January to April is that difference in the time. The La Follette matter, as I say, must have taken place some time in January, because it was after my first trip through the South, and coming back by way of St. Louis and Chicago. And then I should say this to you, in partial answer at least to your question, that the movement became, as we detected it, so strong for Col. Roosevelt that it was decided to simply let the matter take care of itself, and from that time, commencing along about what was likely the last of January until April, I had nothing to do with the matter. There was no occasion to do anything. In fact, I had performed the only mission that I set out to perform.

Senator POMERENE. In April you began again this work?

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Through these Southern States?

Mr. McHARG. Yes; I came down to the headquarters in Washington.

Senator POMERENE. And you think all you expended was between \$25,000 and \$30,000?

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir; not a dollar more than that.

Senator POMERENE. Did that include such expenditures as you had in the city of Chicago during the convention?

Mr. McHARG. No; I do not know what my personal expenses were there. I had a suite of three rooms, which was the headquarters for the attorneys that were there arguing the cases, and the hotel bills of stenographers and persons who would order their meals served up in my headquarters. I do not know what the total bill was; it could not have been very much. I was only there about 20 days or some such matter.

Senator POMERENE. How does it come that you selected lawyers in the South to look after your interests?

Mr. McHARG. I will tell you, in answer to your question, that it is not the easiest thing in the world to tell whether under the State laws, especially of these primary laws in this last campaign, just what course you have to take. This is the situation I spoke about in Georgia. I found that Georgia had a primary law, and they have a system of what they call purging the rolls there. There they have certain times in which men can register, and those who have not registered within that certain time can not vote. It became a very nice question as to when conventions must be held.

I went to the city attorney of Atlanta and asked him his advice.

The same thing occurred over in Texas. The question came up in Texas as to whether or not under the language of the State law there we could even, in spite of the fact that the national call made certain reference to States, we should follow our own national call or the State law. If one had followed the State law and the other the national call, we would have been confronted with a contest situation there. It is things like that you have to consider.

Senator POMERENE. You were looking out for possible contests, were you?

Mr. McHARG. It is notorious that there never is a campaign that practically every State in the South is not contested.

There is a common error with respect to the contests of this last campaign. There were fewer contests in Chicago from the South last year than there were four years ago.

Senator POMERENE. How many were there in the South?

Mr. McHARG. You ask me for figures. I can only state this, that there must have been—there were something over 200 seats contested from the South. Four years ago, I think, there were about 230.

Senator POMERENE. And you prepared, I believe, the notices of contests?

Mr. McHARG. No, sir; the lawyers on the ground did that.

Senator POMERENE. But whatever the lawyers did in that behalf was under your direction?

Mr. McHARG. That is, the lawyers were chosen under my direction. I chose them myself, and most of them had experience in these things.

Senator POMERENE. The filing of these notices, then, I assume under your theory of the method of conducting the primaries and the selection of delegates down there was that you might secure some tactical advantage?

Mr. McHARG. Oh, yes.

Senator POMERENE. And there were, then, over 200 seats in which you had filed contest without real knowledge as to the merits or demerits of the case of any of these delegates?

Mr. McHARG. No; that is not the case. Your assumption is wrong.

Senator POMERENE. Well, if I am incorrect, explain it.

Mr. McHARG. Your assumption is wrong, because, as I say, you have to have an intimate knowledge of the facts in order to ask the question. The situation presents itself in this way: As I said before, when these conventions are held contests start from the counties. Contesting delegates come from the counties to the district conventions or the State at large, and in either case they find out their rights on the ground, and the fellow who was turned down or turned up, as the case may be, had his set of delegates, and when those two sets of names were sent to the secretary of the national committee a contest was deemed to exist, because more than the requisite number of delegates had been certified. There was no presumption as to which was regular or which was irregular.

Senator POMERENE. That is, in other words, you filed these notices substantially as a trial lawyer would file an exception to a court's ruling, whether it was right or wrong?

Mr. McHARG. Yes; but I did not file it.

Senator POMERENE. But you authorized it to be filed?

Mr. McHARG. Yes and no. I employed the lawyers and they conducted the cases.

Senator POMERENE. As soon as this notice was filed of contest the interviews were given out charging fraud on behalf of those that were out; is that true?

Mr. McHARG. I do not know of any interviews that were given out. I know there were a good many interviews at Chicago.

Senator POMERENE. I know nothing about that, except as a matter of current newspaper history.

Mr. McHARG. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. As I remember, as each State in the South would have its primary or convention immediately the outs—I assume it was the outs——

Mr. McHARG. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Would be crying “fraud”?

Mr. McHARG. Oh, yes.

Senator POMERENE. And notice was prepared and served?

Mr. McHARG. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And the preliminary steps taken to perfect this contest at the convention?

Mr. McHARG. Exactly.

Senator POMERENE. And that was the matter you had general charge of?

Mr. McHARG. Yes; general charge of it.

Senator POMERENE. Now, how many of those delegates were negroes?

Mr. McHARG. Oh, I should judge likely one-third of the total delegation from the South are negroes.

Senator POMERENE. Then, I suppose it is a fair inference from your statement that these reports of fraud which were followed immediately by the filing of the notice of contest you did not take very seriously yourself?

Mr. McHARG. Well, I would take anything seriously that I made the statement of myself.

Senator POMERENE. I am speaking generally.

Mr. McHARG. But when you realize the territorial expanse of the South, you will have to say that I could not speak of my own knowledge of what happened at any convention, unless I happened to be there.

Senator POMERENE. I assume that is true.

Mr. McHARG. You can not find any evidence where I had charge of fraud in any specific locality in the South. I am only answering for myself. Now, when you say these charges were made, I say, yes, in wholesale.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. McHARG. Now, to show you how strongly that charge was made, in the case of Kentucky, Judge O’Rear, who is known to me only slightly, but whose standing as a lawyer in Kentucky is absolutely above reproach, was so impressed with the condition of fraud in that State that he assumed—and there is where he made an error, and he did it against my advice—as to the attitude of the national convention; he said that they just recently decided, in a case where he sat on the bench, I think, that where the fraud is so great that it is impossible to tell from the proof whether a legal election was held or not, it would be held that there was no election and the whole thing turned out. I said, “Judge, your position is this: that convention will insist that the delegates be seated from the State of Kentucky. Now,” I said, “you are going up there fighting to insist on depriving the State of representation. Now, you might as well save your time.” “Well,” he said, “I will not proceed on any other line, because that is the law of Kentucky.” So the result of it was that Judge O’Rear went up there prepared to show, and did, in a very

extended argument, show the element of fraud throughout the State, and yet they seated the delegates on the other side. They would insist on the State being entitled to representation.

Senator POMERENE. Did you answer my question a moment ago as to the number of colored delegates there were?

Mr. McHARG. I assume about one-third. I never counted them; I don't know.

Senator POMERENE. You say it was customary to pay their expenses to the convention?

Mr. McHARG. I mean, from their homes up to the national convention. That has been the custom.

Senator POMERENE. Who paid the expenses of these contestants?

Mr. McHARG. I do not believe that there was 10 per cent of the contesting delegates on the ground.

Senator POMERENE. Who did pay their expenses?

Mr. McHARG. It is not necessary for the delegate to be on the ground to have his case presented.

Senator POMERENE. I assume that is so.

Mr. McHARG. So they were told they were not to come until the question of their right to seats was determined.

Senator POMERENE. Did any of them come?

Mr. McHARG. Oh, yes.

Senator POMERENE. What portion of them?

Mr. McHARG. I would doubt if there was 10 per cent. Of course, there might have been more there, but I did not know them personally, so I could not say.

Senator POMERENE. Let us understand each other. Do you mean that 10 per cent of these contestants were present in Chicago during the time that the contest was on before the committee?

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir; I would say that.

Senator POMERENE. What is that?

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir; I would say that.

Senator POMERENE. And how many of them were present during the progress of the convention?

Mr. McHARG. There would not be any greater number than that.

Senator POMERENE. Who paid the expenses of these delegates?

Mr. McHARG. Well, I have not the slightest idea. Some of those southern negroes would no more take money from you than any of your white friends from the south would take money, because some of them are very rich men. There was one young man, a delegate from Memphis, Tenn., whose father is reputed to be a millionaire. He is a very high-class young colored man. One was this man whose name was mentioned in connection with the Mississippi matters at Chicago, who is an intimate friend of Booker T. Washington, and a man whom I understand to be worth anywhere from \$150,000 to \$250,000. This man Mollison that I speak of, who argued the Roosevelt cases from Mississippi, is a very able colored lawyer at Vicksburg, and this man Redmond, from Jackson, is also an able man. In Atlanta, Ga., there was Col. Rucker, for instance, a colored man. I understand he was a colonel in a colored regiment during the Civil War. At least they call him colonel. He is a man reputed to be worth anywhere from \$50,000 to \$100,000.

Senator POMERENE. You have mentioned six or eight of them now. What do you have to say as to the others?

Mr. McHARG. Senator, I could not make any answer other than in general——

Senator POMERENE. Have you any knowledge?

Mr. McHARG. I would like to answer the question.

Senator POMERENE. Surely.

Mr. McHARG. It is this: I can not answer definitely because they are men that I don't know. There might have been more there, but I did not know them.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any knowledge of anyone being charged with the duty of looking after the colored delegates, whether on behalf of Col. Roosevelt or on behalf of the President?

Mr. McHARG. No; not at all; but my position in the matter was simply the question of presenting the contests, and the delegates were not to come unless their seats were favorably determined.

Senator POMERENE. Well, it was said, as I recall it, that some of these delegates were stopped somewhere on the way to Chicago——

Mr. McHARG. Well, I don't know anything about that. That is the first time I ever heard it, too.

Senator POMERENE. And detained. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. McHARG. No; whose were they—Mr. Taft's or Mr. Wilson's?

Senator POMERENE. I can not answer your question at all. It is simply some statement I remember having seen in the paper as being made by somebody against the other crowd.

Mr. McHARG. I never heard that before.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether any funds were guaranteed or underwritten looking to the nomination of Col. Roosevelt and of paying the expenses of the primary?

Mr. McHARG. That is about as absurd a yarn as I ever saw put out on the American people.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know anything about it?

Mr. McHARG. I would know if it were so, and it is not so. I was in this thing in all its essential parts, and never heard the like of it before, except that people handed out these statements.

Senator POMERENE. Well, you heard these reports?

Mr. McHARG. Oh, yes.

Senator POMERENE. And you have heard the report to the effect that there was something like two or three million dollars underwritten?

Mr. McHARG. Yes; I have heard that.

Senator POMERENE. For the purpose of seeking the nomination and paying the expenses of the primary of Col. Roosevelt.

Mr. McHARG. I say I have read that story.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know anything about the underwriting of such a sum or any other sum?

Mr. McHARG. Senator, I cannot prove a negative fact. I simply know, as I say——

Senator POMERENE. I am asking you the question.

Mr. McHARG. And I am answering that question now. If it were true, I would know it, and I have not the slightest hesitation in saying to you that it is absurd—perfectly absurd.

Senator POMERENE. You had nothing to do with this matter——

Mr. McHARG. Not at all.

Senator POMERENE. If there was any such thing as that?

Mr. McHARG. Why, no.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of any individuals furnishing funds to pay the expenses of the Roosevelt campaign during the primary which were sent to other States than New York, and which were not accounted for by the committee having his affairs in charge?

Mr. McHARG. The New York situation was handled locally. The fight was made for delegates in the city of New York against the advice of Mr. Ward. I guess it cost fifty or sixty thousand dollars to make the fight. Now, that was the only fight made in New York State. I think it is fair to assume that in each one of these other States, like New Jersey, Illinois, and Pennsylvania—I could name others—the situation handled itself locally.

Senator POMERENE. That is, you mean the people in the respective States?

Mr. McHARG. Yes; in the respective States.

Senator POMERENE. Col. Roosevelt's friends in each State?

Mr. McHARG. For instance, a man in New Jersey would send money to the headquarters in New York. That same money might come back from New York to be expended in New Jersey, but it was raised in New Jersey.

Senator POMERENE. Was any account kept of that money?

Mr. McHARG. No, I don't think so.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Hooker testified that no money was sent from New York to New Jersey.

Mr. McHARG. I was simply illustrating a situation. I know that men in New Jersey contributed to the campaign, and I know there was some expense, too, to the national headquarters, possibly speakers or supplies, like literature and buttons and things like that, that were sent out.

Senator POMERENE. Who were the men in New Jersey that contributed?

Mr. McHARG. The only name I remember there was a Mr. Barbour.

Senator POMERENE. His first name, please?

Mr. McHARG. I do not know it.

Senator POMERENE. His address?

Mr. McHARG. I do not know that—just a Mr. Barbour. If I am not mistaken, his name appeared in the evidence the other day.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know the amount he contributed?

Mr. McHARG. I understood he gave \$5,000, as I remember it. He might have given \$10,000, but, as I remember it, it was \$5,000.

Senator POMERENE. Who would know about that fact?

Mr. McHARG. I should think Mr. Hooker would know if it went to New York. It might have been raised and spent in the State, but, as I remember it, Mr. Barbour contributed. I was not in New York. I was down here, and had nothing to do with the campaign in New York.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether it passed through Mr. Hooker's hands?

Mr. McHARG. Oh, no; I have no knowledge at all as to the contents of the books in New York.

Senator POMERENE. During the campaign of 1908, you took an active part of the campaign in the South, did you?

Mr. McHARG. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Why were you delegated to look after the South?

Mr. McHARG. I do not know any other reason except that Mr. Hitchcock has been a very good friend of mine for years. We both belong to the same legal fraternity, and I was very fond of Mr. Hitchcock, and in my traveling about the country at different times, I was going around, and I would volunteer information. You know, I was just simply born in a political atmosphere, and I have sort of insisted on mixing up in things from time to time, and, as a result, Mr. Hitchcock and I became good friends, and when the campaign opened I resigned my position in connection with the Government to enter the campaign. Mr. Hitchcock asked me to go into the campaign, and Mr. Roosevelt also repeated that request.

Senator POMERENE. That was during the campaign of 1908?

Mr. McHARG. 1908; yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, did you employ the same lawyers in 1912 as you employed in 1908?

Mr. McHARG. Some of them. There were some that I employed in 1912 that I did not know in 1908. I want to say this, Senator, that in each case, I think, the lawyers who were employed were men who stand high in their profession in the community.

Senator POMERENE. Are you taking an active part in that campaign now?

Mr. McHARG. No; I have had nothing to do with politics since we left Chicago in June.

Senator POMERENE. Have you had a surfeit?

Mr. McHARG. Well, I don't know. I did not follow Col. Roosevelt any further.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. McHarg, have you made a statement in New York, I will say, since the primary or any time before that to the effect that these expenses of Mr. Roosevelt were underwritten, in fact?

Mr. McHARG. Oh, no. The only thing I ever knew about that was the story I have seen in the newspapers.

Senator POMERENE. Did you make any such statement as that I have given you or that in substance to anyone?

Mr. McHARG. I have not the slightest recollection of the matter having been in my mind. I do know, as everybody knows, that a campaign of that kind is expensive, but I suppose—in fact, I know—that it was raised from time to time. Senator Dixon's remark here about Mr. Perkins is the best characterization of that. I simply know this, that we did not have the money. I know that at different times I was prevented from making a trip that I should have made because we did not have the money for me to go on, and that accounts to a large extent for the condition that I say confronted us in the presentation of contests in Chicago. You know, as everybody else knows who is a lawyer, that it takes a lot of money to gather evidence, and we did not have it, and to say that there was a two or three million dollar fund—

Senator POMERENE. Gathered evidence for what?

Mr. McHARG. Evidence in support of your contentions. It must all be in the shape of affidavits before the national committee.

Senator POMERENE. Do you mean you filed this notice of contests without any evidence?

Mr. McHARG. Oh, no; not at all. It simply means you have got to get the evidence in the shape of affidavits; you have to employ notaries public to do those things, and I say the one was not available for this purpose. There is no question in my mind about what would have happened in the South if we had been able to get a small fund or even a small fraction of such a fund.

Senator POMERENE. Was it your understanding prior to that convention that if these notices of contest were filed that none of the contestees would be permitted to participate in the convention?

Mr. McHARG. In the first place, as I say, there is no such thing as a contestant and a contestee.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I think you understand——

Mr. McHARG. No; I do not. I will tell you why.

Senator POMERENE. Just let me understand this. I thought it would be entirely clear. If a man is given credentials to participate in the convention and somebody else comes in and contests his right, he is regarded as a contestant?

Mr. McHARG. But you are assuming a condition of facts that did not exist. There are no credentials given until the committee of the national committee passes on those contests. There is no contestant and no contestee.

Senator POMERENE. Credentials are given from the home political authorities.

Mr. McHARG. Yes; I say two sets go up to the committee insisting that his authority is legal.

Senator POMERENE. Well, let neither one of us be captious——

Mr. McHARG. I am not captious. Will you let me make this statement?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. McHARG. There was a statement made in the New York committee itself in Chicago that they did not recognize the contestants or contestees. The call says that whenever more than a requisite number of delegates are certified a contest should be deemed to exist. The only way we handled that matter, or the way they handled it in the convention is this: We said the man whose credentials were filed first shall be held to be the contestee, and the man who came afterwards, no matter whose list, whether Mr. Taft's list or Mr. Roosevelt's, would be held to be the contestant. Therefore——

Senator POMERENE. Let me make this clear, if I have not succeeded thus far. Do you understand, by way of illustration, that if there was a contest on in South Carolina and another contest on in Georgia, that by the filing of a notice of contest, for instance, in the South Carolina case and another in the Georgia case, that neither one would be entitled to vote in either case in the convention on the subject of the contest?

Mr. McHARG. That raises a very interesting question, Senator. Here is the situation——

Senator POMERENE. Was that your understanding?

Mr. McHARG. I will have to come at it in this way——

Senator POMERENE. Very well.

Mr. McHARG. The Republican Party is about 60 years old and there is not a single written rule of the Republican Party. From

time to time at conventions they pass rules for that convention. Now, on this very question of whether a party shall vote on his own right to a seat in the convention, it is, I think, the better idea among Republicans, and a sort of party law, that either man whose seat is in contest shall not vote on the question of his right to the seat.

Senator POMERENE. That is as to his particular case?

Mr. McHARG. As to his particular case. But here is what they can do. We will say that a third of that convention is in contest. All of the uncontested and all of the contested, except the two delegates from a district, can vote upon the question of right to the seat. In other words, there might be 300 or 400 men there whose seats are identically in the same precarious position as this man's who is being voted on now. There is no way of excluding that community of interest, and they are permitted to vote on the right of those two men.

Senator POMERENE. That is, for instance, a Georgia delegate who is temporarily occupying his seat, even though his seat was to be contested, would have the right to vote upon the South Carolina contests?

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir. I have already contended that a community of interest should be considered, but no man whose seat is in contest should be permitted to vote because, as everybody knows, in convention men can and most men do pool their interests.

Senator POMERENE. Then your thought was that if there were over 200 contested seats from the South in that convention that none of the occupants of those contests should be permitted to vote upon any of the contests?

Mr. McHARG. I think that——

Senator POMERENE. That was your position?

Mr. McHARG. I think that is common morals.

Senator POMERENE. And in that way you expected to control the convention, did you?

Mr. McHARG. Not at all.

Senator POMERENE. But you say that many of those contests—many of those notices of contests—were filed simply as precautionary measures—you did not use that word.

Mr. McHARG. No; I did not use it.

Senator POMERENE. I understand you, but you understand what I mean.

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. But you simply filed them in the nature of an exception, and you expected afterwards to take the matter up without having any actual knowledge as to whether or not fraud had been perpetrated?

Mr. McHARG. You are putting a burden on me in connection with this of assuming that I did these things. I say I did not do them. I said men locally did those things, and I illustrated the situation as in Louisiana where three sets of delegates came up, and we had no part in it at all. Three sets of delegates came up from Florida exercising their Republican rights to fight until the last decision was handed down by the committee on credentials.

Senator POMERENE. But you did go as a minister plenipotentiary from the national headquarters to the South to look after this branch of the business?

Mr. McHARG. Oh, yes, sir; I guess there is no doubt about that.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McHarg, you stated that where there were a large number of delegates and the cases were somewhat identical you thought they ought not to participate.

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And then Senator Pomerene asked you if you understood when these contests were being made that they would not be allowed, and you started to make an answer.

Mr. McHARG. My answer was, Senator, that the practice is just exactly contrary to what his conclusion was, that all vote, and they always have voted, except the district that is being voted on, and if it is the State at large that is in contest, all vote except the four. I say that is the practice in the party. I think it is wrong, and I have contended against it.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood the situation.

Mr. McHARG. That is it exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. The record would not be complete if you had not given your answer in full.

Mr. McHARG. It was the same thing four years ago. As I say, there was some 340 seats in contest four years ago. It is not a unique situation at all. I say ever since reconstruction days they have had that sort of situation in the Republican Party at every convention. I say I have taken occasion——

Senator PAYNTER. But, Mr. McHarg—I do not know that it has anything to do with this investigation—you have just stated what your conclusion is as to the rights of those who have this community of interests to vote on the contests of each other?

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Now, we can see what effect that would have, but would it not be rather dangerous to lay down a rule of that kind in view of the fact that enough contests could be instituted in order to give control of the convention to the delegates whose seats were not contested—I mean the delegates who would be in sympathy with the contestants?

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir; but here is the situation: We can not get away from this fact that in the Republican organization for years the contention has been made—I think it became acute in 1892, when Mr. Harrison was renominated for the Presidency—the position that the active Republicans in the Senate took was this: That the State delegates came up and forced the nomination of a man whom they thought could not be elected, and the feeling has been pretty strong ever since that time that a class of men are coming up to the convention, and that in itself—I will answer your question in this way—rather the necessity of the thing has brought about a mental attitude on the part of the Republicans, and it has nothing to do at all except with the concrete situation that presents itself at each national convention.

Senator PAYNTER. I can see that the minority of a convention can be absolutely in control of it by instituting contests, if the rule which you proclaim as being the correct one should be applied.

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not equally true that a minority, being in harmony with the committee that is to make out the preliminary

roll, could also obtain control of the convention under the rule that was contended for?

Mr. McHARG. Oh, yes, sir. Here is the situation——

The CHAIRMAN. If that is true, either way, you are confronted then with the question of whether of two evils you will choose one which will allow men who are on trial with a similar case pending, to sit as jurors, or choose the other, which excludes men who are on trial with similar cases pending, from sitting.

Mr. McHARG. It is as broad as it is long. Out in Chicago, in the national committee, and also in the committee on credentials, men were sitting and voting on their own right to sit in the committee.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not want to assume to be an expert in the control of Republican conventions——

Mr. McHARG. No; it is the Republican way of doing.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a moral question, and the witness is quite right in his opinion.

Mr. McHARG. It is a moral question with me. I have taken a very strong position in the matter. But this ought to be said in this connection, and it is the only thing that I am going to volunteer about the matter—the charge is made against Mr. Taft that he is responsible for this condition in Chicago. He is no more responsible for it than every President has been every time there was a Republican President in office when a campaign of this kind has been made.

Senator PAYNTER. Because the same rule applies?

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir. Four years ago men were sitting—men who were mere clerks sat in the national committee voting on contests, and I guess we are paying the freight for it. I do not know, but that is the way it seems to me.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. McHarg, Senator Pomerene asked you as to your knowledge of the campaign of Col. Roosevelt being underwritten, and you answered that there was no such thing as an underwriting of the expenses of the campaign, and if there had been you would have known it.

Mr. McHARG. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Now, I would like you to explain why you would necessarily have known that.

Mr. McHARG. In the first place, I was consulted about what the expenses would be in the first instance, and then from time to time I knew what progress was being made. I knew the difficulty of getting funds to do the things we thought ought to be done; but, as I say, I can not prove the negative fact. I have no hesitation in saying——

Senator OLIVER. I did not ask you to prove that. I asked you how you came to be in a position to know that. Did you consult from time to time with Mr. Hanna or Mr. Munsey?

Mr. McHARG. I only saw Mr. Hanna once, and I only saw Mr. Munsey once—that is my recollection now; and I saw Mr. Perkins a number of times. Mr. Perkins was recognized as having been an ardent friend of Mr. Roosevelt's, and I understand Mr. Perkins had always been recognized in New York as an old-fashioned Republican.

Senator OLIVER. But you are getting away from the question——

Mr. McHARG. I do not want to get away from it—and he responded freely from time to time. I know that Mr. Hanna—I heard

Mr. Hanna say that he had contributed. I think the time I saw Mr. Hanna he had contributed about \$25,000 to the campaign. I know that Mr. Munsey at that time had contributed possibly \$5,000 or \$10,000 to the campaign. Mr. Perkins had contributed in the same way, and if there had been an underwritten agreement of any kind I would have known. Instead of knowing of those men putting up money into a fund, I would have known them as men who have signed an agreement to the fund.

Senator OLIVER. I believe it was Mr. Dixon who testified that as to the contributions of the three gentlemen I have named, there was an effort made to keep them about the same.

Mr. McHARG. Which three do you mean?

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Munsey, Mr. Perkins, and Mr. Hanna. I believe each of the three is credited by him with \$25,000. That takes no account of any money spent in Ohio, which is Mr. Hanna's State; nor anything except in about five States, leaving the bulk of the country unprovided with funds.

I simply want to find the foundation for your confidence that you would have known on the inside of financial arrangements if any such had existed.

Mr. McHARG. I speak deliberately, Senator, and I am not going to assume a situation. There is no reason why I should disguise the fact. I simply would say that I would know if it existed. How intimate I was in the matter is a deduction you have to make from what I have been charged with doing in all this thing.

Senator OLIVER. I understood you at the beginning to say your activities were not in the direction of finances.

Mr. McHARG. Not at all.

Senator OLIVER. Not in raising money so much, but in the direction of spending it.

Mr. McHARG. Yes; it was largely that.

Senator OLIVER. Therefore I was a little surprised to hear you express the opinion that you would necessarily know the inside arrangements for raising money.

Mr. McHARG. No; I did not say that I would know that. I would say this, however: If there was any such fund available, some of the things that were so elementary in the conduct of a campaign would have been provided for, and I would not have been compelled myself to stay here in Washington at times when I knew Senator Dixon was trying to raise money. I know that, because I have known him to go to the telephone booth for that purpose, in headquarters here, and talk with somebody in New York. I do not know with whom he was talking.

Senator OLIVER. Then the probability is that, instead of underwriting to an unlimited extent, these three gentlemen who contributed the same amount, and all of whom are large contributors, evidently had an agreement among themselves that they would share equally, so far as the relation of each one was concerned to the other.

Mr. McHARG. Of course the \$25,000 that each paid is, I assume, but a small part of the money that has been expended.

Senator OLIVER. Yes; and I have no doubt a small part of what each one contributed.

I have nothing more.

Senator PAYNTER. Since I ceased to ask you questions, my attention has been called to the fact that we are investigating the campaign of 1908, the same as 1904 and 1912.

What do you know about the expenditure of money before the convention that nominated Mr. Taft or in the general election?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. I think, Senator, we have no authority to go into the cost of Mr. Taft's nomination.

Senator PAYNTER. I think that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The resolution covers the campaign expenses of 1904 and 1908 and the preconvention expenses of 1912.

Senator PAYNTER. If that is the case, I withdraw my question with reference to the expenditure of money before the convention of 1908.

Do you know anything about the sums of money expended in the general election of 1908?

Mr. McHARG. Only as the official report was made. I was active in the campaign from the beginning to the end.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not know of any sums except as reported by the treasurer?

Mr. McHARG. That is all. The books were primarily kept in New York.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all I want to ask. I had a wrong impression about the scope of the inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you leave the stand, Mr. McHarg, I ask you again the general question, in view of the matters that have been brought up, whether there is any fact or circumstance that you now recall bearing on contributions to the campaign of 1912?

Mr. McHARG. No. As I say, the only thing was that I did not think we had funds enough to make as good a fight as we could have made. Of course, there were the various expenses of printing, office expenses, traveling, and so forth. As I say, I was personally compelled to remain in Washington because we had not the necessary funds here. I know the work I was doing was considered important, and if my conclusion was to be asked upon what I did, I would say much better results would have been obtained if we had had more funds available to meet the ordinary expenses.

Mr. McHarg was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF HON. WILLIAM B. McKINLEY—Resumed.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heretofore been sworn?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you in Boston during the latter part of the summer or fall of 1908, preceding the election?

Mr. McKINLEY. I am in Boston, through my own business, perhaps every month or six weeks. I have seen Mr. Weeks's testimony, and after having seen that and refreshed my memory that way, I remember I came over from New York to Boston with Mr. Cannon. I would not have known it was that time.

The CHAIRMAN. That Mr. Cannon is Congressman Cannon?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were there with Mr. Cannon, was a dinner, a banquet, a luncheon, or a breakfast served to you and Mr. Cannon by Mr. Weeks at the Algonquin Club?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not even know where the Algonquin Club is, and I did not know there was such a club until I saw the testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall——

Mr. McKINLEY. No; I do not recall.

The CHAIRMAN. The fact of Mr. Weeks having some informal gathering?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Of men, at which Mr. Crane was present, and other gentlemen were there, in Massachusetts?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember meeting Senator Crane on the occasion of your visit there with Speaker Cannon?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not. I ought to state this fact, that I have met Senator Crane so many times that I have no recollection one way or the other.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall meeting Lieut. Gov. Draper on the occasion of your visit to Boston with Mr. Cannon?

Mr. McKINLEY. I think I do; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember meeting Mr. Daniel J. Kane?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir. I might have met him, but I do not remember it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not recall, while you were there with Mr. Cannon, a gathering at which a number of these prominent gentlemen, evidently brought together by Mr. Weeks to meet you and Mr. Cannon, took place?

Mr. McKINLEY. May I state just what I recall?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; state just what you recall, as you recall it.

Mr. McKINLEY. Until I knew of Mr. Weeks's testimony I had absolutely forgotten everything concerning—well, if anyone had asked me offhand before Mr. Weeks's testimony if I had been in Boston with Mr. Cannon, I would have said no.

As I recalled it later, I remembered being on the boat which used to run from New York to Boston, of coming into Boston Harbor, and that Gen. Fred Grant was on at the time.

All else I can remember at all is being in the Touraine Hotel with Mr. Cannon, and somebody getting my umbrella. Then as I kind of remember now, Lieut. Gov. Draper gave a little dinner to some of us, but I can not remember a soul that was there, except that I remembered Lieut. Gov. Draper, because he was either then lieutenant governor or had been, and Mr. Cannon. I do not remember Mr. Weeks, and I do not remember where it was.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the fall when the Republican platform contained the statement that the tariff would be revised?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not remember it.

The CHAIRMAN. Why, don't you remember that the national platform of 1908 contained a statement with reference to the revision of the tariff?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes; but I am not associating that with this trip to Boston.

The CHAIRMAN. No; probably not. And it is possible there is no association; but I ask you if that was not the fall?

Mr. McKINLEY. Even now I would have thought that this trip to Boston was in 1906 instead of 1908.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you remember, Mr. McKinley, that you and Mr. Cannon and Mr. Weeks were there at Boston in the fall of 1908?

Mr. McKINLEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you testify there was no conversation between you and Mr. Weeks, or in your presence with Mr. Weeks, as to contributions to the congressional campaign that fall?

Mr. McKINLEY. At that time?

The CHAIRMAN. At the time of your trip to Boston.

Mr. McKINLEY. I am absolutely willing to freely testify to anything I can remember about it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all we expect.

Mr. McKINLEY. I would have thought not, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you read——

Mr. McKINLEY. I read Mr. Weeks's testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. The Boston papers while you were there?

Mr. McKINLEY. As I tell you, I remember absolutely nothing about the trip; and I want to impress on you the fact that I go to Boston so often it would not differentiate.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes——

Mr. McKINLEY (continuing). And I remember absolutely nothing about being there with Mr. Cannon. I can not, for the life of me, now know why we were in New York. The only time I can ever remember being with Mr. Cannon in New York was in 1906, when I went with him there to go down to Oyster Bay. I can not remember being with him in New York in 1908.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not recall now that it was the subject of a good deal of comment in the Boston papers that you three men should meet there together?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall a conversation where Mr. Cannon was shown, while you were there in Boston at this time, an interview from Mr. Hopkins?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Purporting to be a statement of the candidate for the Presidency, his views on the tariff?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That trip must have made more of an impression on the newspaper men around Boston than it did on you.

Mr. McKINLEY. I heard of the testimony before I saw it. If anybody had asked me if I was in Boston with Mr. Cannon I would have said no.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a member of the congressional committee of 1908?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir; I was chairman after about the 1st of July.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the treasurer?

Mr. McKINLEY. Charles G. Dawes.

Senator POMERENE. That is the congressional campaign committee?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you personally solicit any funds for the committee that fall?

Mr. McKINLEY. I probably did. If the question is, Did I solicit any in Boston; no.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall now soliciting any funds for the committee in the fall of 1908 while you were chairman of the committee?

Mr. McKINLEY. I can not recall any individually; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are very certain that you did not solicit any up in that part of the country?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir. I might have corresponded with Mr. Weeks, who was a member of the executive committee of the congressional committee from Massachusetts.

The CHAIRMAN. Since you appeared before the committee, the authority of the committee has been enlarged, to cover the preconvention campaign expenses of 1912. I think you acted as chairman of Mr. Taft's committee in the preconvention fight; did you not?

Mr. McKINLEY. I was what was called the manager of the Taft headquarters in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, so far as the political friends of Mr. Taft had an organization at that time—of course, I do not know how far it was perfected—but whatever it was, you were practically at the head of it, were you not?

Mr. McKINLEY. The States practically ran their own campaigns for Mr. Taft. To an extent these headquarters were in touch with States organizations, but I would not consider that any of the State organizations were under the control of these headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. No, not under control, perhaps, but isn't it a fact that you were practically the head of whatever there was of a certain movement along the line of securing Mr. Taft's nomination?

Mr. McKINLEY. I would differentiate from the position I held—I am not trying to evade anything now.

The CHAIRMAN. I know you are not.

Mr. McKINLEY. I would differentiate from the position I held; it was different from the chairman of the national committee at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. McKINLEY. I would consider that the chairman of the national committee is the head of the organization over the United States—I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, was there a committee of which you were chairman, a Taft committee?

Mr. McKINLEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there anyone who acted in the general capacity of treasurer?

Mr. McKINLEY. I would probably be the one.

The CHAIRMAN. Were funds, to your knowledge, collected to be sent to State committees or to State organizations?

Mr. McKINLEY. Well, I can give you in a general way the funds that were collected, and in a general way the funds that were distributed and the expenditures from the headquarters here in Washington; but when I state that I am not stating what the different State organizations spent, because I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. No; I know. Well, go on and tell what you know of it.

Mr. McKINLEY. In a general way I know that I got about \$265,000, but I would not state that that was absolutely correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you keep any account of the contributions?

Mr. McKINLEY. I might preface that by saying this, that when I was asked to take hold of these headquarters early in February, it was supposed it was just a preliminary campaign for the nomination, that would not amount to very much, and no attempt was made to keep any general accounts. I kept the bank accounts, ending up with four bank accounts, for convenience. We tried to keep an account of everything that went out from the headquarters. Then the money that was sent to the different States was simply sent in lump. There was no particular account kept of it, except as the bank accounts showed it.

The CHAIRMAN. Beginning first with the contributions, you say you think those that came to your knowledge approximated \$200,000?

Mr. McKINLEY. About \$265,000; I might miss it \$25,000 or more than that.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, certainly. Do you recall at this time any of the larger contributors?

Mr. McKINLEY. Ever since I was notified I have been endeavoring to recall. Do you want me to read them [referring to a paper]?

The CHAIRMAN. You might; yes.

Mr. McKINLEY. I have got it "the Taft family," about \$150,000. Most of that, the larger amount of it, came from Mr. Charles P. Taft, and some came from Mr. Henry W. Taft and some from Mr. Herbert Taft, I think it is. Mr. John Hays Hammond gave \$25,000, I believe was the amount. This came in different amounts at different times. Mr. Andrew Carnegie contributed about \$25,000. From Mr. Kelsey and Patton, who are friends of Mr. Taft's in New York, about \$10,000. There was about \$14,000 collected and given to me in Chicago. Mr. Richard Kerens, of St. Louis, \$5,000. The first money I got at all was given to me by Senator Scott here to start me off to pay postage; I think that was about \$1,000. Senator Crane, \$5,000; Senator Knox, I believe, \$2,500; Mr. Wickersham, \$1,000; Mr. A. C. James, \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he live?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know, sir. I have just gotten these together. And Mr. Stotesbury, my recollection is, his contribution was \$25,000.

Senator POMERENE. \$25,000?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir. That makes about \$265,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any contribution by anyone by the name of Penfield?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, can you recall with any approximate accuracy the amounts which you sent to the different States?

Mr. McKINLEY. Well, I have tried to recall as nearly as I can, but I might miss it some, because I can not make these figures gibe out by about \$25,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that leave you ahead or behind?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know which way, to tell the truth.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. McKinley, as well as you can, give us the amounts; that is all we expect of you.

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes; I will be very glad to. The first that I remember paying out was in West Virginia; it dribbled out and dribbled out until, as nearly as I came to it, there was something like \$8,000

expended. It went all around the State; they were close to us here, and they would come in and get something.

Maryland, somewhere between \$10,000 and \$12,000; Maine, \$3,000, or about that. I think that is right. In Texas, something like \$5,000; in Indiana, about \$10,000; that went out several times. In Illinois, about \$15,000. That had nothing to do with the State organizations in those places; I mean, I do not know what they raised.

In Ohio, about \$20,000; in Iowa, about \$5,000; Kansas, \$5,000; Kentucky, I think, was \$3,000; then I paid out from \$7,000 to \$10,000. I gave Mr. Kealing something like seven or eight thousand dollars. Then we paid out for printing and folding about \$30,000, and telegraph and telephone, express, freight, and postage, \$17,000. These are all book accounts. Buttons and lithographs, \$12,000; running headquarters at Washington, \$21,000; the Chicago headquarters, \$7,000; newspapers, literary, and plate service, about \$20,000; speakers, traveling expenses, and special-train service, about \$30,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, who bore the train expenses of Mr. Taft in his trip through Ohio?

Mr. McKINLEY. We did; that is this money.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any account of what was sent to Massachusetts?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir; I do not think we sent any from here to Massachusetts. As I told you, these States all have their headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. I am just getting at what you know about the facts.

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not think you sent any to Massachusetts?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any information from those in association with you as to what was the total amount raised in Ohio?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. As to Massachusetts?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As to Pennsylvania?

Mr. McKINLEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. As to Michigan?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As to Maryland?

Mr. McKINLEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. As to Illinois?

Mr. McKINLEY. I think that the local committee there raised about \$25,000 or \$30,000.

The CHAIRMAN. You are speaking now of Illinois?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions that were made during that preliminary campaign, for Mr. Taft's campaign purposes, aside from those you have stated?

Mr. McKINLEY. I can not remember. I of course know that there were, but I can not remember them as they came in. Of course I know that there were not any great amounts of money.

The CHAIRMAN. What?

Mr. McKINLEY. There were not any great amounts of money. When we started out we expected to spend about \$50,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you made any statements, either on the stump or in the press, to the effect that in the campaign for Col. Roosevelt contributions were made from the Harvester Trust?

Mr. McKINLEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you made any statement on the stump or——

Mr. McKINLEY. Well, wait. There were a great many statements made along there for about 60 days previous to the convention that went out as interviews that might be attributed to me, but I do not know what they said. I didn't even have time to read them.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am asking you.

Mr. McKINLEY. Well, but when they go out of the headquarters they are charged up to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I know they may be charged up to a man, but don't you know whether you have made any statement to the effect that the Harvester Trust contributed to Mr. Roosevelt's pre-convention campaign?

Mr. McKINLEY. I don't know. There might have been statements gone out from the headquarters at that time. I don't know that the Harvester Trust contributed anything. I will say that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any statement go out from you, either on the stump or for publication, to the effect that the Steel Trust had contributed or was contributing to Col. Roosevelt's preconvention campaign?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know of any. I do not know of any money that they gave.

The CHAIRMAN. Has any statement been made by you, either upon the stump or otherwise, to the effect that anybody was underwriting Col. Roosevelt's preconvention campaign.

Mr. McKINLEY. Never. I think that was silly, just as Mr. McHarg says.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McKinley, once or twice witnesses have been examined here and have been asked the general question that I desire to ask you now, and that is whether there is any fact or circumstance connected with, or bearing upon, or relating to contributions of funds, or the use of funds, in Mr. Taft's preconvention campaign, to which your attention has not been called, or to which you have not testified, and of which you are now cognizant?

Mr. McKINLEY. I remember nothing at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McKinley, there has appeared, or did appear, about the time of the Chicago convention, a statement that a man from the South—I think his name was Banks—returned \$1,000 to you.

Mr. McKINLEY. Well, they shrunk it \$200 before it got to me.

The CHAIRMAN. You got back \$800, then?

Mr. McKINLEY. Only got \$800 back.

The CHAIRMAN. There was \$800 returned to you?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of the use of money at the Chicago convention in the effort to change the votes of delegates?

Mr. McKINLEY. No; nothing that I would want to swear to.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you are before this committee and know the scope of the inquiry, and whether you know anything.

Mr. McKINLEY. Well, I have kept out of the Ananias Club so far. I guess I will keep out of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether the expenses of delegates favorable to Mr. Taft were paid to the Chicago convention?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir. I am satisfied, as has been the custom heretofore, that the expenses of any delegate who is not able to pay his own expenses were paid to Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. What explanation, if any, was offered by Mr. Banks when he returned this money to you?

Mr. McKINLEY. I have forgotten. It was written. Mr. Dixon published it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well——

Mr. McKINLEY. I have forgotten what it said. It was a letter. I got a copy and Mr. Dixon got a copy. It was published before I got it.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not got the copy now?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir; I have not. It was published in a Chicago paper.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. McKinley, have you any means of knowing the amount that was spent in Ohio, in addition to the \$20,000 you spoke of?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir; I have not at all.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know what amount was spent in Massachusetts, for instance?

Mr. McKINLEY. Nothing at all.

Senator PAYNTER. I believe you said you did not send any there.

Mr. McKINLEY. The reason I said it is this: I always thought I had a good memory until I got into that mix-up for three months. A man would come in and tell me that two days ago he had come in and said something, and I couldn't remember anything about it. There was a man there every three minutes with a different tale. Consequently it is a good deal of a whirligig, the whole business.

Senator OLIVER. The manager on the other side, who was here, seems to have been in a good deal of a whirl, too.

Senator PAYNTER. The chairman of a preconvention campaign has a pretty strenuous kind of a position.

Mr. McKINLEY. A fairly busy job.

Senator PAYNTER. You were released from that kind of worry and responsibility after the Chicago convention?

Mr. McKINLEY. That was the end of mine.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Dixon still has the worries. Do you know what money was spent in any other State of the Union than what you sent them?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You have no means of knowing?

Mr. McKINLEY. I was busy here. I had no means of knowing. There was no organization in the other States that was in connection with this one.

Senator PAYNTER. That is what I understand.

Mr. McKINLEY. I know about the Illinois organization, because I live there.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, was there a Taft committee in Ohio—a primary committee?

Mr. McKINLEY. I don't know, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Was there any in Massachusetts?

Mr. McKINLEY. I don't know.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know anything about Vermont?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir; I do not.

Senator PAYNTER. Or New Jersey?

Mr. McKINLEY. Well, no; I do not. Was Senator Briggs on it? I really don't know.

Senator PAYNTER. You could not, then, give the committee any idea of the total amount that was expended in behalf of Mr. Taft's candidacy?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir; not outside——

Senator PAYNTER. Before and during the Chicago convention?

Mr. McKINLEY. No sir; not outside of what I had to do, which I have stated.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. McKinley, can you give us the names of the parties in the different States who can furnish this information as to the amount of receipts and disbursements in the several States?

Mr. McKINLEY. I can in Illinois. That would be the only one, of course, that I would know about.

Senator POMERENE. Who were they?

Mr. McKINLEY. Mr. D. R. Forgan. I think he was the chairman.

Senator POMERENE. He is a banker there, is he?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Can you name any others?

Mr. McKINLEY. Mr. H. F. McGregor, Houston, Tex. Outside of that, I do not believe I could name any others.

Senator POMERENE. Have you a list of these men?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir; I had no occasion to have.

Senator POMERENE. Well, did you not have correspondence with them?

Mr. McKINLEY. Oh, heavens, we got up to 2,000 letters a day.

Senator POMERENE. I know, but you evidently had some committee or some one individual or person to whom you looked in each of these States; did you not?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir; not to any great extent. Oh, in Michigan, Mr. G. J. Diekema.

Senator POMERENE. Is he at Detroit?

Mr. McKINLEY. No; he lives at Holland, Mich.

Senator POMERENE. Have you in your possession a list of the chairmen or other chief managers in each of these States with whom you had correspondence? Who was acting as the secretary of your committee?

Mr. McKINLEY. We did not have any committee.

Senator POMERENE. Well, who was acting as your secretary, then?

Mr. McKINLEY. I had five.

Senator POMERENE. How is that?

Mr. McKINLEY. I had five stenographers, if that is what you mean.

Senator POMERENE. What I was aiming to get at was the names of these chairmen or somebody who could advise us as to the receipts and expenditures in the several States.

Mr. McKINLEY. Well, I understand, Senator; but I would not know how to do that. That is, we had no particular people, as a rule, you know, because they ran their own States.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I assumed that that is the way. You have already testified to that.

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And I accept that as true.

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. But there must have been somebody who was in touch with and who would keep you advised as to what was going on. And you advised them?

Mr. McKINLEY. Not that way.

Senator POMERENE. Not that way?

Mr. McKINLEY. We did not have a close organization of that kind.

Senator POMERENE. Well, was there anybody that you had about the headquarters here in Washington or elsewhere who can give us that information?

Mr. McKINLEY. No. I will just give you an example. For instance, out in Iowa, the man who is looking after Mr. Taft's interests there was Mr. John T. Adams. I am satisfied that I did not have two letters from him in four months, because they ran it themselves, and we did not have anything to do with it.

Senator POMERENE. Have you not got any books of record which will give us this information?

Mr. McKINLEY. No; the books and records would not give you the information. If you would ask me about any particular State, I could probably explain to you, if you have any State in mind, or individuals.

Senator POMERENE. I want to get this complete list, so that we could get this information. It has evidently developed to you from the time you took the stand that we are trying to find out what moneys were received and expended in each one of these preliminary contests for delegates, whether by convention or by primary, in each of the States. Now, can you give us the names of those men who would let us have that information?

Mr. McKINLEY. That you could get in touch with, perhaps?

Senator POMERENE. Certainly, somebody we can send for who will tell us what the expense was in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana——

Mr. McKINLEY. Well, I know nothing about the East here. They ran their own matters, and we had no correspondence, to speak of, with them. Of course, you must remember that Pennsylvania was practically here at Washington. They might drop in and tell you something to-day, and somebody else to-morrow, and that is the way; but there was no connection with the Pennsylvania organization and this headquarters.

Senator POMERENE. Let us get at it in another way, Mr. McKinley.

Mr. McKINLEY. All right.

Senator POMERENE. You testified that about \$8,000 went to West Virginia.

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Who had charge in that State?

Mr. McKINLEY. Nobody.

Senator POMERENE. Nobody?

Mr. McKINLEY. There was \$8,000——

Senator POMERENE. To whom was this money sent?

Mr. McKINLEY. Probably 25 different people.

Senator POMERENE. Can you give their names?

Mr. McKINLEY. No.

Senator POMERENE. Did you send it by check or by telegraph?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not remember of ever sending any by telegraph. I might have sent it by check, or might have given it to them here. They came right here from West Virginia.

Senator POMERENE. Can you give us any of those names?

Mr. McKINLEY. I think Harry Woodyard. I gave \$2,000 or \$1,000 to him.

Senator POMERENE. Harry who?

Mr. McKINLEY. Harry Woodyard.

Senator POMERENE. Give their addresses as you go along.

Mr. McKINLEY. I can not. He is a Member of Congress.

Senator POMERENE. What is his address?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. To whom else did you give money in West Virginia?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Let me ask you again, was this money sent by checks?

Mr. McKINLEY. I think Woodyard's was; yes, sir; in nearly all cases by checks.

Senator POMERENE. You have got those checks, have you not?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir; got the bank account.

Senator POMERENE. The bank account does not ordinarily show the name of the payee of the check?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir; I would not suppose it would.

Senator POMERENE. What became of those checks?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know; I suppose they are in a mass of truck some place.

Senator POMERENE. In the bank?

Mr. McKINLEY. They may be.

Senator POMERENE. What banks did you do business with here in Washington?

Mr. McKINLEY. The Continental and Metropolitan, and I had an account which I did not check on in the American Security & Trust Co. I mean by that just money put in there and taken out of there and put in other banks.

Senator POMERENE. That is three?

Mr. McKINLEY. That is all.

Senator POMERENE. Did you not say a while ago that there were four?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir; one in Chicago—the Central Trust Co.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have those books balanced after the campaign was over?

Mr. McKINLEY. You mean the bank accounts?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. McKINLEY. I think they were largely balanced before it was over.

Senator POMERENE. Well, you understand what I meant when I asked you if you had those books balanced—a settlement made.

Mr. McKINLEY. I checked the money out.

Senator POMERENE. How is that?

Mr. McKINLEY. I suppose the money is all checked out. The reason I say I suppose in the Metropolitan Bank Mr. Eversman and I both checked on that and there might possibly be a hundred or two hundred dollars in the Continental Trust Co.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have pass books at those banks?

Mr. McKINLEY. I suppose so; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. After the campaign was over at any time did you take those pass books to the banks to have them balanced?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Then the checks which you drew on those accounts are still in the banks, are they?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Who would know?

Mr. McKINLEY. The banks.

Senator POMERENE. Well, they would not give them out to somebody without your authority, would they?

Mr. McKINLEY. They ought not to.

Senator POMERENE. Let me understand. Do you desire to give this information or don't you desire to give it to the committee?

Mr. McKINLEY. I am perfectly willing to.

Senator POMERENE. You are a business man of very large affairs, as I understand it. Have you not got some record of this money which was expended?

Mr. McKINLEY. Nothing; no, sir. I have a record of about—well, I have given the record right here in my testimony.

Senator POMERENE. Well, your record seems to be composed of memoranda on two or three little cards. From what did you take that memoranda?

Mr. McKINLEY. From ringing my memory on receipts and part of it on expenditures and all this detail of expenses; we had a record of that that amounts to about \$130,000 or \$140,000, I think.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have a bookkeeper in your employ during this campaign?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What did this bookkeeper do?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Who was it?

Mr. McKINLEY. I think his name was W. H. Esty.

Senator POMERENE. Did he keep a set of books?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. What was he employed for?

Mr. McKINLEY. He was employed first to be out in front and be pleasant to people that came in.

Senator POMERENE. And you called him a bookkeeper?

Mr. McKINLEY. Then as business grew he took charge of the books and sending out documents, and that, and his books are absolutely free and open to the committee; I mean we will gladly furnish his books.

Senator POMERENE. Will they show the account of receipts and disbursements?

Mr. McKINLEY. They will show what money he got, or what money he kept; the accounts went through the office.

Senator POMERENE. Will it show all the money that came to you?

Mr. McKINLEY. It will not show the full \$265,000; no, sir.

Senator POMERENE. About how much will it show?

Mr. McKINLEY. I expect 130. This money that went to the States would not show through there.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any books showing that? What was the purpose——

Mr. McKINLEY. I was just like Mr. Dixon—as fast as I got it I spent it.

Senator POMERENE. What was the purpose of having a bookkeeper, if you did not keep books of the amount you received and the amount you expended?

Mr. McKINLEY. Oh, there are a great many accounts that you would have to have a bookkeeper for.

For instance, we had anywhere from 25 to 125 people working for us, and we had to keep books to keep accounts for them and all the different supplies. I turned in an account there of \$12,000 simply for buttons, or \$10,000 for buttons and \$2,000 or \$3,000 for lithographs. All those accounts we had to keep books for.

Senator POMERENE. Let me understand you, Mr. McKinley. You had a certain pay roll of your employees. It was necessary to keep books for them, was it?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And you bought and distributed supplies. It was necessary to keep that account straight?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And you had a lot of campaign buttons?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And it was necessary to keep an account of that?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, in view of the fact that it was necessary to keep accounts of the character I have indicated, will you please explain to the committee why it was not necessary to keep account of the money which went to those several States?

Mr. McKINLEY. I could not explain it.

Senator POMERENE. Where are those pass books?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Who does know?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know. The pass book would show nothing on earth except what the bank account will show, you know.

Senator POMERENE. Well, have you got the check stubs?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Who does know?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. You stated from \$10,000 to \$12,000 was sent to the State of Maryland. To whom was that sent?

Mr. McKINLEY. My recollection is—now I will have to beg, that I can not remember people's names, but it is easily located. It was to either the chairman of the State committee or to the chairman of the city committee, or both of them. That is no trouble to locate. I can not remember their names.

Senator POMERENE. To whom was \$3,000 in Maine sent?

Mr. McKINLEY. To the chairman of the State central committee.

Senator POMERENE. The State central committee or the State executive committee?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know his name?

Mr. McKINLEY. I think his name was Boyd, but that I would not be really sure of. It is no trouble to locate, though.

Senator POMERENE. To whom was the money in Texas sent?

Mr. McKINLEY. To Mr. H. T. McGregor.

Senator POMERENE. How much was that?

Mr. McKINLEY. I think about \$5,000.

Senator POMERENE. To whom was the money in Indiana sent?

Mr. McKINLEY. It was either sent to Mr. Kealing or Mr. Harry New; that is my recollection of it.

Senator POMERENE. In Indianapolis?

Mr. McKINLEY. Well, if he was there it was.

Senator POMERENE. That is his home, is it not?

Mr. McKINLEY. I think so.

Senator POMERENE. To whom was the \$15,000 in Illinois sent?

Mr. McKINLEY. Sent to Frank L. Smith, of Dwight, Ill.

Senator POMERENE. To whom was the \$20,000 in Ohio sent?

Mr. McKINLEY. I can not remember all that. Some of it went to Cleveland, to the chairman of that committee.

Senator POMERENE. Who was that?

Mr. McKINLEY. I can not remember his name. Of course that is easily located, though.

Senator POMERENE. Well, some of it was sent there. Where was the rest of it sent?

Mr. McKINLEY. Why, Mr. ———, of Columbus, you know.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Harry Daugherty?

Mr. McKINLEY. No; the old gentleman.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. L. C. Laylin?

Mr. McKINLEY. I think it went through him. If not, he can locate it for you.

Senator POMERENE. Was the balance of it sent to him?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. To whom was the money in Iowa sent?

Mr. McKINLEY. To John T. Adams.

Senator POMERENE. And the amount?

Mr. McKINLEY. About \$5,000.

Senator POMERENE. And to whom was the amount in Kansas sent?

Mr. McKINLEY. It was sent to Mulvane, and that was about \$5,000.

Senator POMERENE. And to whom was the money in Kentucky sent?

Mr. McKINLEY. I can not remember.

Senator POMERENE. What was his address?

Mr. McKINLEY. I can not remember. It was sent—Senator——

Senator POMERENE. Senator Bradley?

Mr. McKINLEY. Senator Bradley told me whom to send it to, and whoever it was I sent it to.

Senator POMERENE. You keep books in your personal affairs, do you?

Mr. McKINLEY. Oh, just tolerable ones.

Senator POMERENE. Are you trying to set an example now for your bookkeepers?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Have you made a search for those books?

Mr. McKINLEY. I looked through my stuff; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What do you mean?

Mr. McKINLEY. Let me make this explanation: As I say, we got as high as 2,000 letters a day. You can realize what a terrific amount of stuff gets into your hands in that way in a campaign of three or four months. We shipped our stuff out to Chicago and then was supposed to ship them back again, and this stuff that was irrelevant was supposed to be destroyed, and letters that might be of benefit were aimed to be kept, and that was the condition of our headquarters.

Senator POMERENE. And the irrelevant matters were destroyed, were they?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know. They were supposed to be destroyed.

Senator POMERENE. And was the account of the money which you sent to the States irrelevant matter?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not suppose there was any particular account kept.

Senator POMERENE. Now, let me see if I understand you. You collected approximately \$265,000 with the probable variation in those figures of \$25,000 or \$30,000; you expended all of that money and perhaps more; you had a bookkeeper to keep accounts, or to keep books. Do you mean to tell us that under all these circumstances you can not give us any more definite information than you have given us?

Mr. McKINLEY. I have given you very definite information.

Senator POMERENE. I do not know where you get the definition of the word "definite."

Can you tell us now where we can get these books, with the account of receipts and expenditures of this money?

Mr. McKINLEY. You can get the books, with the account of all the itemized stuff there—yes, sir. That would be just as I have itemized it.

Senator POMERENE. You understood, did you not, when you were called before this committee, that you were called for the purpose of giving an account of these receipts and expenditures?

Mr. McKINLEY. I have given it. I have stated to you, for instance, that there is \$12,000 there for lithographs and buttons. That is what you will find on the books; that the expense in the Washington office was \$125,000.

Senator POMERENE. You got those figures from the books?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir; they were gotten for me, you know.

Senator POMERENE. Why did you not keep a similar account of moneys which you sent to these several States?

Mr. McKINLEY. You ought to have asked me that last May, or some time then in April or March. As I tell you, it was like Topsy—the whole business just "grewed."

Senator POMERENE. All except the bookkeeper?

Mr. McKINLEY. Well, I suppose he did, too.

Senator POMERENE. Another matter. Will you produce these books that you have?

Mr. McKINLEY. Oh, sure.

Senator POMERENE. So that the committee can make an examination of them. The chairman of the committee called your attention to what he understood to have been a conference in Boston with Speaker Cannon, which is supposed to have occurred in 1908. In answer to one of the chairman's questions, you suggested that you thought there was a meeting with these gentlemen in 1906.

Mr. McKINLEY. No; I did not.

Senator POMERENE. Did not you refer to a meeting in 1906, or to a trip to Boston—

Mr. McKINLEY. You are putting stuff in my mouth.

Senator POMERENE. I want to try and get something out of your mouth if I can.

Mr. McKINLEY. The fact of the thing is that I think you have got hold of something which is of absolutely no importance. To start with, in 1906 Mr. Cannon and the congressional committee were invited to come down to Oyster Bay to discuss what should be the general policy of the 1906 campaign. I, as the tail-end of the congressional committee, was invited to go along, and I went down there. That was absolutely the only recollection I had of ever being away with Mr. Cannon. We were down East for several days, visiting around. For instance, we spent about seven hours down at Coney Island one time, and did everything that was there. I had supposed that the trip to Boston must have been at that time.

There was absolutely no political significance or any money getting or anything else in the Boston trip, and it did not make any impression whatever on my mind.

Of course if it had been a city that I did not go to often, I would probably have remembered. As I say, I can even find my way in Boston without a map, and it does not impress me in any way of having been there.

Somebody—Mr. Weeks or Lieut. Gov. Draper or some one—may have asked us to dinner. But as to trying to get any money or anything of that kind, so far as I was concerned, or anything that I heard, there was absolutely nothing to it. It was simply a pleasure visit in the summer.

Senator POMERENE. Were you present at Boston with these gentlemen or any other gentlemen at any time since 1904, in which ways and means were devised and considered for the purpose of political campaigns?

Mr. McKINLEY. If I was, it has not made enough impression on my mind to remember it. I might add this further, that so far as I can remember the congressional committee for uses outside of Massachusetts never yet got a nickel from Massachusetts, so far as I can remember, in the last six years.

Senator POMERENE. Were you present with some gentlemen in Boston or elsewhere during the political campaign of 1904 or 1906 or 1908, in which you took up for consideration the campaign, and in that connection the possibility of tariff legislation?

Mr. McKINLEY. Not that I ever heard of.

Senator POMERENE. Either so far as it pertained to the woolen manufactures or cotton manufactures?

Mr. McKINLEY. Not that I ever heard of.

Senator POMERENE. Or steel manufactures?

Mr. McKINLEY. Not that I ever heard of.

Senator POMERENE. Or shoe manufactures?

Mr. McKINLEY. Or nothing.

Senator POMERENE. How long were you chairman of the congressional committee?

Mr. McKINLEY. Since about July, 1908.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any account of moneys which were received by your committee during the campaign of 1908?

Mr. McKINLEY. I testified to that.

Senator POMERENE. The congressional campaign?

The CHAIRMAN. It was at the former hearing.

Senator POMERENE. I had forgotten about that.

The CHAIRMAN. That is before you were on the committee.

Senator POMERENE. Did you furnish any account of the receipts and disbursements of the congressional committee during the campaign of 1910?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir; I filed a full account.

The CHAIRMAN. For both years?

Mr. McKINLEY. For 1910, my recollection is, it was about \$70,000. That was not in this testimony.

Senator POMERENE. What is that?

Mr. McKINLEY. It was not in this testimony.

Senator POMERENE. That is what I am getting at.

Mr. McKINLEY. You asked me if I had filed the account for the campaign of 1910, and I said I filed a full account. It would be with the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you testified at the former hearing to the account of 1908.

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes; that is all.

Senator POMERENE. In the campaign of 1908, about \$60,000 was the total expenditures and receipts; is that your present recollection of it?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you recall now what the receipts and expenditures were during the campaign of 1910?

Mr. McKINLEY. I think about \$70,000. It was all filed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, under the law.

Senator POMERENE. Did that account state the sources from which the money was received?

Mr. McKINLEY. It would if it had to. I don't remember now.

Senator POMERENE. Would you be able to give——

Mr. McKINLEY. Not from memory.

Senator POMERENE. The sources from which you received it?

Mr. McKINLEY. Not from memory.

Senator POMERENE. Or from the records you have?

Mr. McKINLEY. I have no records now.

Senator POMERENE. Could you give the sources of the receipts for the campaign of 1908?

Mr. McKINLEY. Not now.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any record of them?

Mr. McKINLEY. No.

Senator POMERENE. After making out the accounts which you filed in 1908 and 1910, what did you do with the records that you had?

Mr. McKINLEY. Well, I was not treasurer in either case, and the reports were made by the treasurer. I do not know what was done with them.

Senator POMERENE. Who was the treasurer in 1908 of the committee?

Mr. McKINLEY. Charles G. Dawes, I think.

Senator POMERENE. Who was treasurer during the campaign of 1910 of the committee?

Mr. McKINLEY. John C. Eversman.

Senator POMERENE. The witness, I understand, will produce those books; the bank books and, I think, the check books should be produced also.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; he is directed to produce the check books, if he can find them.

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes; I will be very glad to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McKinley, you have testified to an amount of money which you raised, or which was contributed and came into your possession, and I think you stated that some money, you did not know how much, was raised in the various States.

Could you give the committee the name of the man in Maine, for instance, who would be most likely to know what contributions had been made and by whom they were made?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir; I could not. I could say that for practically every State, Senator. That is what I endeavored to explain at first, that there was no community of interest between the States and this headquarters, really. No one had any idea there was going to be such a campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. But you have been in politics now a great many years——

Mr. McKINLEY. Oh, no; I have not. I was an honest man up to eight years ago. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you have been so deep in, in the last eight years, as to make up for the lost time. Having charge of the campaign, do you mean to tell us that you could not state who, in these various States, were in charge there?

Mr. McKINLEY. I beg your pardon. I think I have named a whole lot of them.

The CHAIRMAN. You have stated some men you sent some funds to. What the committee is desirous of getting, so far as we can, are the names of the contributors.

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And to get that——

Mr. McKINLEY. I informed you right off of several.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; so far as you went. But your testimony shows, what I think everybody will take for granted, of course, that there were funds raised in these different States outside of the funds that came to you or came under your observation.

Now, with your familiarity with the political situation, acting here in charge of this movement, do you mean to tell the committee that you are unable in the majority of these States to tell us who would be most likely to know about this—who was most likely in charge of Mr. Taft's interests in these States? Do you not know who was recognized as in charge in Massachusetts?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir. We had nothing to do with the Eastern States to speak of.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true, but you know the politicians in Massachusetts?

Mr. McKINLEY. No; I did not. If I had wanted to know anything about Massachusetts I would have gone and asked Senator Crane. I would not have gone any further, because we had nothing to do with it. I was not in touch, you know——

The CHAIRMAN. Then you pretend to tell this committee, Mr. McKinley, that you knew so little about Massachusetts that you did not know who the active Taft men were in Massachusetts except to go to Senator Crane? Surely you can not mean that.

Mr. McKINLEY. In Boston was an old gentleman, whose name I don't know—Senator Oliver might know—who was at the head of the Taft committee there. I can not remember names, so I do not remember his name. It is very easy to get that, though, and it is in any of these States.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course it is easy to get them, but I think naturally a man——

Mr. McKINLEY. I am satisfied I did not write that man two letters in the whole campaign, and they were about sending a speaker there, or something of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was at the head of the Taft movement, or forces, whatever you want to call it, in New York State?

Mr. McKINLEY. I have a telegram here that, maybe, will tell me, although it is not about that—a man named Hutchinson.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know his initials?

Mr. McKINLEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where he lives?

Mr. McKINLEY. He is now chairman of the speakers' bureau, the Taft speakers' bureau, in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. You can not locate this elderly gentleman in Boston by his business?

Mr. McKINLEY. No, sir; I can not, because I do not know him. It is easy enough to find out who he is. Anybody can tell you his name, because he has charge of the Taft bureau there.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, who was recognized as the head in New Hampshire?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know about up there at all.

The CHAIRMAN. And in New Jersey?

Mr. McKINLEY. The only one I knew anything about in New Jersey was Senator Briggs. There was a man in charge of the speakers' bureau over, I think, at Newark, but I am not so sure. That is about the only way I came in touch at all, was in sending out the speakers when the campaign got hot in those States. We had nothing to do with any finances for them, one way or the other.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not speaking of having financial transactions with them.

Mr. McKINLEY. If I had wanted to know anything there, I would have gone to Senator Briggs.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, as to Delaware?

Mr. McKINLEY. We had nothing to do with that at all. There was one Congressman over there, and if I wanted to know anything, I would just ask him.

In Maryland, as I have stated, there was the chairman of the State central committee and the chairman of the city committee that looked after the matter.

The CHAIRMAN. As to Ohio?

Mr. McKINLEY. Mr. Laylin and Mr. Radway, is it—or Rodway—up at Cleveland?

Senator POMERENE. I do not know.

Mr. McKINLEY. He had charge of the finances.

Senator POMERENE. Rodney was his name, wasn't it?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. I think it is Rodney.

Mr. McKINLEY. Something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. You sent some money to Mr. Smith at Dwight, Ill.?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir; he had charge of the Taft bureau there.

The CHAIRMAN. Would he be able to give us any information about the contributions in Illinois?

Mr. McKINLEY. I think so; and also Mr. D. R. Forgan. They had a regular organization in Illinois. He is the president of the National City Bank there, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. In Missouri?

Mr. McKINLEY. Otto S. Stifel, of St. Louis.

The CHAIRMAN. And in Nebraska?

Mr. McKINLEY. I do not think we operated very much in Nebraska.

The CHAIRMAN. In Kansas?

Mr. McKINLEY. David Mulvane.

The CHAIRMAN. I know you have testified that you sent him some money. Is he the man in Kansas who would be most likely to know of contributions?

Mr. McKINLEY. I should think so.

Senator PAYNTER. Does he live at Topeka?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes, sir; he is in the Chicago headquarters. He lives in Topeka.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you in touch with Mr. Orr, of Topeka?

Mr. McKINLEY. No. When I say no, I may have received a letter from him. There were so many letters that I could not remember all of them.

The CHAIRMAN. I know. What we are trying to do is to find out the men who would be the most likely to know about contributions, so as to have them appear before the committee.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. McKinley, will you prepare a statement showing the receipts and sources from which you received these funds, and also a statement showing the disbursements, to whom paid, and for what purpose paid?

Mr. McKINLEY. I have given it.

Senator POMERENE. In part, you have.

If the witness can prepare this statement, I think it ought to be furnished to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. McKINLEY. I will be very glad to, if I can.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Eversman?

Mr. McKINLEY. John C. Eversman is my congressional secretary. He is the assistant secretary of the national committee at this time,

and is located at Chicago, and is the assistant treasurer, I think, of the congressional committee.

Senator POMERENE. Has he any of these books or records in his possession?

Mr. McKINLEY. He was the man who was in charge of the books, and probably has them, because he furnished me this statement which I have given you, the most of it, of all the office stuff.

Senator POMERENE. That is, you mean by that the disbursements which you have given?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes; all the disbursements except the disbursements to the States.

Senator POMERENE. I mean, so far as an account has been given here of disbursements, it was presented to you by him, was it?

Mr. McKINLEY. There is about \$100,000 or more of disbursements to States which I have given, of which he knows nothing whatever.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any private memorandum of that?

Mr. McKINLEY. No.

Senator POMERENE. Your checks will show how that was disbursed?

Mr. McKINLEY. Yes; they ought to.

Senator POMERENE. From those checks you can prepare a statement which we would like to have.

What is your business?

Mr. McKINLEY. Getting elected, just now. [Laughter.]

Senator POMERENE. What other business are you engaged in?

Mr. McKINLEY. You want to know what is my general business?

Senator POMERENE. Well, I thought you ought to comprehend what that question was.

Mr. McKINLEY. Well, I could not tell you. Probably I am a farmer as much as anything. I am president of a good many gas companies and street railways.

Senator POMERENE. Anything else?

Mr. McKINLEY. I put in about three-fourths of my time being Congressman at this time.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You may be excused.

Mr. McKinley was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will take a recess until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Thereupon, at 4 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m., the committee took a recess until to-morrow, October 9, 1912, at 10 o'clock a. m.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1912.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee reassembled at 10 o'clock a. m., pursuant to adjournment, for the purpose of resuming the consideration of Senate resolutions 79 and 386.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Oliver, Paynter, and Pomerene.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

I will say for the benefit of the press that Senator Jones, who is a member of the committee, was asked to hold an examination in Tacoma, where Mr. Dover resides, and take his testimony and forward it to the committee. The committee is advised by Senator Jones that he has taken the testimony of Mr. Dover, and Mr. Dover states that there are records in Chicago, and that he is willing to bring them here. Mr. Dover has been directed to proceed to Chicago and obtain such records as can be obtained, and bring them before the committee. I make this statement because of the natural interest representatives of the press have in regard to the Dover matter.

Senator Scott, will you take the stand, please?

TESTIMONY OF HON. NATHAN B. SCOTT.

Hon. Nathan B. Scott was recalled for further examination, and testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. You have already been sworn in this case, I believe?

Mr. SCOTT. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Scott, you were before the committee some time in August?

Mr. SCOTT. July, was it not?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; the 22d of July, at which time you made certain statements within your knowledge concerning contributions to the campaign of 1904. I will ask you now if there is any fact or circumstance within your knowledge that you now recall bearing upon or relating to campaign contributions in 1904 which you did not include in your statement to the committee at the time of your former appearance?

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, the statement that I made on the 22d of July was what I knew of my own personal knowledge. As I under-

stood the committee, they wanted evidence. Now, if you want to ask me about hearsay, of course I can give you additional material of certain contributions that I was told were given, but when I was on the stand before I did not understand that that was admissible. I simply told the committee what I knew of my own personal knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the committee desires any fact or circumstance bearing upon the question of campaign funds in the several years covered by our resolutions, and especially as to the campaign of 1904.

Mr. SCOTT. Then, Mr. Chairman, do I understand that if somebody had told me that a certain contribution had been made, that that would be evidence before this committee?

The CHAIRMAN. It certainly would be, for whatever it might be worth.

Mr. SCOTT. I did not understand that when I was on the stand before. Now, with that understanding, I do not want to seem to contradict myself in what I might say to-day and in what I said before.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you may proceed now and make any statement concerning contributions that you recall.

Mr. SCOTT. I asked Mr. Bliss, when we were short of funds in October, if he could not go to 26 Broadway and get a contribution. He said no, because he had already had a very liberal contribution from those people, and he did not believe in riding a willing horse, or something to that effect, too freely, and I asked him just casually what amount he had gotten, and he said a hundred thousand dollars. Now, I did not state that before because that was hearsay.

The CHAIRMAN. By "those people," of course you referred to the Standard Oil Co., did you not?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes; I referred to them.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what you meant when you suggested 26 Broadway?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And he stated that he had already received a hundred thousand dollars from them?

Mr. SCOTT. A hundred thousand dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SCOTT. And did not feel like going back.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall how much you received from the national committee for West Virginia that year?

Mr. SCOTT. I tried, Senator, to get the books from the present committee at Clarksburg, so that I might be able to answer that positively, but, as near as I can recollect, \$65,000.

The CHAIRMAN. And was that exclusive or not, as the case may be, of the \$15,000 which Mr. Perkins gave you?

Mr. SCOTT. That \$65,000 was in addition to the \$15,000 that Mr. Perkins gave me for the State.

The CHAIRMAN. We have no record of it, but the committee has been advised that the national committee that year gave you \$75,000 for West Virginia.

Mr. SCOTT. Well, I would not contradict that. I am only giving you my best recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Senator, since you were on the stand before the jurisdiction of the committee has been enlarged by a resolution

which includes the preconvention campaigns of 1912, which, of course, was not the subject of inquiry when you were before us in July. You may state what, if anything, you know concerning the preconvention campaign contributions of 1912.

Mr. SCOTT. Nothing at all, Senator, except a very small contribution I made myself to Congressman McKinley.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the amount of that?

Mr. SCOTT. I gave it to him at two or three different times, or, rather, paid bills, I should judge, in the amount of about \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What, if anything, do you know of the so-called Harriman fund in 1904?

Mr. SCOTT. Early in October—I can not give the date—I was told by the young lady who conducted the telephone service for us that the White House wanted to speak with Mr. Bliss or Mr. Cortelyou, and she said neither of them had arrived at headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time, where were you?

Mr. SCOTT. In New York.

The CHAIRMAN. At the national headquarters in New York?

Mr. SCOTT. In the national headquarters at New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SCOTT. Neither of them had arrived, and would she put me on the wire, as I happened to be the only one of the committee at headquarters just at that time. She did, and I had a conversation with the White House.

Now, shall I state that conversation in my own way?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. First, whom was it with?

Mr. SCOTT. Well, I will have to tell you the story, and then you shall be the judge.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; go ahead.

Mr. SCOTT. He said: "Who is this?" and I replied, "Mr. Scott." "What is this trouble I hear about Higgins? I hear there is some danger of his being defeated." I said, "Well, if the election was now, I fear he would be defeated," as I had been in the twenty-third assembly district a few nights before, and also in Brooklyn, making a little talk, and any mention of Higgins's name would bring no response, and from what I could gather from the State committee he was in danger. From the White House: "What is the trouble?" I said, "The committee claim that they have no funds sufficient to carry out the plan of their campaign." "Well, can't Mr. Bliss settle that?" I said, "I understand that Mr. Bliss says that he has not any additional funds that he can give the State committee." "Can't the State committee raise the funds?" "Well," I said, "the understanding was when the campaign started that the national committee would do the soliciting and turn over a certain amount to the State committee for their campaign." That was the conversation. Then, the question arose as to—

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all of that conversation?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir; I am going on with it, if you will allow me.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SCOTT. I want to get it as nearly as I can recall it from my recollection of eight years.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that is right.

Mr. SCOTT. The response from the White House was, "I would rather lose the election in the country than to be defeated in my own

State." I said, "There is no danger, Mr. President, of your being defeated in New York State; that, while there is danger of Higgins, there is no danger whatever of your not carrying the State," and I said, "If the funds were furnished the State committee to carry out their plan, I have no doubt that we can elect Higgins." The response was from this end that "I will send for Mr. Harriman"—now, I will not say whether he "would send" or that "Mr. Harriman is coming to see me, and I will see if we can not arrange to raise the funds for the election of Mr. Higgins"; and possibly there was some other little talk in regard to the campaign, but that is as near as I can repeat the conversation that took place eight years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. You were at headquarters in New York more or less of the time during that campaign?

Mr. SCOTT. I was there until, I think, about three weeks, Senator, before the election, when I went out in my own State.

The CHAIRMAN. I forget whether you were a member of the executive committee or not.

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What conversation, if any, did you have with either Mr. Cortelyou or Mr. Bliss in regard to this fund that is commonly called the Harriman fund?

Mr. SCOTT. None whatever. I want to say that later in the campaign, when pressure was very hard for funds, I mentioned to Mr. Cortelyou, at about the time I was leaving New York, that I thought if he would go down to 26 Broadway he could get another contribution, and his reply was that the President had notified—I do not know whether he had notified him or whether he had had word from him—that he did not want contributions from the Standard Oil people. This was about three weeks, I should say, before the election.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you recall any conversation with Mr. Bliss, other than the one you have already stated, with reference either to the Standard Oil Co. contribution or the so-called Harriman fund?

Mr. SCOTT. I had no conversation with him at all in regard to the Harriman fund, only that it had been raised and that the money had been turned over to Mr. Odell, the state chairman.

Senator POMERENE. With whom was that conversation?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bliss.

Mr. SCOTT. With Mr. Bliss.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, after this talk over the telephone, did you not communicate this fact to either Mr. Cortelyou or Mr. Bliss?

Mr. SCOTT. I had a conversation with Mr. Bliss and told him that Mr. Harriman was either going to be—and that is the point I am now making—I do not know whether he was going to be sent for or that he was coming.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SCOTT. And I presumed that the matter would be arranged so that the State committee would get the money, which appeared to relieve Mr. Bliss.

The CHAIRMAN. How long after this telephone communication did this conversation with Mr. Bliss take place?

Mr. SCOTT. I think the same day or the next day.

The CHAIRMAN. After that time did you have any further conversation with Mr. Bliss about the Harriman fund, except the one you have testified to, after it was raised?

Mr. SCOTT. None. As I said, gentlemen of the committee, before, I was very busy with the speakers' bureau, and arranging for meetings and furnishing speakers, and had no direct knowledge of the financial end of it, only just in the way that some important matter developed.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is there any further fact or circumstance connected with contributions to the campaign of 1904 to which your attention has been called and as to which you have not testified, that you now recall?

Mr. SCOTT. No; I do not—that would give any light to this committee. Of course, you know, there is always more or less talk, as you gentlemen have yourselves when you adjourn your meetings here, but I would think them unimportant. I do not remember any prominent fact sticking out more prominently than any other.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I call your attention especially to any knowledge of contributions from large corporations or large financiers personally.

Mr. SCOTT. None whatever, and I do not suppose that I would have known about this contribution of the hundred thousand dollars if I had not suggested myself to Mr. Bliss to go there, and then he replied by saying that he already had the contribution. Otherwise I do not suppose I would have known of that. That was quite early in the campaign.

Senator PAYNTER. Senator Scott, in your talk with Mr. Cortelyou about 26 Broadway making a contribution, did you understand from that conversation that he knew the Standard Oil Co. had made a contribution?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir; I did not.

Senator PAYNTER. What was it he said about the President objecting?

Mr. SCOTT. As near as I can recollect, Senator, I said to him, "Mr. Cortelyou, I think if you go down to 26 Broadway you can get another contribution," and he says, "No; I will not go down there, because the President does not want us to take any money from corporations of that kind or character."

Senator PAYNTER. When you said the committee could get another contribution he did not then deny that the committee had already received a contribution?

Mr. SCOTT. No; he did not.

Senator PAYNTER. Senator Scott, can you fix the date of this conversation over the telephone with the White House, in the early part of October?

Mr. SCOTT. I could not fix it other than probably between the 6th and 12th, I should say it was. It may be the 15th.

Senator PAYNTER. I will read you a short letter here, written by Col. Roosevelt to Mr. Harriman on October 10, 1904. [Reading:]

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: When you wrote me before I did not feel the situation was such that I was warranted in asking you to take the trouble to come down here, but in view of the trouble over the State ticket in New York, I should

much like to have a few words with you. Do you think you can get down here within a few days and take either lunch or dinner with me?

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

That is dated October 10.

Mr. SCOTT. Well, as I stated to you, I should say my conversation—after eight years it is hard to remember—but I should say from the 5th to the 10th or 12th.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes.

Mr. SCOTT. Rather putting it on the 5th or 6th.

Senator PAYNTER. You say that he either told you that——

Mr. SCOTT. What is that?

Senator PAYNTER. I say, the party who was talking over the telephone either said that Mr. Harriman was coming or he asked him to come down?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes. As I stated twice, I can not give the exact language that was repeated over the telephone—that he was either coming or that he would have him come.

Senator PAYNTER. With a view of raising money for the State candidate?

Mr. SCOTT. Well, we were talking about what the State wanted.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes.

Mr. SCOTT. They wanted money.

Senator PAYNTER. And he was either coming——

Mr. SCOTT. Or he would have him come over.

Senator PAYNTER. You observed, Senator Scott, that we might be the judges as to who you had this conversation with. Were you talking with Mr. Loeb?

Mr. SCOTT. I do not think so. I might as well answer you as to what I thought.

Senator PAYNTER. Give your impression as to who it was.

Mr. SCOTT. I thought it was President Roosevelt.

Senator PAYNTER. And you thought you recognized his voice?

Mr. SCOTT. I thought it was President Roosevelt. Of course, whoever it was, was in Washington and I was in New York.

Senator PAYNTER. When you addressed him as Mr. President, he did not deny that he was Mr. President, did he?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. So you proceeded to talk with him as though you were talking with the President, and supposed you were?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir; and the conversation was very brief.

Senator PAYNTER. After the expiration of eight years, have you any doubt, Senator Scott, that you were talking with the President on that subject?

Mr. SCOTT. I never had any doubt that it was he. Of course, I am liable to be mistaken.

Senator PAYNTER. Senator, did you ever talk to him at any other time about campaign funds previous to the election?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not know what knowledge he had about the contributions that had been made to the campaign fund?

Mr. SCOTT. I do not.

Senator PAYNTER. You say you left New York about three weeks before the election?

Mr. SCOTT. As near as I can remember.

Senator PAYNTER. And it was before you left that this conversation took place?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you know that Mr. H. C. Frick had made a contribution to the campaign fund of that year?

Mr. SCOTT. I did not. I never discussed the contributors at all with Mr. Bliss.

Senator PAYNTER. You got this information as a result of your suggestion?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Senator, did you have any further talk with the President on the subject of raising funds?

Mr. SCOTT. Well, I never had any talk about raising funds except as I have stated over the phone, and I supposed it was the President.

Senator POMERENE. Well, did you have any talk other than that which you have given, with him on the subject of campaign funds during that campaign?

Mr. SCOTT. Or afterwards?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. SCOTT. After the trouble commenced with the life insurance people, and Mr. Perkins was—I believe he was sued or indicted, something of that nature, for contributing money—I went to the White House in person and suggested to the President that I thought it was only just to Mr. Perkins that those of us who had been beneficiaries by the contribution of this money should, in a way, reimburse Mr. Perkins for his contributions and save him from this money that he was likely to have to put back and that he was getting into trouble for having used, and that I was willing to return a portion of the money that was sent to West Virginia, and ask him if he felt disposed to contribute to a fund that would relieve Mr. Perkins from this embarrassment, and he said, "No;" that if Mr. Perkins was to be reimbursed, it ought to be done by the party as a whole and not by us as individuals.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any further talk with him prior to the election of 1904?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir; this was not prior to the election, mind you.

Senator POMERENE. I understood you to say it was after the disclosures in the insurance investigation. Have you any statement or memorandum showing who the contributors were to this campaign and the amount of their contributions?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Are you able to give the names of any of the contributors as you learned them from Mr. Bliss or Mr. Cortelyou?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir; except what I have stated.

Senator POMERENE. As I understood you, you stated that when you suggested to Mr. Cortelyou that he should go to 26 Broadway to get additional funds that he then told you the President objected, and your impression was that this was probably within two or three weeks before the election?

Mr. SCOTT. Well, it was earlier than two weeks, because, as I have stated, I went to my own State, I think, three weeks before the election.

Senator POMERENE. You think it was before that?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir; I know it was, because I could not have had a conversation with——

Senator POMERENE. The record shows that Col. Roosevelt wrote to Mr. Cortelyou on this subject on October 26, 1904?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. The election, as I recall, was on November 8, was it not?

The CHAIRMAN. I think so.

Senator POMERENE. So that would not quite be two weeks before the election. Would that refresh your mind or enable you to fix more definitely the date when you had this talk?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir; it would not, unless I am mistaken in the length of time intervening between the time I left New York to go to my own State and the time of election——

Senator POMERENE. At the time of the talk the committee was, in fact, in needs of funds, was it?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you remember what amount they had on hand at the time?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir; I never knew.

Senator POMERENE. Were you advised at any time during that campaign by Mr. Bliss or Mr. Cortelyou, or anyone else, that a \$100,000 contribution by the Standard Oil Co., or by some director of the company, had been returned?

Mr. SCOTT. Never.

Senator POMERENE. You never heard anything on that subject at all?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. When you spoke to Mr. Cortelyou on the subject, did he suggest that they had received a telegram, or had received a contribution of \$100,000, and it was directed to be returned?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. No mention of that subject at all?

Mr. SCOTT. He simply said he would not go to see these people, because the President objected to taking contributions from them.

Senator POMERENE. Did you suggest any other person to whom he might go for assistance in the hour of need?

Mr. SCOTT. No; I did not.

Senator POMERENE. Did you understand during that campaign that there were any other interests which had been proscribed, and from whom contributions were not to be received?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir; I think you were in the other room, Senator, when I made this statement, that my duties at the headquarters were entirely with the speakers' bureau, and I was not in any wise connected with the raising of money or the distributing of it, and it only came up that I mentioned this to Mr. Bliss because Mr. John D. Archbold was born in West Virginia and I knew him very well, and I just suggested to Mr. Bliss that he might get a contribution there, and this is when he told me he had already received this contribution and he did not want to go back.

Senator POMERENE. At that particular time you were one of the United States Senators from West Virginia?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Had Mr. Archbold contributed anything to the West Virginia campaign?

Mr. SCOTT. Not that I know of; no, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I had reference to the campaign of 1904, of course.

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you know of his contributing to the campaign of 1908?

Mr. SCOTT. I did not.

Senator POMERENE. Were you a member of the executive committee at that time?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have anything to do with the general management of the campaign of 1908?

Mr. SCOTT. I did not.

Senator POMERENE. During the primary campaign, the campaign prior to the Chicago convention, did you have anything to do with the campaign of 1912?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you raise any funds for the campaign?

Mr. SCOTT. Not a dollar.

Senator POMERENE. Or contribute any?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes. I answered that question, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. I guess you did; yes. That is all.

Senator PAYNTER. Senator, it has been eight years, as you have stated and as we know, since this occurrence. Could it be that you made another visit to the headquarters there after you had started to West Virginia to look after the campaign there?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any documents or letters or other memoranda which would shed any light on the subject matter of this investigation?

Mr. SCOTT. I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing else that you now recall connected with this question of contributions of 1904 that you care to state?

Mr. SCOTT. None whatever. My first testimony—I want to be particular about that—was what I knew of my own personal knowledge. The testimony to-day is hearsay, because in some parts it would look as though it was in conflict.

The CHAIRMAN. You were quoted as saying, after the first hearing—I would not pretend to recall the language—that there was other information, if the matter had been sufficiently pressed, or something to that effect?

Mr. SCOTT. I think I told you, Senator, that I was overly rejoiced to think that I had gotten off so easily, and I made that remark, and I presume out of that grew that suggestion.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you mean by that?

Mr. SCOTT. I meant that I was treated so courteously and nicely by the committee, and I said to somebody that I supposed it was because of the old senatorial courtesy that they had extended to me.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not mean, then, that there had been any dereliction in the inquiry?

Mr. SCOTT. Not at all. That was furthest from my thoughts, because I was really thanking you gentlemen for your courtesy.

Mr. Scott was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT SCOTT LOVETT, OF LOCUST VALLEY, LONG ISLAND; BUSINESS ADDRESS, 105 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your occupation or profession?

Mr. LOVETT. I am a lawyer by profession, but for the last three years have been out of practice. I am chairman of the executive committee of the Union Pacific Railway Co. and the Southern Pacific Co. and of the various corporations that constitute the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific systems.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew Mr. E. H. Harriman during his lifetime?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And were associated with him?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were associated in the management of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific while Mr. Harriman was practically at the head of those organizations, were you not?

Mr. LOVETT. I was general counsel for the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific systems from January 1, 1904, up to the time of Mr. Harriman's death. For several years prior to that I had been counsel for the Southern Pacific interests in Texas, and for most of 1902 and 1903 I was in New York and in communication with Mr. Harriman.

The CHAIRMAN. I was directing myself more particularly to your intimate relations with Mr. Harriman during the year or two preceding his death.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir. I was also, from January 1, 1904, up to the time of his death, his own counsel. I was a member of the executive committee of those companies most of the time after January 1, 1904, and was vice president of a number of the companies—I think both the Union Pacific and the Southern Pacific—at the time of Mr. Harriman's death, and had been for two or three years prior to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Now there has been considerable testimony here relative to a contribution made in 1904, which has come to be known and called the Harriman fund. I do not know whether you have heard anything about it?

Mr. LOVETT. I have heard and read a good deal about it.

The CHAIRMAN. So you will understand the designation "Harriman fund" in this connection?

Mr. LOVETT. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Judge, you may tell us what, if anything, you know regarding the so-called Harriman fund?

Mr. LOVETT. Mr. Harriman—shall I repeat what he told me?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; we will take the evidence.

Mr. LOVETT. I knew of Mr. Harriman's visit to Washington late in October, 1904. Upon his return he went first to his country place

at Arden, and on coming to his office a few days later—perhaps over the week end—he told me that the national committee was very short of funds; that they owed the State committee \$200,000; to use his exact words, he said, “They are in a hole, and the President wants me to help them out, and I have got to do it,” and he was going to try to raise the money, or raise it—I do not think he said he would try—he was going to raise the money.

Soon afterwards—I do not know whether it was the same day or some days later—he sent word to my office, asking me to come to his office—I was on the fifth floor, and he on the fourth, I think—and he told me that he had to catch a train for his place in the country, and gave me some checks and cash. He said that Mr. Bliss would come in during the afternoon, and when he came in he would be shown up to my office. and asked me to give him this money and checks. The aggregate was \$250,000. I have noticed that it has been stated variously here, but that was the amount—\$250,000. It was made up mainly of checks and of brokerage-house checks. I would not undertake at this late date to testify who signed any of the checks. I only know that the checks and cash aggregated \$250,000, and very much the greater part of it was in checks, and they were either payable to Mr. Bliss or indorsed.

In the afternoon, later in the afternoon, Mr. Bliss came into Mr. Harriman's office and was brought up to my office on the next floor, and I gave Mr. Bliss in person the checks and cash. He offered to give me a receipt, but I told him I did not want any receipt. He intimated that he would like to give a receipt to somebody for it, and I told him that I did not want any, and that he could send his receipt to the contributors if he knew who they were.

That was about all that transpired between Mr. Bliss and myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall about when the conversation with Mr. Harriman took place?

Mr. LOVETT. It was late in October, or just a few days before the election.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you able to recall what amount of this \$250,000 was in currency?

Mr. LOVETT. No; I can not; it was small, though; I think less than \$50,000. I am sure it was less than \$50,000. There was no single item in excess of \$50,000.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you are unable to recall any of the names of the parties?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes. I have an opinion as to one name, aside from Mr. Harriman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state it.

Mr. LOVETT. But I would not like to express that name, because I may be mistaken about it, and it might bring in the name of a gentleman who perhaps had nothing to do with it. Eight years have gone by, and I have had a good many other things to do in the meantime, and I would not like to state that name.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Judge, if you can state it as a recollection, of course the committee would want it.

Mr. LOVETT. I would rather not state it, Mr. Chairman, because my recollection is exceedingly vague on that point.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there a check, as you recall, of \$50,000 of Mr. Harriman's?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes; that is my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. And one from Mr. Twombly?

Mr. LOVETT. I do not recall a check from Mr. Twombly, but there may have been.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any check, either from Mr. Morgan or through a brokerage house, that you would recognize as coming from Mr. Morgan from your knowledge of where he did business?

Mr. LOVETT. I recall none from Mr. Morgan, but I would not say at all that there was none from him. As to the brokerage checks, it is quite impossible to identify them, of course; I suppose that is the reason they were sent in that way.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make a list at that time of the checks?

Mr. LOVETT. I did not; I kept no record whatever of the transaction. I simply turned the checks over, because Mr. Harriman had to leave town on an early train, and I generally represented him in his absence.

The CHAIRMAN. Judge, the committee is somewhat in doubt in this matter. Of course we would not expect a witness to testify to anything he could not recollect, at the same time if a witness does recollect the name of any of these parties it is within the purview and the duty of the committee to ascertain that.

Mr. LOVETT. Well, I just simply submitted the matter to the committee. I should think under the statement that I have made it would not be required of me. Of course I will leave it to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. That would rest somewhat with you, as to whether this was a recollection upon which you could testify, or was not one. If it is a recollection upon which you could testify to any fact—of course the committee can not say, no one can say—the committee would feel that you ought to state it. If it is not a recollection which you would testify upon, then, of course, the committee would not press it.

Mr. LOVETT. I will say that while it is a recollection, it is exceedingly vague, and I state it with considerable doubt as to the accuracy of my recollection. My recollection is that one of the checks was from W. K. Vanderbilt. The others were, as I say, from brokerage houses, so far as I recall, except Mr. Harriman's, and they were generally drawn, as I recall, in favor of some individual, possibly a clerk in the office and indorsed by him; but there may have been other checks among the number that were not from brokerage houses, but I do not recall them.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, with the incident in a measure revived by examination, do you recall any check from Mr. Twombly?

Mr. LOVETT. I do not, but I would not say there was none.

The CHAIRMAN. Judge, is there any other fact or circumstance connected with the matter of campaign funds in 1904 to which your attention has not been called, or to which you have not testified that you do now recall?

Mr. LOVETT. Only many conversations with Mr. Harriman subsequent to the one that I have just mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the committee would desire any conversation you had with Mr. Harriman with reference to contributions.

Mr. LOVETT. I can not fix the dates except that they were all subsequent to the conversation late in October, 1904. Many, many times

after the publication of the so-called Sidney Webster letter, as well as before, Mr. Harriman declared over and over again that President Roosevelt had asked him to come to Washington, had told him that the national campaign committee was short of funds, and had appealed to him to raise funds for the committee; that the national committee had promised some amount to the State committee early in the campaign, that the State committee had made its plans on the assumption of getting that money, and as the election approached it developed that the national committee could not pay the amount that it had promised; and under those circumstances the President had appealed to him to help raise money for the committee, and that he did so, and that this money that was turned over to Mr. Bliss was raised under those circumstances.

He also repeated in conversation a number of times the substance of the statement that he made in his letter to Sidney Webster as to what had transpired between the President and himself.

I was very close to Mr. Harriman personally, and our relations, I may say, grew closer up to the time of his death, and he discussed with me quite freely almost anything that he was very much interested in.

The CHAIRMAN. In these conversations did he indicate the amount which he claimed the national committee had promised the State committee?

Mr. LOVETT. I do not recall that he did, except that they were \$200,000 short of the amount they had promised.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether Mr. Harriman was interested in any active or prospective canal work in New York State?

Mr. LOVETT. Only in a general way. At the time that he was under fire from the Federal Government and from the newspapers generally a great deal was said about some small canal contract that he was interested in some years before, prior to 1904. He told me all about it. It was a comparatively trifling matter in amount.

The CHAIRMAN. When was this time that you refer to that he was under fire?

Mr. LOVETT. In 1905 and 1906 and 1907.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you may state what you know of that matter.

Mr. LOVETT. My recollection about it is very vague. To the best of my recollection, it is that it involved less than \$100,000—the total contract. Mr. Harriman inherited, or Mrs. Harriman inherited, some small interest in a mining enterprise—an iron-mining enterprise—in northern New York; I have forgotten the name of it. This corporation owning the mine, as I recall, had suspended operations, and when the contracts were let some of the men employed by this corporation wanted to take a contract to do some work on the canal as an occupation for them, and Mr. Harriman allowed them to do so. He never paid any attention to the business; it was a small thing, and it was handled in the interest of these men who were employed and who wanted work, and it was charged that in the final awards for the work, or, rather, in the final certificates given for the work upon which payment was made, too much had been allowed this company—\$2,000.

I investigated at once at Mr. Harriman's request after the newspapers had criticized the transaction so much, and I was entirely sat-

isfied myself from an examination of the papers that the award was entirely proper, that there had been no excessive payment. As I recall, Mr. Harriman did not go into the contract to make money, but went into it to give occupation to these men.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of any contributions made in 1908?

Mr. LOVETT. Nothing at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Or of any contributions made by anyone associated in the railroads which you were associated with?

Mr. LOVETT. I have no information of that at all. I know that Mr. Harriman intended to make a contribution in 1908 and he spoke to me about it. There had been more or less legislation then about making contributions public, and I told him that if he made it it would have to be made public, and under the conditions existing at that time—the criticism to which he was being subjected—he seemed to think that probably it would do more harm than good; and I do not think he made it, although, of course, I do not know whether he did or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of contributions made in the preconvention campaign of 1912?

Mr. LOVETT. I know of none, except what I read in the newspapers. There was none made by any corporation with which I am connected that I have knowledge of.

The CHAIRMAN. Or by men connected with the corporations?

Mr. LOVETT. No, sir; nor by men connected with the corporations. I do not know, but I think I have read of some contributions—I do not think I have read of any that have not been already published.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, with reference to the contributions in the presidential campaigns of 1904 and 1908 and the preconvention campaigns of 1912. Is there any fact or circumstance bearing upon or relating to these contributions to which your attention has not been called and which is now in your mind?

Mr. LOVETT. I know nothing of any contributions to any preconvention campaigns or any campaign in 1912 beyond what I have read in the proceedings of this committee and in the newspapers. I know of none to the campaign or any campaign of 1908 beyond what I have read in the proceedings of this committee and in the newspapers.

In 1904 I knew of none beyond the contribution raised by Mr. Harriman and turned over to Mr. Bliss, as I have testified, that I can now recall.

Mr. Chairman, perhaps I should state that this subpoena required me to produce any documents that I had in my possession relating to this subject.

The CHAIRMAN. You have testified that you made no account of this \$250,000, and you know of no other contribution. Have you any document?

Mr. LOVETT. The only document that I have in my possession that relates to the subject at all is a pamphlet that was printed at the direction of Mr. Harriman in 1907, following the publication of the Sidney Webster letter, the publication of the President's statement and letter, and of Mr. Harriman's reply. Mr. Harriman collected all documents and had them printed. I supervised the printing of them, and I have a copy of that pamphlet.

The CHAIRMAN. This pamphlet may be marked "Exhibit L, No. 1."

The pamphlet referred to was marked "Exhibit L 1," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT L-1.

REPRINT OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES IN REFERENCE TO PUBLICATION OF LETTER TO SIDNEY WEBSTER.

[New York World, April 2, 1907.]

ROOSEVELT BEGGED ME, WROTE HARRIMAN, TO RAISE CAMPAIGN FUNDS.

In letter to Sidney Webster, which the financier acknowledges, he tells of being summoned to Washington in 1904, told that Cortelyou had failed to raise sufficient money, that New York State was in danger, and his aid was urgently needed to save the ticket.—Bliss told him that he was the party's only hope.—Soon \$200,000 was raised, of which he subscribed \$50,000.—"If there were any life-insurance checks, Cortelyou must have informed the President."—The amount raised "made a difference of 100,000 votes in the general result."—"A combination of circumstances has brought together the Ryan-Root-Roosevelt element. Where do I stand?"—Harriman bargained to make Depew ambassador, but Roosevelt wanted him in Senate.

Edward H. Harriman, who wrote the following letter in the latter part of December, 1905, last evening admitted its authorship, saying that when he prepared it he went further than now appears:

MR. SIDNEY WEBSTER,

No. 245 East Seventeenth Street, New York.

DEAR SIR: I am glad to see that you are in town, and hope soon to have an opportunity of talking matters over with you.

I had printed copies of the testimony sent you, in hopes that you would, after reading them, give me some idea of where I stand, for I confess that I feel somewhat at sea in the whole insurance matter. The trouble originated in my allowing myself to be drawn into other people's affairs, and partly from a desire to help them and at their request. I seemed to be like the fellow who got in between the man and his wife in their quarrel.

As to my political instincts to which you refer in your letter of December 13, I am quite sure I have none; and my being made at all prominent in the political situation is entirely due to President Roosevelt and because of my taking an active part in the autumn of 1904 at his request, and his taking advantage of conditions then created to further his own interests. If it had been a premeditated plot it could not have been better started or carried out.

SUMMONED BY THE PRESIDENT.

About a week before the election in the autumn of 1904, when it looked certain that the State ticket would go Democratic and was doubtful as to Roosevelt himself, he, the President, sent me a request to go to Washington to confer upon the political conditions in New York State. I complied, and he told me he understood the campaign could not be successfully carried on without sufficient money, and asked if I would help them in raising the necessary funds, as the national committee, under control of Chairman Cortelyou, had utterly failed of obtaining them, and there was a large amount due from them to the New York State committee.

I explained to him that I understood the difficulty here was mainly caused by the up-State leaders being unwilling to support Depew for reelection as United States Senator; that if he, Depew, could be taken care of in some other way I thought matters could be adjusted and the different contending elements in the party brought into close alliance again. We talked over what could be done for Depew, and finally he agreed that if found necessary he would appoint him as ambassador to Paris.

HARRIMAN THEIR "LAST HOPE."

With full belief that he, the President, would keep his agreement, I came back to New York, sent for Treasurer Bliss, who told me that I was their last hope, and that they had exhausted every other resource. In his presence I

called up an intimate friend of Senator Depew, told him that it was necessary in order to carry New York State that \$200,000 should be raised at once, and if he would help I would subscribe \$50,000. After a few words over the telephone the gentleman said he would let me know, which he did probably in three or four hours, with the result that the whole amount, including my subscription, had been raised.

The checks were given to Treasurer Bliss, who took them to Chairman Cortelyou. If there were any among them of life insurance companies, or any other like organizations, of course Cortelyou must have informed the President. I do not know who the subscribers were other than the friend of Depew, who was an individual. This amount enabled the New York State committee to continue its work, with the result that at least 50,000 votes were turned in the city of New York alone, making a difference of 100,000 votes in the general result.

There are between 2,200 and 2,300 districts in Greater New York, and in a campaign such as that the expenditure of, say, \$50 in each district for campaign purposes, not including the watchers on election day, would take more than \$100,000.

ROOSEVELT CHANGED MIND ABOUT DEPEW.

Some time in December, 1904, on my way from Virginia to New York I stopped and had a short talk with the President. He then told me that he did not think it necessary to appoint Depew as ambassador to Paris, as agreed, in fact favored him for the Senate. I had not expected that he was the one (*sic*) as to what would be necessary, but he arrogated that to himself, and I, of course, could say nothing further. After that I used what influence I could to have Depew returned to the Senate, as I considered there had been an implied obligation which should be lived up to.

"I WAS BROUGHT FORWARD BY ROOSEVELT."

This is the way I was brought to the surface in the political matters, as I had never before taken any active part, and had only done what I could as any private citizen might; so you see I was brought forward by Roosevelt in an attempt to help him, at his request, the same as I was in the insurance matter by Hyde and Ryan by their request for my help; and in the case of Ryan I probably would have dropped the matter after our first interview had it not been for my desire to save Belmont from taking a position for which he could have been criticized by the public press, as he was the one Ryan desired me to influence from opposing Morton for election as chairman of the Equitable board, and Belmont afterwards thanked me for taking his part, as if he had voted against Morton in view of his local traction contentions with Mr. Ryan it would have been misconstrued.

"RYAN-ROOT-ROOSEVELT ELEMENT."

Ryan's success in all his manipulations, traction deals, tobacco combination, manipulation of the State Trust Co. into the Morton Trust Co., the Shoe & Leather Bank into the Western National Bank and then again into the Bank of Commerce—thus covering up his tracks—has been done by the adroit mind of Elihu Root, and this present situation has been brought about by a combination of circumstances which has brought together the Ryan-Root-Roosevelt element.

Where do I stand?

Yours, sincerely,

E. H. HARRIMAN.

HARRIMAN IN AN INTERVIEW ADMITS HE WROTE THE LETTER.

Sidney Webster has a reputation of being one of the world's foremost experts in international law.

There was perturbation in the offices of the Union Pacific Railroad Co., in the Equitable Building, yesterday evening when the Webster letter was taken there by a World reporter to give Mr. Harriman an opportunity of having his say before publication.

An appointment had been made by telephone with Alexander Millar, who is looked upon in Wall Street as Mr. Harriman's mouthpiece. He said that

Mr. Harriman was still in his office, and "might" be induced to receive a newspaper man.

When the appointment was to be kept the gates in the Harriman stronghold were up. Mr. Millar sent a man named Palmer to the railing which guards the sanctum of the railroad magnate.

"Mr. Millar can't see anybody just now," said Palmer. "He's too busy. I'm Mr. Harriman's secretary."

COPY OF LETTER GIVEN TO SECRETARY.

It was remarked that if Palmer must be the bearer of the communication he must, and a copy of the Webster letter was given to him with this injunction:

"Take that to Mr. Harriman and tell him that the World intends to print it, and if he has any comment to make or anything to say, the paper will gladly print that also."

Palmer took the letter. After reading three lines he straightened out of his slouching posture and posted for the rear of the public office, where Millar had been observed at a desk pouring over a pile of papers.

Palmer leaned over Miller and whispered to him. At the same time he pushed the letter into Millar's hands.

Millar ran through the letter rapidly. Two minutes after his first appearance at the railing Palmer was back again. He beamed as he opened the gate and bade the waiting visitor enter. He chose the Union Pacific directors' meeting room as a reception chamber. He said that Mr. Millar would grant an interview.

The secretary, Palmer, had hardly disappeared when Millar presented himself. He, too, was beaming in a solicitous way.

"Really this is most surprising," said he. "Mr. Harriman is very busy, but he will surely see you. This is something that he must attend to himself. He will not be engaged long."

Millar sat down.

"Would it be asking too much to be informed where you got this letter?" And he smiled his blandest.

"The World has it, Mr. Millar, and will print it," he was informed. "Don't you think that it sounds like Mr. Harriman? You don't doubt that anybody who is familiar with the way he talks—with the English he uses—would question for an instant that he was the author?"

"MUST NOT PRINT THAT LETTER."

"Well, now, I shouldn't care to say anything about that—not now. You must not print that letter now. Really you mustn't."

Mr. Millar was apparently undergoing an excessive attack of "nerves." He got out of his chair suddenly, excused himself for a second and Mr. Harriman for continuing to be busy, and rushed into the rear of the office. He spoke to a clerk and dived into a telephone booth. When he emerged he returned directly to the directors' room again.

"Really, now, it wouldn't do to print that letter just at this time," he resumed. "Not with the situation as it is. It would be most unfortunate. It would be most damaging to us. You wouldn't sell it, would you?"

"Yes, Mr. Millar; you may have it in the morning with the World at 1 cent a copy."

"You don't happen to have the original, do you? You have seen it?"

"The World is in possession of this letter, and it is for Mr. Harriman to make any comment upon it that he chooses."

"Well, well; then there are other copies of the letters? This is not the only copy you have? No? Oh, I see."

Millar's countenance indicated that he had seen a light.

GOT MORE KICKS THAN CENTS.

"Now, don't you think the World was pretty bitter on Mr. Harriman this morning?" he went on. "No? He never did anything wrong in that Chicago & Alton matter. He has got more kicks than cents out of it. Why do the papers get after him so?"

"Perhaps because he is the best illustration of a class that has become absolutely intolerant. There was that insurance mess that he reveled in."

"Well, if you knew it, Mr. Harriman got more kicks than cents out of that, too. He went into that to help Hyde, and he got the worst of it. He never took a dishonest dollar in his life and I never did. Some of them do, and I don't think it does them any good."

"Now, don't be uneasy; Mr. Harriman will see you," and once more Mr. Millar went out. A moment later John G. Milburn, one of the corps of Harriman corporation attorneys, and the man in whose Buffalo home President McKinley died, slammed the door of the railroad czar and hurried out of the office.

On Milburn's heels Harriman himself appeared. He was tense. The corners of his mouth were set grimly. After shaking hands he sat down at the head of the directors' table and crossed his legs. There was a pause, and then he snapped out suddenly as if to surprise an admission:

MR. HARRIMAN WANTS TO KNOW.

"Where did the World get this letter?"

"That isn't the point, Mr. Harriman. The paper is going to print it. What have you to say about it?"

"Are you the man that's going to have the say about this? You're not? Well, I must see that man. That letter mustn't be printed."

"Didn't you write it to Mr. Webster?"

"Yes; I wrote it, but I went further than the copy you have there. You only have part of it. You have it about as imperfectly as an inferior stenographer could get it from old notes. Now, I know that you got that letter from a discharged employee of mine. You're not the only ones that have it. He has been to others with it, and I warn you not to print it."

"You are speaking of Mr. Webster now," was interjected.

"No; I am not speaking of Mr. Webster. Who said I was?"

Harriman snapped out the denial and interrogation, and then without a pause went on:

"I was speaking of a man named Hill. That's where you got this letter. He's a discharged employee."

"Now, I want to warn you against publication. It's not going to do anybody any good and it's going to do irreparable harm. It's going to react upon the persons who printed it and it's going to fall short of hitting the man it's aimed at. That's certain. It's going to have a reactionary effect."

"I suppose you know the laws as well as I do, and you know that you're handling a dangerous matter. I have had advice on this matter, and that letter is my property, and under the penal code of this State you are committing an offense if you print it. That letter is my property and nobody else's."

Mr. Harriman was stupendously serious. His voice assumed a confidential and an inviting tone.

ASKS ABOUT ORIGINAL LETTER.

"Tell me, have you seen the original of the letter? No, I know you haven't. That letter was taken from notes which belong to this office—to me."

"Of course you must be positive about that, Mr. Harriman. Will you tell why you are so sure?"

"I've had that letter looked up. That's how I know."

"Well, if you have had it looked up, will you kindly fix its date?"

"I can't do that now. Anyway, remember that I've warned you."

A young man had entered the room at a call from Harriman. It was Mr. Tegethoff.

"Tegethoff," said he, "I want you to stop this thing. This letter mustn't be printed. That's all there is to it. And I want you to get that man and bring him here in the morning. Tell him I want to see him. If we've got to do it we'll have him arrested. You've got to act and act quickly. If this thing is printed it's going to do irreparable harm."

The interview ended there. Harriman put on his overcoat, and Tegethoff, who said he was the magnate's confidential secretary, went forth to find "that man" and prevent the publication of the letter.

Sidney Webster was seen at Newport late yesterday afternoon, following several attempts to reach him on Sunday. He appeared to be much disturbed when asked concerning his correspondence with Harriman. He declared that he was not in a position to affirm or deny the authenticity of the letter in question, nor would he make any comment until he had seen the original.

A little while after this interview Mr. Webster announced his intention to go to New York. His proposed departure surprised everybody who knows him there. His health has been so bad that he has been unable to leave Newport for months past. Late last night he said he would take the 10 o'clock train for New York.

When the attempts were made to see Mr. Webster on Sunday it was learned that he was particularly anxious to know the date of the letter, if the World had the original in its possession, and if it had already printed it. It was following this that he announced that he must return to New York on Monday.

Sidney Webster is a millionaire. His wife is a sister of Stuyvesant Fish, whom Harriman only a few months ago dynamited out of the presidency of the Illinois Central. The Fishes and Websters have led in the fashionable cottage life at Newport for years. Mr. Webster owns Pen Craig there, an estate adjoining the Pagets. He is an old-line Democrat, a writer on political subjects, and a lawyer with a name that is known abroad as well as in this country. There are few good clubs in New York to which he does not belong.

[New York Times, Apr. 2, 1907.]

HARRIMAN PAPERS STOLEN.

SOLD TO A NEWSPAPER, AND MR. HARRIMAN IS INDIGNANT ABOUT IT.

Edward H. Harriman announced last night that certain private papers of his had been stolen and garbled and sold to a newspaper, which, after receiving information that the documents were not the property of the vendor, had refused to give them up and declared its purpose to print them. Mr. Harriman asked the Times to make it known that he was not a party to the publication and to print his description of the transaction in the terms used above.

[New York Tribune, Apr. 3, 1907.]

REPLIES TO HARRIMAN.

THE PRESIDENT'S DENIAL—FINANCIER NOT ASKED TO AID NATIONAL CAMPAIGN OF 1904.

WASHINGTON, April 2.—President Roosevelt emphatically denied this afternoon the charges contained in a letter published in New York this morning, written by E. H. Harriman to Sidney Webster, of New York, in January, 1906. In this letter Mr. Harriman said that his being "made at all prominent in the political situation is entirely due to President Roosevelt, and because of my taking an active part in the autumn of 1904 at his request, and his taking advantage of conditions then created to further his own interests." Further along in the letter Mr. Harriman says: "I was brought forward by Roosevelt in an attempt to help him at his request."

The statement that at the request of the President, Harriman assisted in raising a fund of \$250,000, to be used in carrying New York for the Republican presidential candidate at that election, the President characterizes as "a deliberate and willful untruth; by right it should be characterized by an even shorter and more ugly word."

The President's denial is contained in a brief statement and copies of two letters written to Representative Sherman, of New York. The letters are dated October 8 and October 12, 1906, respectively.

The President's letters show that all of Mr. Harriman's efforts in the campaign of 1904 were devoted to electing the New York State ticket, because of his relations with Gov. Odell. The President felt that the attacks on Messrs. Odell and Higgins were unjust, and consulted with Mr. Harriman on this subject only.

For the purpose of publishing the whole truth of the story, the President this afternoon authorized the reprinting of the letters bearing on the subject, and in doing so shows that but for his magnanimity this would have been done months before. The President might have made the letters public, but until the letter of Mr. Harriman was published the President refrained from setting forth the whole truth in contemporaneous documentary evidence.

"I feel particularly fortunate that I have been attacked within the last few days by both ex-Senator Burton and Mr. Harriman," said the President in a conversation with representatives of the press, following the giving out of the letters to Representative Sherman.

THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT.

The President, after furnishing the letters to the press, dictated the following statement:

After writing these letters to Congressman Sherman the President was assured that Mr. Harriman had not made the statements which Mr. Sherman credited him with making. Inasmuch as the same statements appear in the major part in the letter of Mr. Harriman, now published, the President deems it proper that the letters he sent to Congressman Sherman last October shall now themselves be made public.

In the first letter reference is made to a conversation between Mr. Harriman and Mr. Sherman, which was repeated to the President, in which Mr. Harriman is said to have given as a reason for his personal dislike of the President partly the latter's determination to have the railroads supervised and partly the alleged fact that, after promising Mr. Harriman to appoint Senator Depew ambassador to France, he (the President) failed to do it, "and," continues the President, "I understood you to say that he alleged that I made this promise at a time when he had come down to see me in Washington, when I requested him to raise \$250,000 for the Republican presidential campaign, which was then on."

It appears from the conversation repeated to the President that Mr. Sherman had gone to Mr. Harriman to ask him for a contribution for the campaign.

The President says that Mr. Harriman also (more than once, he thinks) urged him to promise to make Mr. Depew ambassador, because this would help Gov. Odell by pleasing certain big financial interests. The President informed Mr. Harriman that he did not believe it would be possible to appoint Mr. Depew, and furthermore expressed his surprise at his (Harriman's) saying that the men representing the big financial interests of New York wished the appointment made, inasmuch as a number of them had written asking that the place be given to Mr. Hyde. Mr. Harriman, on learning Mr. Hyde was a candidate, hastily said that he did not wish to be understood as antagonizing him, and would be quite willing to support Mr. Hyde. The President says that although he understood that he (Harriman) still preferred Mr. Depew, he left a strong impression that he would be almost as well satisfied with Mr. Hyde.

CONFERENCES IN NEW YORK.

Some correspondence is then given between the President and Mr. Harriman, from which it appears that on October 10 the President said to Mr. Harriman that in view of the trouble over the State ticket in New York he would like to have a few words with him. In a letter dated October 14, and sent to Mr. Harriman, the President says a suggestion had come to him in a roundabout way that Mr. Harriman did not think it wise to come in the closing weeks of the campaign. The President told Mr. Harriman if he thought there was any danger of his visit causing trouble to give it up. Here the President in his letter to Mr. Sherman says:

"You will see that this letter is absolutely incompatible with any theory that I was asking Mr. Harriman to come down to see me in my own interest."

The President incloses another letter from Mr. Harriman in his communication to Mr. Sherman, which he says shows that Mr. Harriman did not have in his mind "any idea of my asking him to collect money."

Then follows some correspondence between Mr. Harriman and the President touching, among other things, on the question of railroad matters and what the President might have to say to Congress on the subject of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The President said he was unable to agree with Mr. Harriman's views on the matter and left his message to Congress unchanged as regards the interstate-commerce law.

"So much for what Mr. Harriman said about me personally," says the President in closing his first letter to Mr. Sherman. Far more important the President regards the additional remarks which Mr. Sherman said Mr. Harriman made to him when he asked him if he thought it was well to see "Hearstism and the like" triumphant over the Republican Party. "You," says the

President, "inform me that he told you that he did not care in the least because those people were crooks and he could buy them," and other similar remarks. This, the President says, was doubtless partly in boastful cynicism and partly in a burst of bad temper, but it showed, in the President's opinion, a cynicism and deep-seated corruption, which he denounces in strong words, saying that the man who could utter them was as undesirable a citizen as Debs, Moyer, or Haywood.

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTERS.

The second letter to Mr. Sherman simply contains addenda to the first. The full text of the letters follow:

OCTOBER 8, 1906.

MY DEAR SHERMAN: Since you left this morning I succeeded in getting hold of the letters to which I referred and I send you a copy of Gov. Odell's letter to me of December 10, 1904.

As I am entirely willing that you should show this letter to Mr. E. H. Harriman, I shall begin by repeating what you told me he said to you on the occasion last week when you went to ask him for a contribution to the campaign. You informed me that he then expressed great dissatisfaction with me and said, in effect, that as long as I was at the head of the Republican Party, or as it was dominated by the policies which I advocate and represent, he would not support it, and was quite indifferent whether Hearst beat Hughes or not, whether the Democrats carried Congress or not.

He gave as a reason for his personal dislike of me partly my determination to have the railroads supervised, and partly the alleged fact that after promising him to appoint Depew ambassador to France I failed to do it, and I understood you to say that he alleged that I made this promise at a time when he had come down to see me in Washington when I requested him to raise \$250,000 for the Republican presidential campaign which was then on.

"A DELIBERATE UNTRUTH."

Any such statement is a deliberate and willful untruth—by rights it should be characterized by an even shorter and more ugly word. I never requested Mr. Harriman to raise a dollar for the presidential campaign of 1904. On the contrary, our communications as regards the campaign related exclusively to the fight being made against Mr. Higgins for governor of New York. Mr. Harriman being immensely interested in the success of Mr. Higgins because he regarded the attack on Higgins as being really an attack on him, Mr. Harriman, and on his friend, Gov. Odell; and he was concerned only in getting me to tell Mr. Cortelyou to aid Mr. Higgins so far he could, which I gladly did.

He also (I think more than once) urged me to promise to make Senator Depew ambassador to France, giving me in detail the reasons why this would help Gov. Odell, by pleasing certain big financial interests. I informed him that I did not believe it would be possible for me to appoint Mr. Depew, and furthermore expressed my surprise at his saying that the men representing the big financial interests of New York wished that appointment made, inasmuch as a number of them had written to me asking that the same place be given to Mr. Hyde, and that as a matter of fact, while I was not prepared to announce any decision, I doubted whether I could appoint either Mr. Depew or Mr. Hyde to the place.

As soon as Mr. Harriman heard that Mr. Hyde was a candidate and had the names of his backers, he hastily said that he did not wish to be understood as antagonizing Mr. Hyde, and would be quite willing to support him, and though I understood that he still preferred Mr. Depew, he left me strongly under the impression that he would be almost as well satisfied with Mr. Hyde, and was much discontented at my informing him so positively, not once but repeatedly, that I did not think that I should be able to appoint either.

MR. HARRIMAN'S CALLS.

His and my letters now before me of the fall of 1904 run as follows. On his return from spending the summer in Europe, on September 20, he wrote me stating that if I thought it desirable he would come to see me at any time, either then or later (he had been, as you remember, a delegate to the Republican national convention, having voted for my nomination). On September 23 I answered this letter, saying:

"At present there is nothing for me to see you about, though there were one or two points in my letter of acceptance which I should have liked to discuss with you before putting it out."

October 10 I wrote him:

"In view of the trouble over the State ticket in New York, I should much like to have a few words with you. Do you think you can get down here within a few days and take either luncheon or dinner with me?"

The trouble I spoke of had reference to the bolt against Higgins—that is, in reality against Mr. Harriman and Mr. Harriman's friend, Gov. Odell.

A reference to the files of the New York papers at that time will show that there was a very extensive bolt against Mr. Higgins upon the ground that Gov. Odell had nominated him, and that he had in some manner favored Mr. Harriman overmuch—neither ground, in my judgment, being tenable. Mr. Harriman's backing of Gov. Odell and extreme anxiety that he should win out by securing Higgins's election was a matter of common notoriety and mentioned in all the papers, notably in the New York Sun. On October 12 Mr. Harriman wrote me:

"I am giving a very large part of my time to correcting the trouble here, and intend to do so if any effort on my part can accomplish it. * * * I will take occasion the first of next week to run down to see you, and I think by that time the conditions will be very much improved."

After receiving this letter I wrote Mr. Harriman the following letter, which I give in full:

Personal.]

OCTOBER 14, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: A suggestion has come to me in a roundabout way that you do not think it wise to come on to see me in these closing weeks of the campaign, but that you are reluctant to refuse, inasmuch as I have asked you. Now, my dear sir, you and I are practical men, and you are on the ground and know the conditions better than I do. If you think there is any danger of your visit to me causing trouble, or if you think there is nothing special I should be informed about, or no matter in which I could give aid, why, of course, give up the visit for the time being, and, then, a few weeks hence, before I write my message, I shall get you to come down to discuss certain Government matters not connected with the campaign. With great regard, sincerely yours.

WAS NOT ASKING HELP.

You will see that this letter is absolutely incompatible with any theory that I was asking Mr. Harriman to come down and see me in my own interest, or intended to make any request of any kind for help from him. On the contrary, all I was concerned with in seeing him was to know if I could be of help in securing the election of Mr. Higgins—a man for whom I had the highest respect and who I believed would be, as in fact he has been, a most admirable governor.

Moreover, the following letter will show that Mr. Harriman did not have in his mind any idea of my asking him to collect money, and that, on the contrary, what he was concerned about in connection with my letter to him was the allusion I made to the fact that I would like to see him before I wrote my message to discuss certain Government matters not connected with the campaign. His letter, which is of November 30, runs as follows:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have just had a telephone talk with Mr. Loeb, and requested him to give you a message from me.

I drew his attention to the last paragraph of your letter to me of October 14 last, and explained that of course I did not want to make a trip to Washington unless it should be necessary; that the only matter I knew of and about which I had any apprehension and which might be referred to in your coming message to Congress is that regarding the Interstate Commerce Commission, and what the attitude of the railroads should be toward it.

I have communications from many conservative men in the West asking me to take the matter up, they having, which I have not, information as to what you propose to say in your message on that subject, and I am very apprehensive about it.

Mr. Loeb stated that he believed that that part of the message could be sent to me, and I hope that he will do so. I sincerely believe it would be best for all interests that no reference be made to the subject, and in any event, if referred to, in such a way as not to bring about increased agitation. It is, as you well know, the conservative element, and the one on which we all rely, which is the most seldom heard from.

Yours, sincerely.

WISHED TALK ON CURRENCY.

This letter to me was crossed by one from me, which reads as follows:

Strictly personal.]

NOVEMBER 30, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: Mr. Loeb tells me that you called me up to-day on the telephone and recalled my letter to you of October 14, in which I spoke to you of a desire to see you before sending in my message, as I wanted to go over with you certain governmental matters, and you added that you had heard that I had referred to the Interstate Commerce Commission; that you regretted this and wished I had left it out. In writing to you I had in view especially certain matters connected with currency legislation, and had not thought of discussing railroad matters with you. However, if it had occurred to me, I should have been delighted to do so; but, if you remember when you were down here, both you and I were so interested in certain of the New York political developments that I hardly, if at all, touched on governmental matters. As regards what I have said in my message about the Interstate Commerce Commission, while, as I say, I should have been delighted to go over it with you, I must also frankly say that my mind was definitely made up. Certain revelations connected with the investigation of the Beef Trust caused me to write the paragraph in question. I went with extreme care over the information in possession of the Interstate Commerce Commission and of the Bureau of Corporations before writing it. I then went over the written paragraph again and again with Paul Morton, who is, of all my Cabinet, the man most familiar with railroad matters, of course, and with Root, Knox, Taft, and Moody. It is a matter I had been carefully considering for two years and had been gradually, though reluctantly, coming to the conclusion that it is unwise and unsafe from every standpoint to leave the question of rebates where it now is and to fail to give the Interstate Commerce Commission additional power of an effective kind in regulating these rates.

Let me repeat that I did not have this question in mind when I asked you to come down, but that I should most gladly have talked it over with you if it had occurred to me to do so; but, as a matter of fact, as you will remember, when you did come down to see me, you and I were both so engaged in the New York political situation that we talked of little else, and finally that the position I have taken has not been taken lightly, but after thinking over the matter and looking at it from different standpoints for at least two years, and after the most careful consideration with Morton, Taft, Moody, Knox, and Root as to the exact phraseology I should use.

I do not send you a copy simply because I have given no one a copy, not even the men above mentioned. It is impossible, if I give out copies of any portions of my message to prevent the message being known in advance, and the three press associations who now have the message are under a heavy penalty not to disclose a word of it before the appointed time.

Sincerely, yours.

MR. HARRIMAN'S OBJECTIONS.

On December 2 he wrote me the following letter on the same subject:

DECEMBER 2, 1904.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Thank you for your favor of the 30th.

It was natural for me to suppose that railroad matters would be included in any discussion you and I might have before writing your message. I am of the opinion that an effective Interstate Commerce Commission could regulate the matter of rebates and absolutely prevent the same without any additional power of any kind, and, as you say, Paul Morton is more familiar with such matters than anyone else in your Cabinet, and I believe he will agree with me in this. I fear there has been a lack of cooperation.

During the enormous development of the last four years the railroads have found it very hard to keep pace with the requirements imposed upon them, and the so-called surplus earnings, as well as additional capital, have been devoted to providing additional facilities and the bettering and enlarging of their properties, so as to give the increased and better service required of them. This work of betterment and enlargement must go on and is all important for the proper development of all sections of the country. There is little doubt that during the next decade every single-track railroad in the country will have to be double tracked and provide enlarged terminal and other facilities, and any move

that will tend to cripple them financially would be detrimental to all interests over the whole country.

I beg that you will pardon my not signing this personally, as I have to leave to catch my train for Arden and have asked my secretary to sign it for me.

Yours, sincerely.

I was unable to agree with Mr. Harriman's views on the matter and left my message unchanged as regards the interstate-commerce law. (The rough draft of this portion of the message was completed in October, before the election.) I had always discussed with absolute freedom all my proposed moves in the trust and labor matters with the representatives of the big combinations of big railroads, as well as with the leaders of the labor men, of the farmers' organizations, the shippers' organizations, and the like; that is, I had as freely seen and communicated with Mr. Harriman, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Hill, and other railroad men as I had seen and communicated with Mr. Gompers, Mr. Keefe, Mr. Morrissey, Mr. Morrison, and other labor leaders. Mr. Harriman had, like most of the big railroad men, always written me very strongly protesting against my proposed course as regards the supervision and control over big combinations, and especially over the big railroads. In a letter of his of August 19, 1902, for instance, he expressed the fear that a panic would follow my proposed action.

THE DEPEW MATTER.

It will be seen that the above correspondence is entirely incompatible with what Mr. Harriman now, as you inform me, alleges as to my having asked him to secure money or to subscribe money for the presidential campaign. As for the Depew matter, he professed throughout to be acting in the interest of Gov. Odell, and, though Gov. Odell had been anxious that Mr. Depew should be nominated as ambassador to France at a time when he was supporting Gov. Black for Senator, he had changed his mind shortly after the last letter to me above quoted, from Mr. Harriman, and on December 10 wrote me the letter I inclose, which reads in part as follows:

"MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: A great many of your friends here in New York would be very much delighted and pleased if you could find it possible to appoint Mr. James H. Hyde as minister to France. * * * Large business interests have given to him splendid executive abilities, and his association with so many prominent business men would be fitting recognition of the effective work done by them in the last campaign.

"In addition to this he has behind him, I am sure, the approval of Senator Platt and Senator Depew, and, so far as I can speak for the organization, I believe his appointment would be, without question, more satisfactory than any that could be made from New York at the present time.

"Personally, I should appreciate your favorable consideration of this suggestion almost beyond anything else you could do for me. If you so desire I shall be glad to come down to Washington and talk with you about it, but I believe there are others who are close to you and who feel just as I do, and I thought, therefore, that this letter would be sufficient as showing the attitude of the organizations and myself personally upon this important appointment."

As you know, I was obliged to refuse the request of the New York financiers and of the Republican organizations of the State and city, not deeming it proper to appoint Mr. Hyde to the position he sought.

DEEP-SEATED CORRUPTION.

So much for what Mr. Harriman said about me personally. Far more important are the additional remarks he made to you, as you inform me, when you asked him if he thought it was well to see Hearstism and the like triumphant over the Republican Party. You inform me that he told you that he did not care in the least, because those people were crooks and he could buy them; that whenever he wanted legislation from a State legislature he could buy it; that he "could buy Congress," and that if necessary "he could buy the judiciary." This was doubtless said partly in boastful cynicism and partly in a mere burst of bad temper because of his objection to the interstate-commerce law and to my actions as President. But it shows a cynicism and deep-seated corruption which make the man uttering such sentiments and boasting, no matter how falsely, of this power to perform such crimes, at least as undesirable a citizen as Debs, or Moyer, or Haywood. It is because we have capitalists capable of uttering such sentiments and capable of acting on them that there

is strength behind sinister agitators of the Hearst type. The wealthy corruptionist, and the demagogue who excites, in the press or on the stump, in office or out of office, class against class, and appeals to the basest passions of the human soul, are fundamentally alike and are equally enemies of the Republic. I was horrified, as was Root, when you told us to-day what Harriman had said to you. As I say, if you meet him you are entirely welcome to show him this letter, although, of course, it must not be made public unless required by some reason of public policy, and then only after my consent has first been obtained.

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. J. S. SHERMAN,

St. James Building, No. 1133 Broadway, New York.

The second letter to Mr. Sherman is as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, October 12, 1906.

MY DEAR MR. SHERMAN:

I would like to make an addendum to my letter to you of the other day. Both Mr. Cortelyou and Mr. Bliss, as soon as they heard that Hyde's name had been suggested for ambassador, protested to me against the appointment.

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. JAMES S. SHERMAN,

Chairman, Republican Congressional Committee,

St. James Building, New York, N. Y.

HARRIMAN STATEMENT.

ADMITS THE LETTER—DEPLORES PUBLICATION, BUT CAN WITHDRAW NOTHING.

E. H. Harriman late last night gave out the following statement in response to the statement made public by President Roosevelt at Washington to-day:

For many years I have maintained an intimate, confidential correspondence with my friend Mr. Sidney Webster. What I wrote him and what he wrote me was, of course, intended for our eyes alone. In the course of a letter which he wrote me in December, 1905, he warned me against being drawn into politics, and questioned whether I had any political or party instinct united to what he was pleased to call my business instinct. This drew from me the reply to Mr. Webster's inquiry, which, in a substantially correct form, has been stolen and published.

This letter was written on January 2, 1906, at a time when no one could doubt a cordiality of my relations with the President.

About 10 days ago I was told that a discharged stenographer was trying to sell to some newspaper a reproduction from his notes of one of my private letters. I could hardly believe that any matter so obtained would be accepted or published, yet I made every effort to prevent it. When I learned late yesterday afternoon that a New York newspaper had a transcript of these notes I notified the publisher at once of the facts and urged upon his attention the gross outrage that the publication of it under such circumstances would involve. While deploring, of course, that the sacredness of a private correspondence should thus be violated, I can not withdraw anything in the letter.

I have read the President's statement. I am most anxious to treat him and his other utterances with consideration due to the high office which he holds. Nevertheless, I feel bound to call attention to certain things in regard to which he does me injustice.

In his letter to Mr. Sherman he clearly seeks to convey the impression that the personal interview with him in the fall of 1904 was of my seeking and not his. He says: "His (Harriman's) and my letters, now before me, in the fall of 1904 run as follows: 'On his return from spending the summer in Europe, on September 20, he wrote me stating that if I thought it desirable he would come to see me at any time, then or later. (He had been, as you remember, a delegate to the Republican national convention, having voted for my nomination).' On September 23 I answered this letter, saying: 'At present there is nothing for me to see you about, though there were one or two points in my letter of acceptance which I would like to have discussed with you before putting it out.'"

Let me present the facts. On June 29, 1904, the President wrote me the following letter, which he does not include in the correspondence published to-day. It reached me in Europe:

Personal.]

WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, June 29, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: I thank you for your letter. As soon as you come home I shall want to see you. The fight will doubtless be hot then. It has been a real pleasure to see you this year.

Very truly, yours,

(Signed)

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH PRESIDENT.

In reply to this I wrote him on my return from Europe the letter of September 20, the opening sentences of which he eliminated in his publication:

NEW YORK, September 20, 1904.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I was very glad to receive your note of June 29 last while I was in Europe. I am now getting matters that accumulated during my absence somewhat cleared up, and if you think it desirable, will go to see you at any time either now or later. It seems to me that the situation could not be in better shape.

Yours, sincerely,

E. H. HARRIMAN.

To the PRESIDENT, Washington, D. C.

Then follows a series of invitations from the White House, both from the President and the secretary, urging me to go to Washington. On October 10 the President wrote: "In view of the trouble over the State ticket in New York I should much like to have a few words with you. Do you think you can get down here within a few days and take either luncheon or dinner with me?" On October 14 he wrote: "My Dear Mr. Harriman: A suggestion has come to me in a roundabout way that you do not think it wise to come to see me in these closing weeks of the campaign, but that you are reluctant to refuse. Inasmuch as I have asked you."

A funeral in my family prevented a prompt response to the President's repeated invitation, but finally about October 20 I was able to go to Washington and see him.

There is some difference of recollection as to what transpired at that interview.

Fortunately, the President himself, in his "strictly personal" letter to me of November 13, throws some light upon what did take place. He says: "If you remember, when you were down here, both you and I were so interested in certain of the New York political developments that I hardly, if at all, touched on governmental matters."

Again in the same letter he says: "As a matter of fact, as you will remember, when you did come down to see me, you and I were both so engaged in the New York political situation that we talked of little else."

The invitation of October 10 bade me to the White House to have a few words with the President, "in view of the trouble over the State ticket in New York." I had replied on October 12: "I am giving a very large part of my time to correcting the trouble here, and intend to do so if any effort on my part can accomplish it. I will take occasion the first of next week to run down to see you, and I think by that time the conditions will be very much improved."

STANDS ON THE LETTERS.

Whether I was seeking his aid to secure the adherence of the State of New York to the State ticket or he was seeking mine is proved or disproved by this correspondence, and I cheerfully submit to the public whether the inference clearly suggested by the President is the proper one. I did not so understand it from his invitation nor from the interview.

The President dwells at length on the assertion that he did not ask me to contribute "for the presidential campaign," nor "for his personal benefit." I do not deny this statement, nor is it all inconsistent with the assertions I made in the Webster letter respecting the interview. Therein I distinctly said: "The President sent me a request to go to Washington to confer upon the political conditions in New York State. I complied, and he told me he understood the campaign could not be successfully carried on without sufficient money, and asked if I would help them in raising the necessary funds, as the national com-

mittee under Chairman Cortelyou had utterly failed of obtaining them and there was a large amount due from them to the New York State committee."

If this means anything whatever, it must be that he was urging me to help the New York State committee and not the national committee or the presidential campaign, except so far as the success of the State ticket in New York would contribute to the national ticket.

What the condition of the finances of the New York State committee and of the national Republican committee at that time was is well known to every one. That the national committee did owe the State committee and that the State committee was in financial straits is notorious. I was not a political manager. I was asked to go to Washington by the President in the interests of the State ticket. I could help to raise money. That I did help in this regard, that I did raise funds immediately upon my return from the interview with the President, is undeniable, and to this fund I contributed \$50,000. My interview with the President covered a wide range of subjects connected with the New York State campaign, and I did not pretend to go over the whole matter in the Webster letter.

The President's letter of October 14 and his comment thereon are interesting. In that letter he suggested that I might think there was some danger in my visiting him during the closing weeks of the campaign, and suggested that if I thought so the visit be postponed until after election, when he would ask me to "discuss certain Government matters not connected with the campaign." Here were two distinct invitations to discuss two different subjects. I could see no danger in visiting him to discuss New York politics before the election, and therefore went and discussed that subject alone, and after the election took up the other subject for consideration with him.

I think if what concerned me as the object of the visit had been the Government's relation to the railroads, the interview would certainly not have been entirely confined to politics.

I am not responsible for what Mr. Sherman may have said to the President with reference to the conversation he had with me. All that I have to say is that I did not meet his urgent requests that I contribute to his campaign fund, and that the statements alleged to have been attributed to me by him were false. The President was assured of this fact by a mutual friend who was present at the interview.

MR. HARRIMAN HOLDS CONFERENCES.

Mr. Harriman left his home, No. 11 East Sixty-second Street, yesterday morning in company with Jacob H. Schiff, who had been conferring with him. They rode down town together in a cab. Mr. Harriman was surrounded by newspaper men when he reached his office in the Equitable Building an hour before noon.

"I have nothing to say, boys," he remarked, when asked about his letter to Mr. Webster. "I haven't considered the matter, but I intend to do so, and after I have considered it I shall determine if I shall make a statement. If I make a statement, you will all get it."

"Are you going to have a former stenographer arrested on the charge of stealing a copy of the letter?"

"I can't say."

"Is it true, as reported, that Mr. Cortelyou asked you for \$50,000 for campaign purposes in 1904 and you refused to give the money?"

"There is no truth in it."

Mr. Harriman spent most of the afternoon in conference with John G. Milburn and ex-Judge R. S. Lovett, who are to be in Washington to-day to argue before the Interstate Commerce Commission regarding the recent investigation of the Harriman roads.

Cornellus N. Bliss was kept at his home by a cold yesterday. He declined to talk about the Harriman letter.

Senator Depew, when asked about the letter, was reported as saying:

"Well, I do not see that I am interested in this. I have nothing to say about it, except as to the ambassadorship to France. A friend did suggest to me the possibility of my being appointed to the French mission, but I said I did not want it, and would not have it."

Sidney Webster returned from Newport to his city home, in East Seventeenth Street, yesterday. He declined to talk with newspaper representatives about the Harriman letter.

[New York Press, April 5, 1909.]

HARRIMAN INSISTS THAT ROOSEVELT ASKED HIM FOR CAMPAIGN MONEY.

This is what Edward H. Harriman had to say yesterday in criticism of Mr. Roosevelt's interview on Wednesday:

"I do not intend to continue this controversy. You gentlemen from the newspapers must try to help me and not ask me to answer questions the answers of which are self-evident.

"Everybody knows that the contest for the Senatorship in 1904 was between Messrs. Black and Depew, and there could not possibly have been any other candidate. There was no bargain whereby money was to be raised in consideration of having Depew appointed as ambassador to France or made United States Senator, and my letter to Mr. Webster does not so state. That part of the agreement was for the purpose of harmonizing the Black and Depew forces if it became necessary.

"I particularly want it understood that there was no barter regarding the appointment of Senator Depew as ambassador to France, excepting so far as it would tend to harmonize the Black and Depew forces in this State. You know the up-State Republicans were backing Black, and Depew had the local interest with him, and there was a contest on.

"The matter of money has been brought out so prominently in what has been published about this affair that I want it particularly understood what the exact facts were. The money part was suggested by the President so that the national committee could discharge its obligations to the State committee.

"You newspaper men ought to get together and purify things. Instead of always looking for the sensational. It's like taking an emetic to read from morning newspapers nowadays. But don't make me out an enemy of all newspapers.

"This craze for sensationalism should not continue. You will overdo your market like some of these people down in Wall Street do."

[Copy.]

[Webster letter as actually written.]

JANUARY 2, 1906.

Mr. SIDNEY WEBSTER,
245 East 17th Street, New York City.

DEAR MR. WEBSTER:—I am glad to know that you to be in town, and hope soon to have an opportunity of talking matters over with you.

I had the printed copies of the testimony sent you in hopes that you would, after reading them, give me some idea of where I stand, for I confess that I feel somewhat at sea in this whole insurance matter. The trouble originated in my allowing myself to be drawn into other peoples' affairs, and partly from a desire to help them, and at their request. I seem to be like the fellow who got in between the man and his wife in their quarrel.

As to my political instincts, to which you refer in your letter of December 13th, I am quite sure that I have none, and my being made at all prominent in the political situation is entirely due to President Roosevelt, and because of my taking an active part in the Autumn of 1904 at his urgent request, and his taking advantage of conditions then created to further his own interests. If it had been a premeditated plot, it could not have been better started or carried out.

About a week before the elections in the Autumn of 1904, when it looked certain that the State ticket would go Democratic, and was doubtful as to Roosevelt himself, he, the President, sent me a request to go to Washington to confer upon the political conditions in New York State. I complied and he told me he understood the campaign could not be successfully carried on without sufficient money, and asked if I would not help them in raising the necessary funds, as the national committee, under Chairman Cortelyou, had utterly failed of obtaining them, and there was a large amount due from them to the New York State committee. I explained to him that I understood the difficulty here was mainly caused by the up-State leaders being unwilling to support Depew for re-election as United States Senator; that if he, Depew, could be taken care of in some other way, I thought matters might be adjusted, and the different contending elements in the party brought into close alliance again. We talked over what could be done for Depew, and finally he agreed that if it was found necessary he would appoint him as Ambassador to Paris.

With full belief that he, the President, would keep this agreement, I came to New York, sent for Treasurer Bliss, who told me that I was their last hope, and that they had exhausted every other resource. In his presence I called up an intimate friend of Senator Depew; told him that it was necessary, in order to carry New York State, that \$200,000 should be raised at once, and if he would help, I would subscribe \$50,000. After a few words over the telephone, the gentleman said he would let me know later, which he did, probably in three or four hours, with the result that the whole amount, including my subscription, had been raised. The checks were given to Treasurer Bliss, who took them to Chairman Cortelyou. If there were any among them, of Life Insurance Companies or other like organizations, of course Cortelyou must have informed the President. I do not know who the subscribers were other than the friend of Depew, who was an individual. This amount enabled the New York State committee to continue its work, with the result that probably at least 50,000 votes were turned in the City of New York alone, making a difference of 100,000 votes in the general result.

There are between twenty-two hundred and twenty-three hundred districts in Greater New York, and in a campaign such as that the expenditure of, say \$50, in each district for campaign purposes, including the watchers on election day, would take more than \$100,000.

Sometime in December, 1904, on my way from Virginia to New York I stopped and had a short talk with the President. He then told me he did not think it necessary to appoint Depew as Ambassador to Paris as agreed—in fact favored him for the Senate. I had not expected that he was the one to determine as to what would be necessary, but he arrogated that to himself, and of course I could say nothing further. After that I used what influence I could to have Depew return to the Senate, as I considered there had been an implied obligation which should be lived up to.

This is the way I was brought to the surface in the political matters, as I had never before taken any active part, and had only done what I could as any other private citizen might, so you see I was brought forward by Roosevelt in an attempt to help him at his request, the same as I was in the insurance matter by Hyde and Ryan, by their request for my help; and in case of Ryan I would probably have dropped the matter after our first interview had it not been for my desire to save Belmont from taking a position for which he would have been criticised by the public press, as he was the one whom Ryan desired me to influence from opposing Morton for election as Chairman of the Equitable Board, and Belmont a few days afterwards thanked me for doing it, as if he had voted against Morton, in view of his local traction contentions with Ryan, it would have been misconstrued.

Ryan's success in all his manipulations, traction deals, tobacco combination, manipulation of the State Trust Company into the Morton Trust Company, the Shoe & Leather Bank into the Western National Bank, and then again into the Bank of Commerce, thus covering up his tracks, have been done by the adroit mind of Elihu Root, and this present situation has been brought about by the condition of circumstances which has been brought together the Ryan, Root, Roosevelt element.

Where do I stand?

Yours sincerely,

E. H. HARRIMAN.

The CHAIRMAN. Judge, what is Exhibit L-1 [showing pamphlet to witness]?

Mr. LOVERT. It is a pamphlet, as I have just described, containing, first, a publication in the New York World of April 2, 1907, of the so-called Sidney Webster letter, already before the committee, with various statements in reference to it; the item that appeared in the New York Times of April 2, 1907; a statement by President Roosevelt, dated April 2, 1907, containing what purports to be copies of letters that were addressed by him to Mr. James S. Sherman; a copy of a statement issued to the press by Mr. Harriman in reply to the President's statement; a copy of a further statement by Mr. Harriman upon the same subject, published on April 5—

Senator POMERENE. 1907?

Mr. LOVERT. This says 1909. It is 1907. It is a misprint, I think.

A copy of what Mr. Harriman said was a correct copy of the so-called Sidney Webster letter.

Senator PAYNTER. I want to ask you just one or two questions, Judge. I want to read you Mr. Roosevelt's letter to Mr. Harriman of October 14, 1904. [Reading:]

MY DEAR MR. HARRIMAN: A suggestion has come to me in a roundabout way that you do not think it wise to come on to see me in these closing weeks of the campaign, but that you are reluctant to refuse, inasmuch as I have asked you. Now, my dear sir, you and I are practical men, and you are on the ground and know the conditions better than I do. If you think there is any danger of your visit to me causing trouble, or if you think there is nothing special I should be informed about, or no matter in which I could give aid, why, of course, give up the visit for the time being, and then a few weeks hence, before I write my message, I shall get you to come down to discuss certain Government matters not connected with the campaign.

With great regards, sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Then this letter was sent by Mr. Alex Millar, who seems to have been secretary to Mr. Harriman?

Mr. LOVETT. He was secretary of the railroad company, but, in fact, looked after most of Mr. Harriman's interests.

Senator PAYNTER. It is signed "Secretary."

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER (reading):

DEAR MR. LOEB: Referring to the President's letter of the 14th instant to Mr. E. H. Harriman, the contents of which I have communicated to him in the country, kindly say to the President that, owing to the death of Mrs. Harriman's brother, Mr. William H. Averell, at Rochester, Mr. Harriman will not return to the city until after the funeral, which is to be held on Tuesday, and on his return he will go down to Washington to meet the President.

Requesting that you lay this information before the President without delay. I am,

Yours, very truly,

ALEX. MILLAR, *Secretary*.

Did you ever hear Mr. Harriman discuss the question as to whether or not he felt, in view of the President's invitation, previously extended, that he ought to go to see the President regardless of this letter of October 14?

Mr. LOVETT. Many times.

Senator PAYNTER. If he gave any interpretation of that letter, I would be very glad to have it. The reason I ask you the question is this: I have a theory in regard to it, and you may support it or you may destroy it by the information you may have touching upon it; so I would be very glad to have you state what Mr. Harriman may have said in regard to this matter.

Mr. LOVETT. I think in the answer I have just made I said I heard Mr. Harriman discuss that particular point many times. I did not mean that. What I meant to say was that I heard Mr. Harriman many times discuss the reason for his visit to the President late in October, 1904, and it was that the President had asked him to come. I can not say he predicated that on any particular letter or any particular communication; but he was always absolutely positive in his statement that he went at the request of the President.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not recall any discussion or anything he said in reference to this letter of October 14, which I have just read, particularly as to the impression it made on him, or what impression it made on his mind?

Mr. LOVETT. Unless it is referred to in the statement issued by Mr. Harriman in reply to the President's statement contained in the

pamphlet. I think the letter you have read is quoted in the reply, and I am inclined to think that statement put some interpretation on that, but it speaks for itself.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, that answers the question I submitted to you.

Mr. LOVETT. It may.

Senator PAYNTER. But you always understood from Mr. Harriman that he visited the President because the President asked him to do so?

Mr. LOVETT. He never left any doubt about it in his statements.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all.

Senator POMERENE. The President and Mr. Harriman were on terms of intimacy about this time, Judge?

Mr. LOVETT. Undoubtedly.

Senator POMERENE. And prior thereto?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. A frequent visitor at the White House and to Oyster Bay?

Mr. LOVETT. I do not recall that Mr. Harriman visited him at Oyster Bay, but they were intimate socially. There was more or less visiting between the members of their families.

Senator POMERENE. If there were any services which were desired by the President on behalf of the campaign of 1904, you know of no reason why the President would hesitate to ask for Mr. Harriman to render them, do you?

Mr. LOVETT. Why, no.

Senator POMERENE. Was your attention called to the series of letters which was submitted by Mr. Tegethoff as passing between the President and Mr. Harriman?

Mr. LOVETT. I was entirely familiar with those letters at the time that the President issued his statement.

Senator POMERENE. And you have seen them since they have been submitted, have you?

Mr. LOVETT. I did not read them in the record, but I had seen the originals. I have known of the letters, of course, ever since they were written.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of any other letters than the ones which were submitted here passing between the two?

Mr. LOVETT. There was some correspondence between them about the closing of the break in the Colorado River in California, but I think all those letters were destroyed in the burning of our office in New York last January.

Senator POMERENE. At what time?

Mr. LOVETT. In January, 1912.

Up to the time of Mr. Harriman's death his correspondence with the President had been kept in the railroad office. Mr. Millar had the files, the secretary of the railroad company, and, following Mr. Harriman's death, those files were separated. All of Mr. Harriman's correspondence that related to the business of the railroad company strictly was retained in our offices; all the correspondence that did not relate to the railroad business was turned over to Mrs. Harriman or Mr. Tegethoff, Mr. Harriman's business secretary. Those letters that he kept in the railroad files, as well as all of my

own correspondence, except a limited amount, were destroyed in the burning of the Equitable Building at 120 Broadway, New York, in January, 1912.

I had myself quite an elaborate correspondence with Mr. Harriman of a confidential nature, and all of that, except one or two files, was in my desk, in my private file, and was destroyed in January last. I had other correspondence, some of which had been left in the law department when I left that department, and that escaped. I have gone through that, and I find nothing relating to political contributions or to correspondence with Mr. Roosevelt.

Senator POMERENE. Do you recall now any further correspondence between President Roosevelt and Mr. Harriman than what has been submitted in evidence here?

Mr. LOVETT. When it was reported that a subpoena would be issued for Mrs. Harriman, she communicated with me, and I went to her office and went over this correspondence, went over her files, and went over everything she got out, everything that she knew of; we went over it and selected every communication of any sort he got from Mr. Roosevelt, and that is the correspondence that was presented by Mr. Tegethoff. I am satisfied that there is not in existence now any further correspondence between Mr. Harriman and Mr. Roosevelt; that is, in Mr. Harriman's files. Of course, I do not know what Mr. Roosevelt may have.

Senator POMERENE. Well, you say there is not now in existence. I assume you do not mean to indicate that there may have been some other that you have knowledge of.

Mr. LOVETT. There is not any other that I have knowledge of, except what may have been in the railroad offices and destroyed in January last, as I have stated, and the only correspondence between them that I can recall that was probably destroyed at that time was the correspondence in reference to the closing of the break in the Colorado River, though there may have been other.

Senator POMERENE. About what time was that?

Mr. LOVETT. I can not recall the year, even. It was several years ago. I can get the date if it is regarded of importance, and submit it.

Senator POMERENE. That was the Salton Sea correspondence.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or with reference to that break?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Judge, did you ever see any letter or correspondence purporting to pass between the President and Mr. Harriman on the subject of the United States Senatorship from California?

Mr. LOVETT. Never.

Senator POMERENE. Did you ever hear of any such correspondence?

Mr. LOVETT. Never until the question was raised by this committee, when Mr. Tegethoff was on the stand.

Senator POMERENE. You have no knowledge on that subject, either personal or by hearsay?

Mr. LOVETT. Between the President and Mr. Harriman?

Senator POMERENE. Between the President and Mr. Harriman.

Mr. LOVETT. None whatever. There was no such letter in Mrs. Harriman's files or in any of our files, and I had never heard of it until it was mentioned before this committee.

Senator POMERENE. Is it likely that if there is such correspondence it might be in the files of one or the other of these railway corporations?

Mr. LOVETT. No; it would not be in their files, because, as I say, those files were destroyed. I should state, Senator, that when this controversy between Mr. Harriman and Mr. Roosevelt arose I got Mr. Harriman's files and personally went through them to see everything that was in existence, and Mrs. Harriman had Secretary Millar of the Union Pacific Railroad, who kept most of the files, turn them over to me, and had Mr. Tegethoff go through his files to see what he had. I personally examined the files, and I never saw any such letter, and I was trying to locate everything that was in existence.

Senator POMERENE. You never heard of any?

Mr. LOVETT. I never heard of any.

Senator POMERENE. Was Mr. Harriman especially interested in the election of United States Senator in California, during the years that Col. Roosevelt was President of the United States?

Mr. LOVETT. He never exhibited any such interest to me. I suppose he felt an interest, of course, in the election of Senators of the United States, but I do not know of any special interest. He never exhibited any to me. The only thing I ever saw in Mr. Harriman's correspondence upon that subject at all was a telegram sent—I am not sure, but that it was addressed to me—perhaps it was to Mr. Harriman reporting that Mr. Flint had been elected a Senator from California. I think that was the first time I ever heard of Mr. Flint, though I had not been on the Pacific coast very often at that time, and it evoked no comment from Mr. Harriman that I recall. I do not recall, Senator, if you will pardon me—

Senator POMERENE. Certainly.

Mr. LOVETT. Whether there was introduced before the committee and there is in the record some correspondence about a possible Cabinet minister. There was some correspondence upon that subject, but I presume that is in the record. That is the only correspondence of that sort.

Senator POMERENE. Judge, how long were you connected with the Central Pacific Railway Co., as counsel or otherwise?

Mr. LOVETT. I became general counsel for all the Southern Pacific lines on January 1, 1904. I continued in that position up to September 13, 1909, and I resigned and became president and chairman of the executive committee at Mr. Harriman's death.

Senator POMERENE. Now, my question was in reference to the Central Pacific Railway Co., and your answer referred to all of the lines of the Southern Pacific Railway Co., if I understood you correctly?

Mr. LOVETT. No; my answer referred to the Southern Pacific Co. and the various companies constituting the Southern Pacific and Union Pacific systems. The Central Pacific is a constituent company of the Southern Pacific system, and my answer applies to that company as well as to the Southern Pacific.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Do you recall a suit pending in the city of San Francisco in the United States circuit court. No. 11121, entitled "The United States v. The Central Pacific Railroad Co. and others"?

Mr. LOVETT. There were a great many suits, I think, of that title, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. Perhaps I can give you a little more definite information. As I am advised, this suit was brought to annul a lease for 99 years in all the Central Pacific lines to the holding company, known as the Southern Pacific Co. of Kentucky.

Mr. LOVETT. I recall such a suit. I do not recall, however, that it was pending in San Francisco. I thought it was filed at Los Angeles, but I do not recall as to that. I do recall such a suit.

Senator POMERENE. My information is that it was at San Francisco. But do you remember the fact that there was such a suit pending?

Mr. LOVETT. I remember the fact that there was such a suit pending.

Senator POMERENE. And this suit was dismissed some time in the spring or summer of 1905?

Mr. LOVETT. That is a mistake, Senator, as to the date. The suit that I had in mind was a suit that was commenced during or immediately after the Debs strike in 1894.

Senator POMERENE. In 1894?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir; and it was the only suit that I know of of that character. My knowledge of it—that is, my knowledge of the details of it—was derived from an examination of the record. I have a certified copy of the record of that suit, I think, with a view to using it in the present suit, or the suit now pending in the Supreme Court of the United States between the Government and the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific systems, and the suit was commenced, as I say, immediately, during or very soon after the Pullman strike of 1894, and it was taken up—I do not think any testimony was ever taken in the case—it was taken up by Mr. Tweed, who at that time was counsel for the Southern Pacific Co., with the Attorney General's Department, and when, I think, Mr. Olney was Attorney General, and was dismissed without prejudice in 1895 or 1896. That was the only suit of the kind that I ever knew of.

Senator POMERENE. The suit to which I have reference, I am advised, was dismissed in the first part of the year 1905. Our later information is that it was dismissed some time, perhaps, in June, 1905.

Mr. LOVETT. I think the dates are wrong by just 10 years. I was counsel at that time and I do not recall any such suits.

Senator POMERENE. I have no specific information on the subject except as I have given it to you.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you recall the case No. 11881, pending also in the United States circuit court at San Francisco, entitled "The United States v. The Southern Pacific Railroad Co. and others," which case, as I am advised, was brought to annul a lease for 99 years of all the lines of the Southern Pacific Railroad Co. to the Southern Pacific Co. of Kentucky?

Mr. LOVETT. I do not recall such a suit. Was that brought in the Federal courts?

Senator POMERENE. In the Federal court, I am so advised, and that this case was dismissed also in the early part of the year 1905.

Mr. LOVETT. I do not recall any knowledge of that. I assume from your statement of its nature, however, that it is a companion suit to the one I have described.

Senator POMERENE. It would seem that the two cases involved the question of the cancellation of certain leases, etc.

There are just two or three other questions in the matter that I would like to ask you, Judge Lovett. My attention has been called to the Southern Pacific Railroad Co. That was a corporation under the laws of Kentucky, I believe, was it?

Mr. LOVETT. No; there was a Southern Pacific Railroad Co. of California, a Southern Pacific Railroad Co. of Arizona, and a Southern Pacific Railroad Co. of New Mexico. Those companies a few years ago were consolidated, and there is now one Southern Pacific Railroad Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was that incorporated?

Mr. LOVETT. Under the laws of the State of California and of the two Territories that I have mentioned. Then they were consolidated under the laws of that State and those Territories.

Senator POMERENE. But consolidated under a new corporate name?

Mr. LOVETT. No; they were all consolidated under the name of the Southern Pacific Railroad Co. Then the Southern Pacific Co.—

Senator POMERENE. Of what State?

Mr. LOVETT. Of California, Arizona, and New Mexico. Then the Southern Pacific Co.—not “railroad company”—the Southern Pacific Co. was incorporated in 1884 by a special act of the Legislature of Kentucky. The Southern Pacific Co. owns all, or practically all, except, perhaps, a few shares held by directors, of the stock of the Southern Pacific Railroad Co., and operates the Southern Pacific Railroad Co. under a lease. It also owns all, or practically all, of the stock of the Central Pacific Railway Co., and operates that company under a lease. So that the lines of the Southern Pacific Railroad Co., the California, Arizona, and New Mexico corporation, and the lines of the Central Pacific Railway Co. are operated as one system and one line by the Southern Pacific Co., the Kentucky corporation.

Senator POMERENE. There is some pending litigation. I think you referred to it as now being in the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Against what company is that litigation?

Mr. LOVETT. That litigation is against the Union Pacific Railroad Co., the Oregon Short Line Railroad Co., and Oregon Railroad & Navigation Co., and the Southern Pacific Co. and various individuals.

Senator POMERENE. Does that case—of course the pleadings would show, but you can, perhaps, give us the information without much trouble—does that case involve the question of the validity of these leases to which I referred in a former question, made for 99 years to the Central Pacific Railroad Co., or the 99-year leases alleged to have been made to the Southern Pacific Railroad Co.?

Mr. LOVETT. It does not.

Senator POMERENE. That suit is brought on behalf of the United States, I assume?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all I care to inquire.

Senator PAYNTER. I want to ask you just a question or two.

Mr. LOVETT. If the committee prefers, I will be glad to come back this afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN. No; I think we can get through with you in just a moment now.

Senator PAYNTER. Judge, you stated to the committee the interests that Mr. Harriman had in the work on the canal in your examination this morning?

Mr. LOVETT. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did your system of roads have any interest in the construction of the canal?

Mr. LOVETT. None whatever.

Senator PAYNTER. I did not know whether they had or not.

Mr. LOVETT. Our lines do not extend east of the Missouri River and the Mississippi River, except the steamship line between Galveston and New Orleans and New York. These lines have no interest whatever in the New York canal system.

Senator PAYNTER. Did Mr. Harriman participate actively in politics, generally?

Mr. LOVETT. I feel safe in saying that Mr. Harriman was not active in politics until the election of 1904. Mr. Harriman and Gov. Odell both lived in Orange County and were neighbors and friends, and he went to the Republican national convention in 1904 as one of the delegates.

Senator PAYNTER. As one of the delegates at large?

Mr. LOVETT. As one of the local district delegates of Orange County. That was, I think, his first appearance in politics—certainly in State or national politics. After 1904—shall I state this matter fully?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; I will be glad to have you do it.

Mr. LOVETT. Following the election of 1904 Mr. Harriman was very much interested in the reelection of Senator Depew, for reasons as stated in his letter to Sidney Webster. Those are the reasons I understood from him. And it became known in New York, or at least among the newspaper fraternity, that Mr. Harriman and Gov. Odell were urging the reelection of Senator Depew, and there was very great opposition by the newspapers, at least by the New York papers, to the reelection of Senator Depew; and Mr. Harriman and Gov. Odell both received a great deal of criticism.

Following that, in 1905, I think it was, the insurance investigation came on, and Mr. Harriman was criticized, and Gov. Odell was ridiculed a good deal for a statement that Mr. Harriman made in his testimony before the insurance commission, as he claimed facetiously, to the effect that Gov. Odell owed his prominence in politics to him. Mr. Harriman claimed that that was a facetious remark. But the result was that Gov. Odell was very severely criticized because of his alleged domination by Mr. Harriman, and Mr. Harriman felt, under the circumstances, and acted upon that feeling, that he should help Gov. Odell wherever he could in politics.

But Mr. Harriman was not active in politics until he came into the situation in the presidential election of 1904.

Senator POMERENE. Just a question or two there. Judge, do you recall a meeting of certain representatives of the large transportation companies and financial interests in New York during the cam-

paing of 1904, looking to the part that they should take in the campaign.

Mr. LOVETT. I never knew or heard of any such meeting.

Senator POMERENE. The large transportation companies—when I say that I mean those men who controlled—were all interested in the campaign in behalf of the Republican ticket, were they not?

Mr. LOVETT. I could not answer as to all. So far as I knew they were generally on that side of the political question.

Senator POMERENE. And that was true of the large banking interests at that time?

Mr. LOVETT. I could not answer as to that.

Senator POMERENE. I assume that it is your view that that was true with reference to the insurance companies?

Mr. LOVETT. I could not answer as to that.

Senator POMERENE. What do you know as to the position taken by the large industrial companies of the country?

Mr. LOVETT. No more than anyone else knows from the newspaper accounts and from gossip.

Senator POMERENE. Your close relationship to the railroad world gives you the information, so far as the railroad companies are concerned?

Mr. LOVETT. I would not like to be understood that way. I would not like to say that the railroad interests were generally for the Republican ticket; I do not know. I know a great many of them were—a great many prominent railroad officials—because I think most of them, like Mr. Harriman, were habitually Republicans. I speak of the large interests.

Senator POMERENE. And it was about this time that Mr. Harriman was organizing his large corporations and companies?

Mr. LOVETT. 1904?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. LOVETT. Oh, no.

Senator POMERENE. When was that?

Mr. LOVETT. Mr. Harriman came into the Union Pacific—he had been for a number of years connected with the Illinois Central—he came into the Union Pacific in 1897 or 1898 and began the organization of the Union Pacific system, and he bought for the Union Pacific the stock of the Southern Pacific in 1901. So his control of the Union Pacific and of the Southern Pacific commenced in 1901.

Senator POMERENE. His control. Would you have us understand that his control of the Union Pacific system was completed in 1904, or prior thereto?

Mr. LOVETT. Long prior thereto.

Senator POMERENE. And that involved the combination and control of these various railroad systems into the one larger system?

Mr. LOVETT. Well, it involved this: Most of them preserved their separate corporate organizations and operations, but it involved the election of Mr. Harriman as the chief executive, either as chairman of the executive committee or as president of the principal companies, such as the Union Pacific, the Oregon Short Line, and the Southern Pacific. He was elected president or chairman of the executive committee of the Southern Pacific in 1901, and of the Union Pacific prior to that time.

Senator POMERENE. So that his was the one master mind in control of that large system?

Mr. LOVETT. Well, he was in control.

Is that all?

Senator POMERENE. Yes; I think that is all.

Mr. LOVETT. Mr. Chairman, as Mr. Harriman is not here, I would like to make one statement, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. You are at liberty to make any statement you desire.

Mr. LOVETT. I have never heard Mr. Harriman's word drawn into question, except in this single controversy that has been testified to before the committee.

He was a man who was regarded as of the strictest integrity in speaking the truth, and I have never heard his word questioned in any other matter, and I think it is fair to state that, and to say further that I can not believe that he would have accomplished the things that he did achieve if he had not been a strictly truthful man.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further?

Mr. LOVETT. There was one thing that I thought I ought to state that I was not asked about. Statements have been made here, the effect of which is that Mr. Harriman was peculiarly and specially interested in the election of Mr. Higgins as governor of New York in 1904. I happen to have information that both Gov. Odell and Mr. Harriman were in favor of the nomination of Joseph H. Choate for governor of New York in 1904.

Mr. Harriman was abroad at that time, and I remember very distinctly to have sent a cablegram in cipher, at the request of Gov. Odell, in which Gov. Odell expressed that opinion and suggested that Mr. Harriman, while in Europe, see Mr. Choate, who was then ambassador to Great Britain, and ascertain whether he would accept the nomination. Mr. Harriman answered—I am speaking of this from memory, because my files are not in existence—that he favored it, but I think he said he did not expect to go to Europe on that trip. That is my recollection of it.

In view of the time which has elapsed I thought it best to communicate with Gov. Odell after I saw the testimony that had been printed here and ask his recollection of that, and so I telephoned him after I was subpoenaed to appear here and after I had read the testimony given here last Friday; and he confirmed my recollection of it—that they were in favor of the nomination of Mr. Choate. Why he was not nominated I do not know, but that is the fact. Mr. Harriman had no interest whatever, so far as I ever knew, in the election of Mr. Higgins, except such interest as he might have for the election of the nominee of the Republican Party, as he was a consistent Republican.

Gov. Odell at that time was governor of the State, and his political troubles commenced, as I have stated a while ago, later on.

Senator POMERENE. Do you recall about the date of that cablegram?

Mr. LOVETT. It was in the summer of 1904, while Mr. Harriman was abroad.

Senator POMERENE. Can you fix the date more definitely? Let me suggest with reference to the time of the convention at which Mr. Higgins was nominated, how long before that?

Mr. LOVETT. Mr. Harriman went abroad, I think, about the 1st of July, early in July, and I think the Republican State convention was held late in September. I think this telegram was in the early stages of the summer campaign, after the Chicago convention, because Mr. Harriman attended that convention, and quite a long time before the State convention; I should say some time in July.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further?

Mr. LOVETT. There is nothing further that I can think of.

The CHAIRMAN. You may be excused then.

Mr. Lovett was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will now take a recess until half-past 1.

Accordingly, at 12 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m., the committee took a recess until 1.30 o'clock p. m.

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled, at the expiration of the recess, at 1.30 o'clock p. m.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order, and Mr. Taft will be sworn.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES P. TAFT.

Charles P. Taft, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name in full, address, and business to the stenographer.

Mr. TAFT. Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Taft, you are the brother of the President, I understand?

Mr. TAFT. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state how much you contributed to the Republican national campaign or to your brother's campaign in 1908.

Mr. TAFT. In 1904 I contributed \$5,000 to Mr. Roosevelt's campaign to the national committee. When the campaign for 1908 came around, the conditions were considerably different. The administration, through Mr. Roosevelt, favored my brother's nomination. The question then was in regard to the State of Ohio. Personally, I believed that my brother was admirably equipped for the nomination. I believed in his integrity; I believed that he was fearless; I believed that no man could bulldoze him or use him. The principal thing to be obviated was any influence that might be had or made upon a candidate from a monetary standpoint. My object in going into the campaign was that if he were elected President he should walk into the White House without any monetary obligation—I mean monetary obligation for a special reason or on account of any excessive contributions—free from any obligation to any individual, to any great interest, or to any corporation. On that basis I was prepared to go the limit. Now, this campaign for the nomination—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment. The committee has no jurisdiction of the preconvention campaigns of 1908, but as to the preconven-

tion campaigns only of 1912, so as to 1908 our inquiry is as to what you contributed to the national committee or to your brother or anyone else for the election, as distinguished from the nomination.

Mr. TAFT. I was not aware of that. I thought it took in everything.

Senator PAYNTER. And just the primary of this present year?

Mr. TAFT. Yes. Well, it is a little difficult for me to separate it. I have the whole thing from beginning to end.

Senator PAYNTER. Is your book so arranged that you can give the date of the Republican convention?

Mr. TAFT. June some time.

Senator PAYNTER. You can probably separate it to show what was contributed in advance of that date?

Senator OLIVER. Anything up to the 1st of July would be pre-convention.

Mr. TAFT. Before the 1st of July, that would be pre-convention?

Senator OLIVER. Yes.

Mr. TAFT. These items on the 1st of July are evidently for closing up the expenses of that preliminary campaign. It includes a lot of bills for various things. I presume, probably, the first contribution would be August 8, cash to H. A. Williams. Mr. Williams is the chairman of our State committee in Ohio. Then, there are a number of smaller contributions to individuals. There is a contribution to Mr. Hitchcock on a preliminary canvass. That, you say, you do not wish.

The CHAIRMAN. No; you do not need to mention that.

Mr. TAFT. September 24, I gave Mr. Hitchcock \$50,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; the one you just referred to was pre-convention.

Mr. TAFT. Yes; I have it all in here.

The CHAIRMAN. As you go along, Mr. Taft, separate it.

Mr. TAFT. \$50,000 on the 24th of September; H. A. Williams, \$3,500, same date.

Senator POMERENE. September 24?

Mr. TAFT. September 24.

Senator PAYNTER. Those are contributions after the nomination had been made?

Mr. TAFT. After the nomination had been made and for the canvass.

Senator POMERENE. Yes, sir; that is what I asked.

Mr. TAFT. Yes. October 3, F. H. Hitchcock, \$50,000. There are small contributions to local matters in Cincinnati. October 7, F. H. Hitchcock, \$50,000; October 14, F. H. Hitchcock, \$50,000; and another check at the same time, \$50,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom was that to?

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Hitchcock for the national campaign. All of this is for the national campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I understand.

Mr. TAFT. October 15, H. A. Williams, \$5,000. That is the State campaign. October 21, H. A. Williams, \$30,000, the State campaign. Small contributions to the local campaign. Then there are small bills here. On December 5, F. H. Hitchcock, \$15,000. That is after the election. I have it in here because it was part of the political

expenses, and that was for the purpose of paying the expenses of the President before his inauguration. He had a good deal of business there, and——

The CHAIRMAN. Then that does not apply to the campaign contributions?

Mr. TAFT. No; I think not; but I have it in here, so I can not figure it all out.

The CHAIRMAN. I know.

Mr. TAFT. Now, Mr. Hitchcock returned on that—well, he returned a great deal on this last \$15,000. After the campaign Mr. Hitchcock returned, on November 10, \$50,000 by cash; on the same date another check of \$50,000; returned \$846 on the 26th. That ought not to come in, because that is preconvention campaign. December 3 he returned \$50,000. Mr. Hitchcock returned \$150,000 altogether; that is, of that national campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you gone over in your own mind so that you can approximate the total contributions you have made to the campaign of 1908 subsequent, of course, to the nomination?

Mr. TAFT. Preelection expenses, A. I. Vorys, Ohio campaign, \$1,000; H. A. Williams, Ohio campaign, \$44,926.15——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Taft, are those exclusive of what you have been testifying to?

Mr. TAFT. Oh, no. You said you wanted the sum total.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; the sum total.

Mr. TAFT. Yes; that is what I am giving you now.

The CHAIRMAN. Only I wanted it to appear of record.

Mr. TAFT. Oh, no; I am condensing it now. This next item to Mr. Hitchcock ought to be changed, because I have in there that \$15,000. That is after the election, and I have it down here, \$271,917.40. From that amount \$15,000 should be taken. Other various items, \$7,395.75, making a total of \$324,339.30.

The CHAIRMAN. And of that amount Mr. Hitchcock returned——

Mr. TAFT. In the first place, you ought to deduct \$15,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. TAFT. Which I ought not to have in that item.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. TAFT. And then he returned \$150,000; in other words, that is \$121,917, less \$15,000. That will give you the amount.

The CHAIRMAN. \$106,000 in round numbers.

Mr. TAFT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, were those contributions made by you your personal contributions?

Mr. TAFT. Yes; all my own—every cent of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any other contributions that were made in your brother's campaign of 1908?

Mr. TAFT. I think some contributions came in to me, which I turned over to my secretary. I did not want to have them mixed up with my own contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any record or memorandum of those?

Mr. TAFT. No; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you know of any contributions that were made direct other than those you have testified to, by anybody?

Mr. TAFT. I do not. I know of no contributions at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever have occasion to inform yourself of the total contributions to your brother's campaign, as reported by Mr. Hitchcock?

Mr. TAFT. I never did. Of course, I have had talks with Mr. Hitchcock. It was very essential for him to get some money during that campaign, and there was no money in sight. Nobody was contributing, and the reason I had to put these large amounts in was that there were no contributions, I take it, until very late in the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Later, contributions were made, so that you were reimbursed?

Mr. TAFT. That is it; yes. Mr. Hitchcock and the directors thought that I ought to be reimbursed certain amounts of money.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea of what the total contributions were?

Mr. TAFT. No; I have not. I know nothing about them.

The CHAIRMAN. Or the total expenditures?

Mr. TAFT. No. I had nothing to do with that.

The CHAIRMAN. And you do not know, aside from the small amounts which were sent you and which you turned over to Mr. Hitchcock, who the contributors to your brother's campaign were?

Mr. TAFT. Only I was assured that there was no great big amount of money from any one corporation or any one interest.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but if you were sure of that, then you must be sure——

Mr. TAFT. I say I was assured.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, you were assured.

Mr. TAFT. Not that I was sure.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom were you assured?

Mr. TAFT. By Mr. Hitchcock.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, as to the preconvention campaign of 1912.

Mr. TAFT. I have everything in here exactly as I paid the money out, beginning November 1, 1911. Mr. Karger represents me here as a correspondent for the Times-Star, and I detailed him to go with the President. I paid his salary and all the expenses of his trip, as I considered that for political purposes, and I charged that in. Of course, there are quite a number of items here—in salary, etc., as they were paid.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you have it in gross?

Mr. TAFT. I have the sum total here.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. TAFT. Then, there are some contributions here to railway people, rather small contributions. December 26, cash, A. I. Vorys, \$1,000; 1912, January 20, A. I. Vorys, \$1,000; February 23, A. I. Vorys, \$1,500; February 3, Taft bureau here, for the purpose of beginning the campaign nationally, \$25,000; March 7, W. B. McKinley, chairman, \$100,000; March 18, A. I. Vorys, \$1,300; April 26, A. I. Vorys, \$5,000; May 6, A. I. Vorys, \$5,000; May 13, A. I. Vorys, \$50,000; May 22, expenses of Blaine Club, Chicago, \$8,300. The sum total of that contribution was \$213,592.41.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you it so separated that you can state the contributions separately to McKinley and to Vorys in gross?

Mr. TAFT (reading from memorandum) :

A. I. Vorys, Ohio campaign, preconvention, \$64,800; W. B. McKinley, national campaign—

That other was the Ohio campaign.

W. B. McKinley, national campaign, \$125,000; other various items, \$23,792.41.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Vorys have charge of the Taft campaign in Ohio—the preconvention campaign of this year?

Mr. TAFT. I think he did; yes, sir. He was the man to whom I sent the money.

The CHAIRMAN. This money that you testified sending to him was your personal contribution?

Mr. TAFT. My personal contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. And did not include the contribution of anyone else?

Mr. TAFT. Not at all; not one cent.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any other contributions that were made to the Ohio preconvention campaign other than those made by yourself?

Mr. TAFT. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether the law of Ohio requires the filing of a statement of preconvention campaign expenses?

Mr. TAFT. I really do not know. If that was so, I suppose Mr. Vorys filed it.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know about his filing it?

Mr. TAFT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any having been filed?

Mr. TAFT. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You are engaged in the publishing or printing business, are you not?

Mr. TAFT. I am; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In a lithographic business?

Mr. TAFT. Oh, no; just for our own purposes. We take photographs of people that we wish to put in the papers; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are not you connected with a lithographic business in Cincinnati?

Mr. TAFT. I am not; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you not in 1908?

Mr. TAFT. No, sir; I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. You had no connection with anything pertaining to the lithographic or printing aside from your connection with the paper?

Mr. TAFT. Not that I know of. They have got me in a great many things, but I do not recollect any such investment as that.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Hulburt Taft?

Mr. TAFT. He is my nephew.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he reside?

Mr. TAFT. He is editor of my paper.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of his having made any contribution to the preconvention campaign of your brother this year?

Mr. TAFT. I know he was trying to make collections, but I do not know what he gave, I am sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever happen to learn what success, as to the amount of collections, he made?

Mr. TAFT. He may have said something about it, but I did not charge my memory with it. I do not know anything about what he collected.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you are to be understood as testifying that you know of no contributions to your brother's campaign—preconvention campaign of 1912 in Ohio—other than that you have testified to?

Mr. TAFT. I can not recall any except what my nephew did, and I do not know of anybody else.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions that were made to his preconvention campaign in other States than Ohio?

Mr. TAFT. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any fact or circumstance bearing on the question of contributions in the campaign of 1908 or the preconvention campaign of 1912, to which your attention has not been called, or to which you have not testified and that you now do recall?

Mr. TAFT. No, sir; I do not recall anything. I think I have tried to give the statement of everything I put in there, and any other outside matter I do not recall.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not now recall?

Mr. TAFT. No, sir; I do not recall.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Taft, the contribution that you made for the 1904 campaign was an ordinary, reasonable contribution such as a man of your means would naturally make in behalf of the party to which you owed allegiance?

Mr. TAFT. Oh, yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. And, as I understand, in the campaign of 1908 and in the preconvention campaign of 1912 you, of course, occupied a different position. Your brother, being candidate, you felt that out of your abundant means you would rather contribute what might mean extravagant sums toward electing him rather than have money contributions solicited from others which might entail obligations on his part after he was elected? Do I understand that to be your position?

Mr. TAFT. That is my position. I wanted him to go into the White House absolutely free.

Senator OLIVER. Absolutely free?

Mr. TAFT. Yes, sir. I do not mean to say I wanted to pay the entire campaign expenses.

Senator OLIVER. No; I understand.

Mr. TAFT. But I mean to say I did not want to have him go around trying to get contributions, or the chairman of the committee—contributions from great corporations, or what is known as big interests.

Senator OLIVER. That is all I have to ask.

Senator POMERENE. Just a question or two. I notice that several of these large subscriptions were made at or about the same time, perhaps in the middle of October; on the 3d, \$50,000; on the 7th, \$50,000; and on the 14th, two checks of \$50,000?

Mr. TAFT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What was the particular occasion for requiring this amount of money at that time?

Mr. TAFT. We did not have the money; the national committee did not have the money; and I think, now that I go back a little, that one of those \$50,000 checks went to the Chicago headquarters, and while it is credited to Mr. Hitchcock, it went from Chicago. I think the Chicago headquarters returned it. They were instructed to be as careful as possible to see that I did not get in too heavily.

Senator POMERENE. Have you underwritten any particular sum for the campaign in the State of New York?

Mr. TAFT. Not a cent.

Senator POMERENE. And was there—I ask you this because the information has been brought to me—was there a time during the campaign of 1908 when the condition in New York was regarded as rather serious, and thereupon you advanced funds to the national committee, particularly for the New York State campaign, with the understanding that you were to be reimbursed as the moneys would come in?

Mr. TAFT. I do not think anything was said about New York. I do not recall any such conversation.

Senator POMERENE. But it develops that you gave \$265,000, if I remember the total correctly——

Mr. TAFT. The figures are all right there.

Senator POMERENE. In substance that?

Mr. TAFT. I suppose that is right.

Senator POMERENE. And that after the campaign had ended Mr. Hitchcock refunded to you——

Mr. TAFT. \$150,000.

Senator POMERENE. \$150,000?

Mr. TAFT. That is correct; that is, including the \$50,000 from Chicago.

Senator POMERENE. At the time you made this contribution was there an understanding that a portion of it was to be refunded to you?

Mr. TAFT. I do not think there was. I confess I was surprised to get all that money back; I was surprised. The cash was there. They got it from me, and I have been surprised on one or two instances in that case.

Senator POMERENE. So that came to you without any expectation on your part?

Mr. TAFT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. That any portion of what you had theretofore contributed would be paid back?

Mr. TAFT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, going to the campaign of 1912, who was the treasurer of the campaign committee in the State of Ohio—Mr. Vorys?

Mr. TAFT. Do you mean of the preliminary campaign? I think Mr. Vorys was; yes, sir. I sent the money to him.

Senator POMERENE. That is the Vorys who was formerly insurance commissioner?

Mr. TAFT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you make any contributions direct to him or to anyone else in the State other than those you have mentioned?

Mr. TAFT. I did not—oh, well, I do not know about that. I have stated here the whole amount. I have stated what the whole amount was, \$65,000 to Mr. Vorys and \$125,000 to the national campaign; and then there were other small items amounting to \$7,000, as I recollect.

Senator POMERENE. Were there any funds sent direct by you to the campaign managers in any of the counties of the State?

Mr. TAFT. Not a cent.

Senator POMERENE. What you did give, except for a few items which you spent locally in Cincinnati, you sent direct to Mr. Vorys?

Mr. TAFT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And did you understand that any part of the money which you had given to the national committee would be used in Ohio for the purposes of the Ohio campaign?

Mr. TAFT. I did not know anything about that.

Senator POMERENE. Whatever was done in that respect was upon the responsibility of the people in charge here?

Mr. TAFT. That is so; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, unless you now recall some additional fact.

Mr. TAFT. I can not recall anything just now.

Mr. Taft was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF D. R. HANNA, OF URBANA, OHIO, ENGAGED IN THE COAL AND IRON BUSINESS.

D. R. Hanna, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. You may give your name, address, and business.

Mr. HANNA. D. R. Hanna; Urbana, Ohio; business, coal and iron.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hanna, do you know anything about the campaign contributions in the national election of 1904?

Mr. HANNA. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the congressional election of 1904?

Mr. HANNA. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the presidential election of 1908?

Mr. HANNA. Do I know anything about it?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; anything about contributions.

Mr. HANNA. In a general way, do you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, whether you know anything; whether you gave anything, or know anybody who gave anything?

Mr. HANNA. I gave something; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, the campaign of 1908?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you give anything in 1904?

Mr. HANNA. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you contribute in 1908?

Mr. HANNA. \$5,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall who it was sent to or given to?

Mr. HANNA. I think it was sent to the treasurer of the campaign, to the national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any other contributions that were made in 1908?

Mr. HANNA. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make any contributions to the congressional campaign committee of 1908?

Mr. HANNA. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in regard to the preconvention campaign of 1912, did you make any contributions to that campaign?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In whose behalf?

Mr. HANNA. Col. Roosevelt.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a statement showing the amount of them?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you it with you?

Mr. HANNA. I have not got it with me; no.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, where is it?

Mr. HANNA. I can give you the figures.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if you can recall them.

Mr. HANNA. I sent \$50,000 to the national campaign in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Who did that go to, do you know?

Mr. HANNA. It went to the committee. I do not know who it went to.

The CHAIRMAN. In the form of a check?

Mr. HANNA. In the form of currency, I believe. I was in the South at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. But you directed it to be sent.

Mr. HANNA. I directed it to be sent; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the next contribution?

Mr. HANNA. At various times; the next contribution to the national campaign fund amounted to \$50,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that made to?

Mr. HANNA. That was sent entirely, I think, to Mr. Walter F. Brown.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send any to the headquarters in Washington?

Mr. HANNA. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you say you sent \$50,000 to the headquarters in New York?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And \$50,000 to Walter F. Brown?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make any further contributions?

Mr. HANNA. Toward the national campaign, do you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. Toward the preliminary campaign of Col. Roosevelt.

Mr. HANNA. I made further contributions to be used for State organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. That was prior to the convention?

Mr. HANNA. Prior to the convention; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What were those contributions?

Mr. HANNA. They were, I think, \$77,000.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom were they sent?

Mr. HANNA. They were sent to various people. I think Walter F. Brown, N. C. Wright, and W. P. Schaeffle.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does Mr. Wright reside?

Mr. HANNA. In Cleveland.

The CHAIRMAN. And where does Mr. Schaeffle reside?

Mr. HANNA. In Cleveland.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Brown in Toledo?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember any other contributions you made to the preconvention campaign?

Mr. HANNA. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, how much do you make your total contribution to the preconvention campaign, including the money which you said you sent for the State organization?

Mr. HANNA. \$177,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any other contributions being made by anyone to the preconvention campaign of Col. Roosevelt?

Mr. HANNA. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any other fact or circumstance bearing upon the question of preconvention campaign contributions?

Mr. HANNA. No, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Hanna, I want to call your attention to a discrepancy between your testimony and that of Senator Dixon. When Senator Dixon was on the stand the other day he stated that "Dan Hanna gave me some money; I think it was sent down in several contributions." I do not mean to intimate in any way that either you or Senator Dixon would state what was not so, but I would just like you to explain that.

Mr. HANNA. Well, Senator, I can not explain it except that Senator Dixon and I had talked on this subject when I was in Washington, and at that time I told him that I would contribute \$50,000 to the national campaign fund, which I have stated that I did.

I returned to Aiken, S. C., immediately after the conversation I had with Senator Dixon, and a few days following my arrival in Aiken I arranged for the money to be sent to New York. My recollection is that it was sent in one installment.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Hanna, before the campaign opened, or about the time that it opened, did you have any conference with other leaders who were prominent in the preconvention campaign of Col. Roosevelt about finances?

Mr. HANNA. No, sir; I did not—unless possibly I discussed it with Mr. Perkins. I do not think I discussed the question of finances with anyone except Mr. Perkins and Senator Dixon.

Senator OLIVER. You never had any talk with Mr. Munsey?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, I did; but at that time the only talk I remember of—it might have been two—was with Mr. Perkins, and I think Mr. Munsey was there at one of the conferences, or possibly both of them.

Senator OLIVER. Can you remember what took place at those conferences?

Mr. HANNA. Nothing of any importance, Senator.

Senator OLIVER. Then the entire amount contributed by you in an effort to nominate Col. Roosevelt, as I understand it, was \$177,000?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. All of which was used either at general headquarters or in the Ohio campaign?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. You did not send anything to any other State?

Mr. HANNA. No, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Can you give us any information, Mr. Hanna, about how much money was expended in the Ohio campaign?

Mr. HANNA. I can not give you any information, Senator, except the money that I furnished for the campaign. I do not think that there was much collected outside of that.

Senator OLIVER. To whom did you furnish the money, to whom did you send the money?

Mr. HANNA. For the Ohio campaign?

Senator OLIVER. Yes.

Mr. HANNA. Walter F. Brown.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Hanna, your total contribution was one hundred and seventy—how many thousand did you say?

Mr. HANNA. \$177,000.

Senator PAYNTER. You say you sent \$50,000 to New York?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. To headquarters there?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you remember the name of the party to whom it was sent?

Mr. HANNA. I do not, Senator. As I stated before, I was in the South.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know a Mr. Hooker in New York?

Mr. HANNA. No, sir; I do not know him.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Hooker reports that you contributed on his list; that D. R. Hanna contributed \$25,000. I suppose that is yourself?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. And that is the only credit that seems to be given to you in that account. I have forgotten what Senator Dixon said you had given. Do you remember, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. \$25,000, I think.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, if Senator Dixon said that you contributed \$25,000, that would account for the \$50,000 that you sent east?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You gave Mr. Brown, you say, \$50,000?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. That would be \$100,000?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. To whom was the balance given?

Mr. HANNA. I have just testified that I sent the balance, other than that which was sent to Mr. Brown—the money was given to Mr. Wright and to Mr. Schaufle, both of Cleveland.

Senator PAYNTER. Who is Mr. Wright?

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Wright is the editor of my newspapers.

Senator PAYNTER. It was all, then, for the Ohio campaign—other than the \$50,000 you sent east?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You say you did not send any to any other State?

Mr. HANNA. None whatever.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know of anyone who contributed any sum as large as \$5,000 to be used in the Ohio campaign, other than yourself?

Mr. HANNA. I do not; no, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you ever hear Mr. Brown discuss the amount—

Mr. HANNA. Mr. who?

Senator PAYNTER. Walter Brown. Isn't he the gentleman to whom you paid the \$50,000?

Mr. HANNA. Yes; but I do not understand your question.

Senator PAYNTER. My question was, Did you hear him say that anyone other than yourself had made a large contribution to the campaign?

Mr. HANNA. I did not; no, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Hanna, when did you first become interested in Col. Roosevelt's campaign?

Mr. HANNA. You mean financially, Senator?

Senator POMERENE. Well, no; your general interest as a citizen or a partisan?

Mr. HANNA. In the spring of 1911.

Senator POMERENE. The spring of 1911?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. A year ago this last spring?

Mr. HANNA. No; two years ago this last spring. No—the spring of 1910.

Senator POMERENE. That is, two years ago?

Mr. HANNA. Two years ago this spring. I am wrong, Senator—the spring of 1911.

Senator POMERENE. That was a year ago this last spring?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And had you taken any interest in Senator La Follette's campaign?

Mr. HANNA. None whatever.

Senator POMERENE. At no time?

Mr. HANNA. At no time.

Senator POMERENE. Did you understand in the spring of 1911 that Col. Roosevelt was a candidate for the Presidency?

Mr. HANNA. I did not.

Senator POMERENE. When did you begin to take an active interest in the organization of the Roosevelt campaign?

Mr. HANNA. I have not taken an active interest in the Roosevelt campaign.

Senator POMERENE. Well, did you have a conference with some of your friends in Cleveland touching the Roosevelt's campaign at any time during the fall, or during the winter of 1911-12?

Mr. HANNA. I do not think so.

Senator POMERENE. Was there a meeting in Cleveland between yourself and Mr. Fackler and some other gentlemen looking to the transfer of the support of Senator La Follette to Col. Roosevelt?

Mr. HANNA. I was not present at any such meeting.

Senator POMERENE. Did you know of any such meeting?

Mr. HANNA. I did not.

Senator POMERENE. There was a report current that shortly after the La Follette activities in Ohio that some effort was made to get

control of his friends and the organization, and to have them enlist in behalf of Col. Roosevelt. Did you know of any such effort?

Mr. HANNA. That is perfectly possible, but I did not know of it; no.

Senator POMERENE. You had no part in it?

Mr. HANNA. I had no part in it; none whatever.

Senator POMERENE. When was it that you made your first contribution to the Roosevelt campaign?

Mr. HANNA. I haven't the date. I imagine in the early spring.

Senator POMERENE. You can not fix the month?

Mr. HANNA. I can not; no, sir.

Senator POMERENE. In answer to a question that Senator Clapp asked you, you said you sent \$50,000 to the national committee?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or the committee having charge of the Roosevelt campaign nationally?

Mr. HANNA. I did.

Senator POMERENE. Was that sent at one time?

Mr. HANNA. It was. I think it was. I am sure it was.

Senator POMERENE. Was it all sent to Mr. Hooker, or part to Mr. Hooker and part to Senator Dixon?

Mr. HANNA. I have stated, in my statement in answer to Senator Clapp's question, that I did not know who it was delivered to. It was sent to New York.

Senator POMERENE. What was the reason for sending this in currency?

Mr. HANNA. I was in Aiken and I telephoned Cleveland, my office, to send it in that way.

Senator POMERENE. What was the purpose in sending it in cash, rather than by check or draft?

Mr. HANNA. As I say I was in Aiken, and I wanted the money delivered, wanted the contribution made immediately. I told my secretary to take it to New York.

Senator POMERENE. To take it in currency to New York?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Was there any special reason why that should be done, rather than to send it by draft?

Mr. HANNA. None whatever, except that I was not able to sign a check or a draft at that distance, at that distance from my office.

Senator POMERENE. Could you not have sent a check from your place of sojourn?

Mr. HANNA. I could have if I had had one.

Senator POMERENE. Now, when was it that you made the contribution to Mr. Walter F. Brown?

Mr. HANNA. At various times; during the preliminary campaign.

Senator POMERENE. And he was the chairman of the Roosevelt committee in Ohio?

Mr. HANNA. He was; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And had the active charge of the organization and management of his campaign?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Can you give the dates when you made those payments?

Mr. HANNA. I can not.

Senator POMERENE. Were those payments in currency or by check?

Mr. HANNA. I think mostly by check.

Senator POMERENE. How many different checks were there?

Mr. HANNA. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Now, in addition to that, you say there was \$77,000. In what way was that paid?

Mr. HANNA. I imagine it was paid mostly by checks.

Senator POMERENE. Your own individual checks?

Mr. HANNA. I believe so.

Senator POMERENE. To whom was this money sent?

Mr. HANNA. To Mr. Brown, Mr. Wright, and Mr. Schaeffle.

Senator POMERENE. To the three?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Were those in large checks or in small checks?

Mr. HANNA. I do not think there were any large checks.

Senator POMERENE. About \$2,500 checks?

Mr. HANNA. I should imagine so. I do not think any exceeded that amount.

Senator POMERENE. Were those checks sent around to the different submanagers, if I may call them such, throughout the State?

Mr. HANNA. I have stated, Senator, that they were sent to Mr. Brown, Mr. Schaeffle, and Mr. Wright.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether the checks which you sent to them were sent to some of these local managers or not?

Mr. HANNA. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know a man by the name of Michael Gallagher at Mount Pleasant?

Mr. HANNA. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you send any check to him?

Mr. HANNA. I do not remember, Senator. If I did, it was a small amount.

Senator POMERENE. What is his business?

Mr. HANNA. He is the general manager of our coal mines.

Senator POMERENE. Do you recall now whether you sent two checks to him of \$2,500 each?

Mr. HANNA. I do not recall; it is perfectly possible.

Senator POMERENE. You do not say such was not the case?

Mr. HANNA. I do not; no.

Senator POMERENE. You have no knowledge of any other expenditures or any other funds than those which you have given us?

Mr. HANNA. None whatever.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any other fact or circumstance that you now recall bearing on this question?

Mr. HANNA. Nothing at all, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. There is one question I want to ask you, Mr. Hanna. Were you called on for any money at Chicago for any purpose?

Mr. HANNA. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I mean at the Republican convention?

Mr. HANNA. No, sir; I was not in this country at that time. I was away.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all. We will call Mr. Walter Brown.

Mr. Hanna was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER F. BROWN.

Walter F. Brown, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brown, you may give your name in full, address, and occupation for the record.

Mr. BROWN. Walter F. Brown; Toledo; lawyer.

The CHAIRMAN. What political relation did you hold in Ohio during the year 1911?

Mr. BROWN. I was chairman of the Republican State central committee.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you become chairman of that committee?

Mr. BROWN. In the summer of 1906.

The CHAIRMAN. And served continuously?

Mr. BROWN. Until about a month ago, when I resigned.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you happen to know anything about the campaign contributions to the national campaign of 1904?

Mr. BROWN. I was a member of the Republican State central committee that year, and, of course, knew in a general way of our campaign expenditures in Ohio; but I have no definite knowledge of anything.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have no definite recollection of any contributions in that campaign; or have you?

Mr. BROWN. No; I looked after my own district, and we had no outside aid. We raised our own money there.

Senator POMERENE. Was that in 1904?

Mr. BROWN. 1904. I think I was secretary of the committee that year, but I had no charge of the finances.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of campaign contributions in the national campaign of 1908?

Mr. BROWN. Well, I was about headquarters a good deal, and, of course I heard a good deal; but I have very little knowledge of it. Col. Herrick raised a good deal of money in Ohio and sent it to the national committee, and got it from the men who had made a practice of contributing to the local campaigns. He saw the men first, and it made it necessary for some of us to scurry around a bit after it. That is the reason I remember it at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell approximately how much he raised?

Mr. BROWN. I do not think it would be fair to guess, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. No; we do not want any guess.

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about contributions to the congressional campaigns of 1904 and 1908?

Mr. BROWN. Nothing except small sums that were contributed in the ninth Ohio district, to assist the campaign of Mr. Southard.

Senator POMERENE. That is the Toledo district?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, coming down to the preconvention campaign of 1912, you may tell us what you know of contributions toward Col. Roosevelt's campaign for the nomination?

Mr. BROWN. I heard Mr. Hanna's testimony. I was not chairman of any Roosevelt committee. I happened to be a member of the Ohio constitutional convention and was in Columbus this last winter,

and took charge and had sort of a general oversight of the campaign to secure delegates for Col. Roosevelt. We had no committee. I was not chairman of anything, except the Republican State central committee, and did not attempt to use that committee in the contest. Mr. Hanna was the only contributor to the State funds and his testimony is substantially correct, as close as he can probably recollect it. I received from him for the Roosevelt campaign, for the election of the delegates to Chicago, \$50,000, and disbursed it. Under the corrupt practices act of the State all persons who disbursed money for election purposes are required to make a detailed statement of them, unless the person to whom it is disbursed is required under the law to make a detailed statement. The law requires but one statement. I filed a statement with the secretary of state in accordance with the law, covering \$27,000 plus. Let me say at this point, gentlemen, that I got your subpoena last Sunday at New York, and have not been in Ohio since I got it. Therefore, I have not the papers with me. The subpoena was forwarded to me, and I have not had an opportunity—

The CHAIRMAN. You have not a copy of the paper you filed?

Mr. BROWN. No; but I recall it very distinctly.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you obtain a copy and forward it to the committee?

Mr. BROWN. I will be very glad to.

I wired our office out there for the figures of the Roosevelt and Taft statements, and that is the reason I am sure it was a little over \$27,000 for the Roosevelt campaign fund. Now, when that statement is made it is required to be made within a certain number of days after the primaries. All of the bills were not in for advertising. The total amount of expenditures was about \$30,000 that I disbursed through headquarters. The balance of the \$20,000 was sent to local committees in the State and used for that purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. Just here, would that statement show the amount sent to the local people?

Mr. BROWN. No. It would show only the \$27,000 plus all the bills that were in at the time that we were required to make a report on. Now, in Ohio we have what we call the blind primary ballot. There is no automatic publicity in the ballot. It does not disclose, for instance, which candidates for delegates were for Col. Roosevelt and which were for President Taft. The names of the delegates were printed simply in alphabetical order, and the voter had to inform himself otherwise than by the ballot for whom the candidate stood. Therefore it was necessary to do a great deal of advertising. The principal expenditures were for advertising. For instance, we sent out 650,000 postal cards for the various districts in the State, stating which were the delegates running for Roosevelt. These cards cost a fraction less than 2 cents apiece. Col. Roosevelt's train in Ohio cost about \$5,500 for six days, and he spoke at Cleveland, Toledo, Columbus, Dayton, and Canton at night. Those meetings averaged, for the halls and publicity, about \$500 apiece.

From about the 1st of February I maintained a press bureau. The difficulty was to get publicity in Ohio, as so many of the small newspapers being owned by the postmasters; and I established a press bureau and sent out plate matter to about 200 papers, maintaining a sufficient force for that purpose. Then we had numerous other speak-

ers besides Col. Roosevelt in the State. A good many counties also sent letters to every voter throughout the county informing the voter as to who were the Roosevelt delegates on the ballot, some sending facsimile or sample ballots. Then we advertised the last three days before the election in every newspaper in Ohio that would carry the advertisement how to vote for Roosevelt, with a cross opposite the names of the two candidates for delegates.

That is substantially what the money was spent for.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, these various items you have discussed, are they included in the \$27,000?

Mr. BROWN. Yes; those that went out of our Columbus headquarters are included in the \$27,000 plus.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. That is, in the \$30,000; because the newspapers were slow in sending in their advertising bills, and I remember it.

The CHAIRMAN. What I mean is are they included in the totals you have already covered?

Mr. BROWN. Yes; I am trying to account, as well as I can, for the money.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Hanna testified to some \$77,000 that he said was given to you for the organization; that is, part to you, part to Wright, and part to Schaeffle.

Mr. BROWN. Well, I think Mr. Hanna is not absolutely correct. I know he tried to be about that. Mr. Schaeffle had charge of Col. Roosevelt's trains. He is the transportation man, and I personally supervised what was done with regard to it.

The arrangements with the railroads for that train were made with Mr. Schaeffle, and he paid the bills. That money went to him, and I think that, to be absolutely accurate about the matter, the expense of that train—\$5,500—should be added to the \$50,000 which was sent to me for the Roosevelt contest, and that is the total amount that was used for that purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the item that Mr. Hanna testified to with regard to Wright?

Mr. BROWN. I think that that money was used in and about Cleveland. You see, to get men interested in the Roosevelt campaign, with the sort of Federal organization that there was in Ohio, it was necessary to begin at the bottom, and a great many men wanted to know about more things than merely the national delegates. They were interested in county organizations; they were interested in places on the county ticket; they were interested in nominations for Congress and matters of that kind, and we had to go into it, for that reason, just as we had to begin all over again in the party in 1908, when the contest was made to wrest the control of the party in Ohio from Senator Foraker and Senator Dick. The expenditures in 1912 were very much smaller than they were in 1908 for that purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you happen to have any information as to the amount that went to Mr. Wright?

Mr. BROWN. No; I have not. It was not a great amount of money. Most of the money went through my own account.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, how much went through your account, in gross?

Mr. BROWN. Well, as I have stated, I kept a very careful account of expenditures of the Roosevelt campaign, because under the cor-

rupt-practices act of the State I was required to do it, and I preferred to do it, anyhow. That I am very clear about, and the rest of it I am not as clear about.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the rest of it to be for?

Mr. BROWN. I am trying to explain to you. It was for organization purposes for various counties and districts, and was not spent for the purpose of electing Roosevelt delegates, but for other political purposes. It was not the intention to merely elect delegates to Chicago favorable to Col. Roosevelt and leave the organization of the party in Ohio in the hands of Mr. Vorys, Mr. Laylin, and Senator Burton. Mr. Laylin is now the Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, to the best of your recollection, how much went through your hands in excess of the \$50,000 which you treat as expended for the Roosevelt delegates?

Mr. BROWN. No sums in addition to the \$50,000 were used for the purpose of electing delegates to the national convention.

The CHAIRMAN. No; but you do not understand my question. In addition to the \$50,000 that went through your hands for the purpose of electing delegates, what sum, if any, to the best of your recollection, went through your hands in this effort to secure control of the organization, if you can remember?

Mr. BROWN. Well, there was a sum in excess of \$100,000 which I used for political purposes during the year, Senator; but for the purpose of electing Roosevelt delegates there was \$50,000 that I spent, within a hundred dollars; there will not be over that, and about \$5,500, as I recall it, for this special train for Col. Roosevelt. Now, there were numerous other matters, most of them in the State, practically all of them that I handled, but which had nothing whatever to do with the national issue.

The CHAIRMAN. To make it clear, do I understand that the five thousand and odd dollars for the Roosevelt train is included in that \$50,000?

Mr. BROWN. No; I think Mr. Hanna was not clear about that himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is there anyone else in Ohio who would probably have received and disbursed contributions to the Roosevelt preconvention campaign besides yourself?

Mr. BROWN. No; the other men in Ohio who made a practice of contributing to campaign funds other than Democratic funds were contributing to the Taft campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any fact or circumstance which you now recall to which your attention has not been directed, and as to which you have not testified, bearing upon the question of contributions to preconvention campaigns?

Mr. BROWN. I do not recall anything, Senator, that would be pertinent.

The CHAIRMAN. We were unable to get this information yesterday from the Taft manager in Washington. Do you happen to know who was the Taft manager in Ohio during the preconvention campaign?

Mr. BROWN. Mr. S. C. Laylin, who is now Assistant Secretary of the Interior, succeeding Col. Carmi Thompson, I believe, made the reports under the corrupt-practices act in Ohio, certifying that he spent \$66,000. Then, I believe, if I am correct, that Mr. McKinley

certified that he sent \$20,000 to Ohio. That \$20,000 is not included in Mr. Laylin's report, so that would make \$84,000.

In my own congressional district I happened to know little about it. There Mr. Willys and Mr. Libby were running, and they spent \$30,000 to be elected delegates from that district.

The CHAIRMAN. What candidate were they running for?

Mr. BROWN. They were running as Taft delegates in the ninth district.

Senator OLIVER. How do you know that they spent \$30,000?

Mr. BROWN. They made reports—Mr. Willys did—of a very large sum of money, and the balance we know about from people that they gave it to.

Senator OLIVER. How much did he make reports on?

Mr. BROWN. My recollection is it was more than \$20,000.

Senator OLIVER. You are just guessing at the \$30,000, are you not?

Mr. BROWN. No; I know the men who got the money.

Senator OLIVER. Well, you have nothing but hearsay evidence about it?

Mr. BROWN. Just a statement of the men who got it.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Brown, your contest throughout the State was managed, I suppose, by county or district committees, or leaders, was it?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir; we had district leaders in nearly all the districts. We had somebody that we looked to, and in a few we had to rely upon those county leaders where we could not develop in a short time a man good enough to run the district.

Senator OLIVER. Did your central organization bear all of the expenses of all of those contests?

Mr. BROWN. I think everywhere except at Toledo, where two or three friends of mine contributed a little money, and I did myself. We had the hardest fight in the State at Toledo, because of that particular contest that was made.

Senator OLIVER. You mean to say, then, that there was no other money raised throughout the State except this \$77,000 which Mr. Hanna contributed and that you contributed?

Mr. BROWN. The \$77,000 was not used to elect Roosevelt delegates.

Senator OLIVER. I am only taking what Mr. Hanna testified to.

Mr. BROWN. I understood him to say it was not for the purpose of electing Roosevelt delegates, and I happen to know just how it was used.

Senator OLIVER. I think you will look in vain in Mr. Hanna's testimony for any statement of that sort.

Mr. BROWN. I know what the fact is.

Senator OLIVER. I suppose Mr. Hanna does not know what he gave the money for. Go ahead.

Mr. BROWN. I do not know whether he knows about what he gave it for, but as to the money I spent, I know what it was used for.

Senator OLIVER. I have no doubt you do. Go ahead.

Mr. BROWN. What do you desire me to answer?

Senator OLIVER. I would like to know what other moneys were raised throughout the State than the \$77,000 which Mr. Hanna testified he contributed for the purposes of the Roosevelt campaign in the State of Ohio?

Mr. BROWN. Well, in the ninth district, I think, some friends of mine——

Senator PAYNTER. You mean the ninth congressional district?

Mr. BROWN. The ninth Ohio district; yes, sir; of which Toledo is the largest city. Some friends of mine contributed, as I recollect it, about \$1,500, and I myself contributed \$500. I do not know of any other sums that were contributed at any point in the State.

Senator OLIVER. As the manager of the central campaign I supposed you did know.

Mr. BROWN. None came to me. I thought you were inquiring as to what I knew about other places.

Senator OLIVER. No; I did not mean to intimate that any other moneys came from you, but what I meant to ask you is whether some of those local committees or local candidates for delegates did not furnish the money or part of the money that was used in their respective districts?

Mr. BROWN. No; we furnished the assistance that was furnished in every district, so far as I know.

Senator OLIVER. Then every man that ran as a Roosevelt delegate was furnished all the money that was necessary in his contest from the central bureau?

Mr. BROWN. That was not the way we managed it. We did not give the money to the candidates.

Senator OLIVER. I did not mean to indicate that you did. I mean the money that was used in his contest.

Mr. BROWN. We advertised in his papers. He sent us in mailing lists of the voters, and we sent out post cards to them all. We sent campaign literature to them all. We sent speakers into the districts and paid bills, and that was the only instance we had. We did not give money to the candidates for delegates. Many of them never went out of their homes; made no canvass. It was my theory that it was of no importance who the man was that was running, just so he was a Roosevelt man and a man of good character. I did not believe he would be any stronger than his ticket, or materially weaker.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Brown, Mr. Hanna's testimony, as I understood it, was that \$50,000 was sent to the national committee; \$50,000 was given to you, and \$77,000 was given to what he denominated the State organization, making a total of \$177,000. It would seem from his testimony that of this amount \$127,000 was expended in the State of Ohio in furtherance of this campaign. Now, you concede, I understand, that you received the \$50,000, and that there was expended also the \$5,500 for the train——

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. The special Roosevelt train?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, can you explain to us where the balance of that money went to?

Mr. BROWN. Well, as I recollect it, in the \$50,000 there were one or two small items that were really outside the State. There was one contribution, I think it was \$500, that I made to Mr. Frank Knox, who was in charge of the Chicago headquarters at some time or other. That is in the \$50,000. Now, the rest of the money, as I have said, was used for purposes other than the national campaign.

Senator POMERENE. What do you mean by that, Mr. Brown?

Mr. BROWN. I mean this: We were setting out to reorganize the Republican Party in Ohio. I think I stated it once in this way, that we did not believe we would accomplish so very much by electing Roosevelt delegates as we did if we left the organization of the party in the same hands as we found it. Therefore, we undertook to elect committees in different counties to look after numerous other matters, in the matter of nominations, that had nothing whatever to do with the Roosevelt campaign.

Senator POMERENE. Well, if I understand you correctly, then, you were trying to nominate candidates for office and delegates to the State convention and delegates to the national convention, and you were doing it out of this fund of \$127,000?

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Hanna was desirous of seeing the party in Ohio reorganized and have it taken out of the control of what he called the Federal officeholders, and we tried to do it as far as we could. Now, where we would find a man that we wanted to interest in the Roosevelt campaign, and he was a Roosevelt man who, perhaps, had been thinking of running for some office, and he would be afraid that he would be crucified by the Taft crowd—we would take a man like that and try to carry him along with us, which is, I believe, a part of practical politics.

Senator POMERENE. And if it became necessary to expend any money in order to do that, it was expended out of this contribution of Mr. Hanna's, was it?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, the delegates at large in the State—and there were six of them I believe——

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Were selected by the State convention?

Mr. BROWN. Correct.

Senator POMERENE. And you sought also to control the election of delegates to the State convention that would affiliate with the Roosevelt organization?

Mr. BROWN. We made no effort to select delegates to the State convention at the primary. We assumed that if the State voted for Roosevelt that we would have the Roosevelt delegates at large. After the delegates were selected to the State convention we tried to arouse the public opinion which would see that the verdict of the people of Ohio was carried out; but it was not a part of our State campaign to control the State convention—that is, upon the Roosevelt issue—because we believed that the whole presidential contest should be confined to the presidential primary, and let the people select the delegates to Chicago direct.

Senator POMERENE. Well, the same agencies which you used to elect the delegates to the national convention were used in your efforts to get control of the Republican organization so as to take it out of the Federal officeholders, as you have indicated?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And likewise the same agencies which were used to seize the State organization and take it from the Federal officers were used in the attempt to elect delegates to the national convention?

Mr. BROWN. It is as I have stated it, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. Well, do I not state it correctly?

Mr. BROWN. I do not know that I follow you exactly. If you are referring to the election of the State delegates in Cleveland, for instance, we did not nominate a man to the county convention which selected the State delegates, though we made a very lively contest in Tioga County, where Cleveland is the county seat there, and carried it by a vote of three to one on the Roosevelt issue.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Brown, you have stated that in this campaign you were seeking to elect Roosevelt delegates to the national convention. You were also seeking to get control of the State Republican organization?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir. That is, we wanted to elect Col. Roosevelt if we nominated him. We did not care to have the campaign in the hands of somebody else.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you being a practical man, would not be able to distinguish between the expenditures for the one purpose and the expenditures for the other purpose.

Mr. BROWN. I think I am able to distinguish, and I have stated it just as fairly as I can.

Senator POMERENE. Well, have you got any account of the moneys which were expended in your efforts to get control of the State organization?

Mr. BROWN. No, sir; I have not. None was required, but I have a detailed account of the other expenditures.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you say you have a detailed account of the other expenditures, and you have indicated, I believe, that that amount was \$27,000 plus?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir; and some bills came in that amounted to \$30,000.

Senator POMERENE. Now, then, we will, for the time being, say that was expended in the efforts to secure the election of delegates to the national convention.

Mr. BROWN. I shall say it for all time, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. I beg your pardon?

Mr. BROWN. I shall say it for all time.

Senator POMERENE. Now, what amount did you expend otherwise and for which you did not account?

Mr. BROWN. There was about \$20,000 which were sent to various places in the State, which, under the law, was accounted for by the recipients of the money. We got an opinion from the attorney general about that. He said that where a detailed account was required to be made by the man who received the money the one who gave it need not make it.

Senator POMERENE. Now, Mr. Brown, that accounts for \$50,000?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Which is substantially the amount which you personally received.

Can you tell us how the other \$77,000 were expended which Mr. Hanna says he furnished?

Mr. BROWN. \$5,500, approximately, was received by Mr. Schaefe—

Senator POMERENE. You have explained that; I know that; but this \$71,500—how was that expended?

Mr. BROWN. A small portion of that—I can not tell how much, but I would say less than \$5,000—I think went through Mr. Wright's account. The balance was used, as I have stated, for the purpose of making a political organization, a permanent political organization, of the Republican Party in Ohio, aiding various men in their local candidacies, aiding newspapers in some instances—matters of that nature, none of which are within the scope of your resolution, as I understand it.

Senator POMERENE. Well, that depends upon the construction which shall be placed upon the resolution and what the real facts were about it. I think you will concede that whatever was expended in this behalf benefited or redounded to the benefit of the Roosevelt delegates indirectly, at least?

Mr. BROWN. So remotely that I do not regard it as a fair inquiry.

Senator POMERENE. Have you an account of that expenditure?

Mr. BROWN. I think not. I have no recollection of keeping one.

Senator POMERENE. Can you give a statement as to how this \$66,500 was expended, or any substantial part of it, other than in the very general way you have indicated?

Mr. BROWN. No; I do not think I can, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. You could not, with your records at home, furnish it?

Mr. BROWN. I do not believe it could be done.

Senator POMERENE. Who kept the accounts of this money?

Mr. BROWN. There were not any kept of that. From time to time I talked it over with Mr. Hanna. He was the only person that I supposed would make any inquiry about it. It was satisfactory to him.

Senator POMERENE. Did you disburse this money yourself?

Mr. BROWN. Frequently.

Senator POMERENE. Did anyone else?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir; I had some field men.

Senator POMERENE. I know; but you would give the money to the field men, I assume?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, Mr. Hanna made a statement that there were three men—Brown, Wright, and Schaufele——

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And Schaufele expended \$5,500, which you have indicated?

Mr. BROWN. I think that it is likely that some sum of money, and perhaps it was \$5,000—I do not know, or I should be very glad to tell you—went to Mr. Gallagher out of the total sum of money.

Senator POMERENE. What Gallagher?

Mr. BROWN. The man that you inquired about. He did some work in several districts, and that did not go to my account, and is, I am, of course, positive, a part of the \$127,000 that Mr. Hanna testified about which was the gross of his expenditure.

Senator POMERENE. Who sent that out; did you or did Mr. Wright?

Mr. BROWN. No.

Senator POMERENE. Did Mr. Hanna direct——

Mr. BROWN. I rather think it went out at Mr. Hanna's direction, sent by one of his clerks. That is my best judgment about it.

Senator POMERENE. Now, can you give us any further information touching this expenditure of \$66,500?

Mr. BROWN. No.

Senator POMERENE. Now, in addition to this, did the candidates for delegates from the several districts, or their friends, collect and expend moneys over and above what you sent them?

Mr. BROWN. I do not know of any at all.

Senator POMERENE. Well, do I understand from that that you have no knowledge on the subject, or that there was, in fact, none expended?

Mr. BROWN. It is my belief that there was no other money expended, at least not of any consequence at all. I think that it is likely that some of the candidates, perhaps, had a few cards printed with their names on, and that we may have made some such return; but I do not think there was any sum of money that you would be interested in.

Senator POMERENE. If you can furnish us a statement showing the method of disbursement of this sum, will you do so, if you can get hold of it?

Mr. BROWN. Will you give me a copy of the resolution under which you are proceeding? I should like to examine it myself.

Copies of the two resolutions were handed to the witness.

Mr. BROWN. If you will pardon me just a moment. [After reading the resolutions.] The resolution as I read it seems to confine the inquiry to money expended by or on behalf of any candidate or in the interest of any candidate. I should be glad to furnish any information that I have in that particular.

Senator POMERENE. Let me ask you another question. Would you have expended this \$66,500, or any substantial portion thereof, if it had not been for the election of Roosevelt delegates?

Mr. BROWN. Yes; I think so. I think if Mr. Taft had withdrawn and Col. Roosevelt's nomination had been a foregone conclusion that we would have made an effort to get a different control of the Republican Party in Ohio, because it was obvious that as long as the control was placed where it was no Republican could be elected.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Brown, I think you ought to furnish that information if you can.

Mr. BROWN. Well, I want to be perfectly frank with you, Senator, about it, but I do not know how I can do it. I should be very glad to see what there is and give you whatever I can about it.

Senator POMERENE. It is quite apparent, Mr. Brown, that all this money was expended at a primary——

Mr. BROWN. Oh, no, indeed.

Senator POMERENE. Just a moment, please. At a primary or in preparation therefor. Now, we do not think that a witness ought to be permitted to say that so much of this money was expended for a national delegate and so much was expended for a State delegate and so much was expended for a district committeeman, or something of that character.

Mr. BROWN. We maintained our headquarters, kept some of our clerks employed continuously, and the expense was paid out of that sum. I mean continuously since last February or so and up through the summer. I should be very glad to send you whatever information I can gather on the subject.

Senator POMERENE. We would be very glad to have a statement of the disbursement of that fund, so far as you are able to give it, and I think you should do it.

I do not think there is anything further that I care to inquire about.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Brown, what other offices of your party in Ohio were there? For instance, do you have party committeemen?

Mr. BROWN. We are trying to get them as fast as we can.

Senator PAYNTER. Have you ever had them in Ohio? You have a county committee?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. A county committee and a chairman of the county committee?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir. The primary law, which regulates the parties which have a history——

Senator PAYNTER. What I am trying to get at is the fact that under the Republican organization you have county committees.

Mr. BROWN. Oh, yes.

Senator PAYNTER. You have a chairman of the county committee?

Mr. BROWN. There are two committees in most counties.

Senator PAYNTER. Then you have a committee of the congressional district?

Mr. BROWN. We did have until we started to elect our nominee for Congressman by direct vote. Then the committee died.

Senator PAYNTER. So you have no district committee?

Mr. BROWN. They do not exist in all the districts. They have no duties to perform unless there is a vacancy.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you have a committeeman for a judicial district, or a common-pleas court district?

Mr. BROWN. Yes; but we no longer nominate them by parties.

Senator PAYNTER. Then you do not have a committee?

Mr. BROWN. The committee still lives, but they do not do it any more. We have a nonpartisan judicial——

Senator PAYNTER. Then you have what they call a State central committee?

Mr. BROWN. We have a State central committee, one member from each congressional district, who comes from the State convention, elected by the district, and an executive or campaign committee.

Senator PAYNTER. You say that this money was expended, in addition to the \$50,000, for the purpose of reorganizing the Republican Party?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Or effecting an organization within that party that would control it?

Mr. BROWN. That is, as nearly as I could explain it in a few words.

Senator PAYNTER. I want to follow that by another question. Did you elect these new county committees at the time the delegates were selected to go to Chicago?

Mr. BROWN. Some were selected then; yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Was that to fill vacancies, or were you filling them practically in all the counties?

Mr. BROWN. The central committeemen were elected in all the counties.

Senator PAYNTER. At that time?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir. The executive committees were elected subsequently.

Senator PAYNTER. Are these committeemen elected at the primary election?

Mr. BROWN. The county central committeemen are.

Senator PAYNTER. As to the congressional district committeemen and the common pleas court district men, are they elected, too, at the primary election?

Mr. BROWN. Yes. No attention was paid to either of them.

Senator PAYNTER. Wherever a committeeman was selected, he was selected at the primary election which elected the delegates to Chicago?

Mr. BROWN. All but the State committeemen. The committeemen are selected at the State convention.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes. If you were expending this money for the purpose of effecting this reorganization and getting control of the committee in the State, it was used in that primary election, was it not, necessarily used for selecting the delegates to Chicago and the committeemen and the district men?

Mr. BROWN. Yes; at that primary election, Senator, county central committeemen were selected, candidates upon the county ticket, a complete county ticket of a dozen or fifteen candidates.

Senator PAYNTER. You were selecting, then, county candidates as well?

Mr. BROWN. Yes; and candidates for Congress and delegates to county conventions in substantially all the counties. In a few counties they selected their delegates, but, generally speaking, they elected the delegates to the county convention, who in turn——

Senator PAYNTER. This primary did—that is, the primary did?

Mr. BROWN. To the State convention.

Senator PAYNTER. For instance, you say you were trying to effect this reorganization? Any money which you gave—we will say that you gave John Jones \$100 in Butler County. Well, he was supposed to be for the Roosevelt candidate for delegate, was he not?

Mr. BROWN. If I gave him any money I assumed that he was.

Senator PAYNTER. That is what I mean. He was supposed to be, if he was not the candidate himself for county committeeman or district committeeman—he was supposed to be for the Roosevelt man for committeeman, was he not?

Mr. BROWN. Why, we had an organization, Senator, and we gave money to men for publicity.

Senator PAYNTER. You gave to people for your friends all along the line?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. So the \$50,000 was expended as you have detailed, and this other money was sent to various people, I suppose, for the purpose, as you say, of effecting an organization?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. But if he got voters to go to the primary—if he induced them in any way to vote for a candidate that was favorable to Roosevelt for delegate—he was supposed to make the same effort and use the money in the same way to select these other people for whom your organization was?

Mr. BROWN. No; that was not the way we worked that feature of it. Now, for instance——

Senator PAYNTER. Did you give any of this money—I will follow that by a question—did you give it to anybody who was supposed to be for Mr. Taft?

Mr. BROWN. Oh, certainly not.

Senator PAYNTER. Then it was somebody who was making a common fight for delegates and for these committeemen?

Mr. BROWN. No. We will say now that we wanted a man to run for Congress. He had to get a petition circulated and signed by the voters of every county.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. He would say he did not have the time—he did not want to get around the district himself. We would say: "Very well. You pick out some man to circulate the petition and we will pay the expense of it." In that way we got him on the ballot.

Senator PAYNTER. He was going to run as a friend of Mr. Roosevelt and as a friend of your organization?

Mr. BROWN. He was going to run as a man that we thought ought to go to Congress, rather than somebody else.

Senator PAYNTER. He was supposed to be a friend of Col. Roosevelt?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, indeed.

Senator PAYNTER. And he was supposed to be a friend of the gentlemen who were leading in an effort to reorganize the party?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. So the money was used, then, for this common purpose of selecting the delegates or committeemen and the nomination of candidates who would act with you for all these purposes?

Mr. BROWN. No; I think that is not a fair way to state it.

Senator PAYNTER. State it as it is. I am trying to get the facts.

Mr. BROWN. The expenditures for the national feature were very carefully kept, because the law required it to be done.

Senator PAYNTER. I am asking you for the facts; and then we will judge whether or not the funds ought to be separated and determine what was used for the primary purposes.

Mr. BROWN. I can not state it any more clearly than I did in answer to a question from Senator Pomerene, when I said that if Col. Roosevelt had been nominated—his nomination had been a foregone conclusion—we would have had the same condition there.

Senator PAYNTER. That does not answer my question at all. I am trying to get at some of the details here as to who used the money and for whom the people were in that fight and to whom the money was given. You have not answered that question.

Mr. BROWN. I think they were all for Col. Roosevelt, but the money was not given to the people to go out and work on election day; that was not what it was for.

Senator PAYNTER. I am not intimating that it was used for improper purposes.

Mr. BROWN. I would not regard that as improper. That was not the way it was done. It was done for some specific thing, and that is the reason.

Senator PAYNTER. Now, the specific things were: To nominate a delegate favorable to Roosevelt for the Chicago convention?

Mr. BROWN. No. That I attended to.

Senator PAYNTER. I say that was one of the specific things.

Mr. BROWN. That is one of the things that I attended to.

Senator PAYNTER. Another specific thing was to nominate committeemen that were in accordance with your views on political questions, and as to the character of organization that should be within the Republican Party. That was another one, was it not?

Mr. BROWN. That is correct.

Senator PAYNTER. And to help that, you wanted a candidate for Congress, did you not?

Mr. BROWN. Usually.

Senator PAYNTER. You thought by getting a good man for Congress, that running on the same ticket would help elect a delegate and help elect a committeeman?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You thought by getting a good man for committeeman that their candidacy would help the Roosevelt organization in the State, did you not? You were not trying to hurt it?

Mr. BROWN. The purpose of getting control of the party was not to aid in carrying the primary election.

Senator PAYNTER. I understand.

Mr. BROWN. There was no way of having a straight ticket in which you could put a cross at the top.

Senator PAYNTER. I understand that. You are going on a subject I am not asking you about at all.

Mr. BROWN. Let me finish what I am trying to say. The sole purpose of endeavoring to get a new party organization was to make sure that we would have a loyal party organization.

Senator PAYNTER. I understand that.

Mr. BROWN. Now, then, Col. Roosevelt was——

Senator PAYNTER. What I am trying to get at is how you were trying to accomplish the purpose and what the methods were. If you will let me, I will continue to recite. One thing was to get a delegate to Chicago favorable to Col. Roosevelt; another thing was to select committeemen favorable to Roosevelt?

Mr. BROWN. Well, I do not think that is the way to state it—favorable to Roosevelt. The purpose was to get committeemen who would be their own men.

Senator PAYNTER. I understand that.

Mr. BROWN. Who would not jump every time they heard from Washington.

Senator PAYNTER. You wanted good men?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir. We wanted men who would be their own men.

Senator PAYNTER. You thought by taking a man of that kind that he would help the cause in which he was engaged?

Mr. BROWN. No; I thought that that was the kind of man we needed.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you say that you did not expect that to help the cause in which you were engaged—to get good men to run for committeemen and to run for Congress and to run for delegates?

Mr. BROWN. If you mean if they were selected for the purpose of helping Col. Roosevelt in the primary, that was not the purpose. I never thought we would get a vote by it. I never thought that our

candidates for delegates would get any more votes than Roosevelt would get if he could run directly in the primaries.

Senator PAYNTER. Let me ask you another question. Suppose \$100 was sent to a county; it was put in the hands of Bill Smith; he was favorable to the Roosevelt delegate to Chicago; he was favorable to the man whom you had selected for county committeeman; he was favorable to the man whom you had nominated for Congress. How would you say that that was not part of the \$50,000 that you speak of and that was put in his hands? Is it possible to say that some part of that help was for the national ticket and some part for the reorganization part? Wasn't it a fund that was used for a common purpose?

Mr. BROWN. No; we will say that \$100 was sent, outside of the \$50,000, to a man. That was used in circulating petitions to get out a primary ballot.

Senator PAYNTER. I understand that.

Mr. BROWN. We would probably put a man in an automobile and he would go to every township and select a man who would run as a committeeman from that township. They would get the petition signed by a sufficient number of men and get the petition filed within the time required by law.

Senator PAYNTER. When you got the gentlemen's names on the petitions, you thus got them interested in the cause in which they were engaged, did you not?

Mr. BROWN. That didn't have anything to do with the Roosevelt matter.

Senator PAYNTER. Isn't that true? Do you mean to say that that does not have that effect?

Mr. BROWN. Directly, it had none.

Senator PAYNTER. So that to get a farmer, for instance, to circulate a petition for somebody to run for Congress, did not have a tendency to create an interest in that man and to obtain his influence for votes in the cause in which you were engaged.

Mr. BROWN. In some districts we had two or three men running for Roosevelt, and we usually wished we had only one.

Senator PAYNTER. In that case the more you had running the more votes you would get for Mr. Roosevelt?

Mr. BROWN. I don't think it worked that way. They all got mad at each other.

Senator PAYNTER. You did not intend it that way?

Mr. BROWN. I didn't get them to run more than one.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all I desire to ask.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Brown, in order to obtain control of your State organization, it was necessary to get control of the State committee, was it not?

Mr. BROWN. No. You mean the new State committee?

Senator OLIVER. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. Oh, certainly.

Senator OLIVER. You have stated, I believe, that the State committee consisted of a member from each congressional district, chosen by the delegates to the convention from the respective districts?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. You have testified that of the \$127,000, I believe it was, contributed by Mr. Hanna to your campaign—I mean of the

total amount contributed—less than one-half, I believe, something like \$55,000, was used in what might be termed the Roosevelt campaign, or would come under the provisions of the resolutions under which the committee is acting, and that the balance, amounting to something like \$67,000, was used in obtaining control of the State organization. I would like you to explain if that was the case, and that immense amount of money was being devoted to the accomplishment of that particular purpose, divorced from the presidential campaign, why you neglected, as you have stated you did, entirely neglected the matter of electing delegates to the State convention which chose the members of the State committee?

Mr. BROWN. Well, there were various local conditions which enter into that problem. Perhaps I can make it clearer by saying that the Federal crowd controlled the State convention in the selection of delegates at large to Chicago.

Senator OLIVER. I would like——

Mr. BROWN. Let me finish.

Senator OLIVER. I would like you first to answer my question. I am going back to the election of delegates to the State convention and not to the State convention itself.

Mr. BROWN. I am trying to explain it to you. I say there were local conditions that caused us to stay out of some districts. Now, it worked in this way: The Federal office-holding crowd controlled the State convention in the matter of the selection of delegates at large to Chicago, but I was elected chairman of the State central committee by a substantial majority in the same convention, although I had been the Roosevelt manager in Ohio.

Senator OLIVER. Still, you have testified that you paid no attention to the election of delegates to the State convention?

Mr. BROWN. No.

Senator OLIVER. Whose duty it was to choose the members of the State committee, which would give you control of the organization?

Mr. BROWN. No; I did not say that. I said it was our theory of the campaign that the presidential issue ought not to be taken into the State convention, that it would ruin the ticket. That is the reason, and we kept it out; but we did contest for State delegates in a good many places. I made the liveliest kind of a contest in my own district. However, in other districts, as, for instance, in the two districts in Cleveland, we made no contest, but both of the men there voted for me because they happened to be personal friends of mine.

Senator OLIVER. Now, I want to ask you another question; I do not think you have very clearly and sufficiently answered my question, but I will pass that. In a question propounded by Senator Pomerene he asked you if this amount of \$67,000 or thereabouts would have been expended if it had not been for the presidential campaign. You stated in answer to that that even if President Taft had withdrawn and the nomination had been conceded to Col. Roosevelt, in your opinion, you would still have made a campaign for the control of the State committee.

Mr. BROWN. Well, not only the State committee.

Senator OLIVER. I mean the State organization of Ohio.

Mr. BROWN. That was a simple matter.

Senator OLIVER. I understand that, for the control of the State organization. Now, I want to ask you to go a little further. From what you know of Mr. Hanna, if there had been no presidential contest, and if President Taft had withdrawn as a candidate, do you think he would have given you \$67,000 for that purpose?

Mr. BROWN. I rather think that Mr. Hanna would have given a great deal of consideration to any suggestion I made about it.

Senator OLIVER. Oh! I will call your attention to the fact that that is not an answer to my question.

Mr. BROWN. Well, you are asking me to speculate about something that I do not know about.

Senator OLIVER. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Hanna was very anxious that there should be a strong organization in the party in Ohio, such as there was when his father was in control, and he talked that over with me at the same time he talked over the Roosevelt matter, and laid quite as much stress upon that as he did upon the Roosevelt feature.

Senator OLIVER. In other words, the two propositions went together?

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Hanna spoke of them both to me, Senator.

Senator OLIVER. Yes. That is all I have to ask.

Senator POMERENE. I have two or three questions that I want to ask you. Every candidate for Congress who was supported by you was favorable to Roosevelt's nomination?

Mr. BROWN. Well, I hope he was, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. Every candidate for State delegate that received the support of yourself and your friends was favorable to the Roosevelt nomination?

Mr. BROWN. No; that is not as accurate as the other statement. In some districts we had a distinct understanding with the men who were in control of affairs that in the event Roosevelt carried a majority of the districts they would cooperate with us in organization matters.

Senator POMERENE. Of the State?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, and county matters; and would cooperate with us.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. And for that reason in some of those districts no contests were made at all, except for national delegates. I should say that was done in about 30 counties out of the 88.

Senator POMERENE. Every candidate for county committeeman that received the support of yourself and your friends was supposed to be favorable to Col. Roosevelt's nomination?

Mr. BROWN. Well, in a good many counties, as I say, we made no contest, because we believed we knew that the men that were there supporting Taft, if Taft lost the State, would go into the new organization.

Senator POMERENE. Brother Brown, you are a lawyer. You do not regard that as an answer to my question. Read the question.

Mr. BROWN. I want to answer your question, sir.

The question referred to was read by the reporter as follows: "Every candidate for county committeeman that received the sup-

port of yourself and your friends was supposed to be favorable to Col. Roosevelt's nomination?"

Senator POMERENE. Now, you have answered that by referring to some counties in which you did not have any candidates up.

Mr. BROWN. Well, I would say that if you were talking about using money to support candidates for committeemen, we did not use any to support candidates for committeemen. We used money to get them to run, to get their petitions circulated and hunt them up, to call meetings in the county-seat towns and get the Roosevelt fellows in the precincts, and see who we could get to take hold, and then we spent some of our money in the county contest looking into the future.

Senator POMERENE. Read the question again.

Mr. BROWN. I think they were all Roosevelt men in every case.

Senator POMERENE. That answers it. Now, you have made some reference to your election as chairman of the central committee. Let there be any misunderstanding about this matter, in your Republican convention, I think, as in the Democratic conventions, I think the delegation from each district meets in separate caucus or convention, and they name men for the position of State central committeemen, and also have the various committees of the convention, and they make a report to the convention, and that report is usually confirmed by the convention. That is the usual modus operandi, is it not?

Mr. BROWN. The districts elect the members——

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. BROWN. And the convention has no authority to pass upon their election.

Senator POMERENE. So that the mere fact that the majority of the delegates in the convention may have been favorable to Taft would not necessarily indicate that the convention itself was favorable to the senatorial committee which had been selected by the various districts?

Mr. BROWN. I think so. The various committees stood, all of them, 12 to 9—12 Taft and 9 Roosevelt—except the rules and order of business. That was 11 for Taft to 10 Roosevelt. The State committee was, I think—I had 13 votes out of 21.

Senator POMERENE. But the fact remains, nevertheless, that the central committeemen of the State were elected by the district.

Mr. BROWN. Oh, yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, Mr. Brown, Mr. Hanna has testified that you gave \$127,000 to the Roosevelt campaign prior to the convention in the State of Ohio. Under the circumstances we feel that we ought to have a detailed statement of the expenditure of that amount, and we ask you to furnish it.

Mr. BROWN. I will do the very best I can about it, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. Very well; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be all, Mr. Brown.

TESTIMONY OF MATTHEW HALE.

Matthew Hale, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hale, will you give your name, address, and business?

Mr. HALE. Matthew Hale; 1 Charles River Square, Boston; lawyer.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you connected with Roosevelt's preconvention campaign in Massachusetts?

Mr. HALE. Yes; I managed it.

The CHAIRMAN. You may tell the committee what you know of the contributions made, by whom made, and the amount, as near as you can tell. Have you a report of the contributions?

Mr. HALE. I have, Mr. Chairman. We are not required under our law to make a statement, and none of the other parties have, but we considered that when we are handling other people's money we ought to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Hale Exhibit No. 1," Mr. Reporter.

The paper referred to was marked "Hale Exhibit No. 1," and is as follows:

HALE EXHIBIT No. 1.

MASSACHUSETTS ROOSEVELT COMMITTEE.

Total receipts to June 1, 1912:

National committee (as per Appendix A)-----	\$52,134.00	
Sundry contributions (as per Appendix B)-----	9,802.70	
Interest -----	3.28	
		\$61,939.98

Total disbursements (as per Appendix C)----- 60,013.72

Disbursements through others than Massachusetts Roosevelt committee—

E. H. Hooker, expense-----	225.00	
Paid by E. H. Hooker to Paul S. Asche for organization work (as per Appendix A)-----	1,370.00	
		61,608.72

Balance on hand June 1, 1912----- 331.26

OCTOBER 6, 1912.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, *Suffolk, ss:*

Then personally appeared Charles E. Ware, jr., treasurer of the Massachusetts Roosevelt committee, and made oath that the foregoing and attached statements are true accounts.

Before me,

ARTHUR D. HILL,
Justice of the Peace.

APPENDIX A.

Receipts from national committee.

Apr. 22 -----	\$5,000	June 3-----	\$2,500
Apr. 29 -----	4,500	June 8-----	4,039
Apr. 29 -----	9,500	Paid by Mr. Hooker and not	
Apr. 27 -----	1,500	disbursed by Massachusetts	
Apr. 27 -----	4,200	committee -----	225
Apr. 27 -----	15,500	Paid direct to A. S. Ache for	
Apr. 29 -----	230	organization expenses-----	1,370
Apr. 29 -----	2,070		
May 27-----	1,500		52,134

As testified to by E. H. Hooker.

APPENDIX B.

List of contributors to the Massachusetts Roosevelt committee campaign fund.

S. King, 295 Beacon Street, Boston-----	\$25.00
R. W. Nickerson-----	10.00
Irving C. Tomlinson, 201 Devonshire Street, Boston-----	5.00

Arthur D. Hill, 53 State Street, Boston	\$50. 00
Albert Hammatt, 20 Clyde Street, Newtonville	2. 00
Prescott Warren, box O, Newton, Mass	5. 00
John J. Whipple, Brocton, Mass	5. 00
F. E. Hulen, Cliftondale, Mass	5. 00
J. D. Merrill, Globe Office or Cambridge	10. 00
N. Marshall, Newton, Mass	5. 00
Arthur W. Berry, 53 Hudson Street, Somerville	5. 00
A. N. Holcombe, Harvard, Cambridge	5. 00
C. M. MacMillin, 20 North Washington Street, Boston	5. 00
J. Henry Welch, Hill & Welch, Lynn, Mass	10. 00
William Odlin, 16 State Street, Boston	5. 00
A. G. Thoamson, 202 Rawson Road, Brookline	5. 00
Edward Winkler, 61 Cordis Street, Wakefield	1. 00
C. L. Reed, 35 Riverview Road, Brighton	2. 00
Leicester Warren, 47 Hanover Street, West Springfield	5. 00
A. M. Tuttle, 11 Sargent Street, Melrose Highlands	5. 00
Frederick Winthrop, 280 Beacon Street, Boston	100. 00
C. O. Morton, Malden Club, Malden, Mass	5. 00
William E. Smith, 278 Palmer Street, New Bedford	5. 00
Charles C. Foster, Cambridge, Mass	25. 00
O. W. Holmes, Federal Street, Boston	5. 00
P. J. Bowker, Wakefield, Mass	2. 00
Curtis H. Burt	5. 00
M. H. Gulesian, 239 Huntington Avenue, Boston	25. 00
W. H. Keene, 86 Lincoln Street, Boston	10. 00
Edward P. Hunt, 1241 Center Street, Newton Center	5. 00
C. H. Lindsey, 29 St. Germain Street, Boston	1. 00
George B. Heaton, 40 Kilby Street, Boston	5. 00
B. B. Rogers, 683 Atlantic Avenue, Boston	5. 00
C. S. Hammond, 14 Crafts Street, Waltham	5. 00
Olcott O. Partridge, 719 Tremont Building, Boston	5. 00
C. A. Haven, 69 Curtis Street, West Somerville	2. 00
Dr. W. S. Bigelow, 56 Beacon Street, Boston	300. 00
Do	200. 00
Joseph B. Hanson, Taunton, Mass	5. 00
Dr. R. C. Cabot, Boston, Mass	5. 00
J. Larrabee, box 47, Melrose, Mass	10. 00
J. G. Redshaw, 61 Oxford Street, Lynn, Mass	5. 00
C. W. Winters, 34 High Street, Charlestown	2. 00
E. E. Gaylord, Beverly, Mass	3. 00
Arthur M. Round, Norton, Mass	5. 00
J. E. Rouse, 56 Boylston Street, Cambridge	5. 00
C. C. Cook, Pittsfield, Mass	1. 00
Dr. Joel E. Goldthwait, 372 Marlboro Street, Boston	15. 00
Dr. Walter C. Bailey, 269 Beacon Street, Boston	5. 00
Willard Welch, Malden, Mass	25. 00
Moses P. Palmer, Groton, Mass	5. 00
Fred B. Hall, Roxbury, Mass	5. 00
C. Stewart Forbes, 114 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston	5. 00
Harold P. Jenks, 1709 Dorchester Avenue, Dorchester	2. 00
A. A. Thomas, Middleboro, Mass	5. 00
M. S. Ryder, Middleboro, Mass	2. 00
Frederick Wm. Jones, Hot Springs, Ark	25. 00
Arthur L. Washburn, 12 Ash Street Place, Cambridge	2. 00
Harry L. Harrington, Mattapan, Mass	5. 00
Bertram Bernnard, 18 Tremont Street, Boston	10. 00
Alfred W. Hastings, South Weymouth, Mass	5. 00
Weymour H. Stone, Roslindale, Mass	1. 00
C. W. Taintor, 1003 Monks Building, Boston	10. 00
J. M. Linscott, Linscott Motor Co., Boston	25. 00
J. Frank Aldrich, 9 Lincoln Street, Charlestown	5. 00
George P. Woodin, 15 State Street, Boston	5. 00
Walter C. Bailey, 269 Beacon Street, Boston	25. 00
Ellis A. White, Brookville, Mass	2. 00
Edmund Von Mach, 48 Shepard Street, Cambridge	25. 00
George U. Crocker, 1023 Old South Building, Boston	25. 00

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

755

Holker Abbott, Wellesley Hills, Mass.....	\$5. 00
Albert Bushnell Hart, Cambridge, Mass.....	25. 00
Samuel Stephen, 174 Fort Hill Square, Boston.....	25. 00
W. J. Stanton.....	1. 00
Mrs. George Tyson, 314 Dartmouth Street, Boston.....	100. 00
Eugene M. Carter, 61 Middle Street, East Weymouth.....	5. 00
Joseph Dews, 67 Chauncy Street, Boston.....	1. 00
E. R. Bangs, 201 Beacon Street, Boston.....	50. 00
Frank A. Bourne, 70 Kilby Street, Boston.....	2. 00
N. P. Hallowell, Sears Building, Boston.....	25. 00
Francis B. Harrington, 201 Beacon Street, Boston.....	25. 00
L. D. Apsley, Hudson, Mass.....	50. 00
William Armstrong, Peabody, Mass.....	10. 00
A. H. Carville, 28 Highland Avenue, Somerville.....	5. 00
Edward W. Greene, 501 Washington Street, Boston.....	5. 00
F. E. Flaherty, Townsend, Mass.....	10. 00
A. D. Hill, 53 State Street, Boston.....	68. 70
Mrs. T. J. Bowlker, Beacon Street, Boston.....	50. 00
C. W. Bennett, Fitchburg, Mass.....	50. 00
John E. Rousemanier, 22 Cedar Street, Boston.....	15. 00
C. H. Hillock, Wakefield, Mass.....	1. 00
J. H. Child, 16 Hawes Street, Brookline.....	10. 00
A. N. Payne, Marlboro, Mass.....	1. 00
William K. Rankin, Dedham, Mass.....	5. 00
C. A. Driscoll, Chesterville, Mass.....	10. 00
Alvin C. Howes.....	5. 00
John Graham, Cambridge, Mass.....	5. 00
F. A. Hanscome, Somerville, Mass.....	5. 00
C. H. Bartlett, Cambridge, Mass.....	5. 00
Hollis E. Dennen, 179 Moody Street, Waltham, Mass.....	1. 00
Brooks Adams, 33 Chestnut Street, Boston.....	100. 00
H. W. Bates, Waltham, Mass.....	2. 00
Carl Alberte, Auburndale, Mass.....	2. 00
Edwin Woodbury, 88 Sumner Street, Boston.....	5. 00
Arthur Pierce, Fitchburg, Mass.....	5. 00
B. N. Hamlin, 59 Congress Street, Boston.....	1. 00
E. T. Dickinson, Billerica, Mass.....	1. 00
J. P. M. Green, 91 Lock Street, Haverhill, Mass.....	1. 00
C. M. Kilgore, Gloucester, Mass.....	2. 00
George N. Littlefield, Wakefield, Mass.....	1. 00
R. H. Hamilton, 103 Geneva Avenue, Dorchester, Mass.....	5. 00
Arthur R. Henderson, Cambridge, Mass.....	6. 00
T. J. Griffin, 81 Munroe Street, Roxbury, Mass.....	1. 00
J. H. Murphy, 32 Chauncy Street, Boston.....	25. 00
Chas. H. Brigham, 15 Babcock Street, Brookline.....	5. 00
C. A. Crooks, Bellingham, R. I., R. D. No. 1.....	1. 00
Mrs. George Tyson, 314 Dartmouth Street, Boston.....	100. 00
John Quincy Adams, 120 Boylston Street, Boston.....	20. 00
B. F. Saville, 234 Worthington Street, Springfield.....	2. 00
Frank Pierce, Leominster, Mass.....	2. 00
A. E. Crankshaw, 82 Wellington Hill Street, Mattapan.....	1. 00
Frederick L. Burr, Ludlow, Mass.....	10. 00
Arthur Reddish, Boston, Mass.....	3. 00
Clarence Luitweller, 299 Marginal Street, East Boston.....	5. 00
William L. Walker, 89 State Street.....	20. 00
Anonymous subscription.....	5. 00
L. D. Apsley, Hudson, Mass.....	100. 00
Samuel J. Smith, 55 Highland Avenue, Fall River.....	5. 00
Hector Holmes, 84 State Street, Boston.....	2. 00
Mrs. Wert Dexter, 393 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston.....	50. 00
Arthur Pierce, Fitchburg, Mass.....	5. 00
H. O. Thomas, 9 Coral Avenue, Winthrop, Mass.....	5. 00
G. M. Furman, Brockton, Mass.....	25. 00
Sara W. Hallowell.....	25. 00
Mr. Crump, 147 Tremont Street, Boston.....	25. 00
Henry Copely Greene, 11 Chestnut Street, Boston.....	5. 00
J. A. Patterson.....	5. 00

J. W. McGrath	\$25. 00
A. F. Davol, 107 Sycamor Street, Winter Hill	5. 00
Dr. Roger I. Lee, 99 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston	5. 00
Hamilton Fish, jr., Hotel New Weston, New York	25. 00
A. L. Filene, Boston, Mass	25. 00
N. E. Leach, South Framingham, Mass	3. 00
Arthur Washburn, 12 Ash Place, Cambridge, Mass	1. 00
John L. Hobson, Haverhill, Mass	200. 00
Elliot C. Clarke, 15 Brimmer Street, Boston	50. 00
W. H. Potter, 45 Commercial Street, Boston	25. 00
O. E. Ware, jr	200. 00
Charles S. Bird:	
Mar. 15	250. 00
Mar. 18	500. 00
May 27	1, 800. 00
June 1	250. 00
Apr. 23	2, 500. 00
Apr. 17	1, 000. 00
Mr. Holden	10. 00
Friend	6. 00
A friend	10. 00
Langdon L. Ward	3. 00
Hillis Abbott	10. 00
Joseph Hanson	10. 00
A. W. Hastings	10. 00
George B. Heaton	5. 00
O. S. Hammond	1. 00
Moses P. Palmer	5. 00
O. O. Morton	5. 00
O. Stewart Forbes	5. 00
Francis B. Harrington	5. 00
Frederick Fosdick	10. 00
John H. Child	25. 00
William Sturgis Bigelow	500. 00
Hollis E. Dennen	2. 00
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	9, 802. 70

APPENDIX C.

MASSACHUSETTS ROOSEVELT COMMITTEE.

Statement of disbursements to June 1, 1912.

Journal distribution	\$8, 401. 19
Advertising	7, 051. 90
Printing	5, 944. 06
Clerical, etc	6, 319. 06
Primary-day expenses	5, 301. 00
Postage	4, 971. 91
Rallies, etc	7, 343. 49
Expenses, traveling, etc	5. 173. 72
Salaries	1, 683. 03
Telephone, telegraph, and messenger service	1, 656. 25
Buttons	993. 05
Office supplies and expense	955. 99
Rent, offices	896. 08
Canvassing	629. 52
Special trains	1, 141. 85
Furniture	415. 50
Automobiles	515. 43
Express	263. 59
Sundries	393. 10
	<hr/>
	60, 013. 72

The CHAIRMAN (showing Exhibit No. 1 to the witness). What is Exhibit Hale No. 1?

Mr. HALE. This is a statement of the general expenses and general disbursements paid through the Massachusetts State committee, consisting of \$52,134 received from the national committee; contributions raised in the State, \$9,802.70, a small amount for interest, making a total of \$61,939.98.

Senator POMERENE. A total of what?

Mr. HALE. \$61,939.98, expended directly through the Roosevelt committee, with two small exceptions, which were testified to by Mr. Hooker, which did not go through the hands of the Massachusetts Roosevelt committee, but went direct into the local organization; one item of \$225, and another of \$1,370, but they appear in this statement, because I thought you wanted all the expenses and not any part of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that is right. Mark this "Hale Exhibit No. 2," Mr. Reporter.

The paper referred to was marked "Hale Exhibit No. 2," and is as follows:

HALE EXHIBIT No. 2.

Advertising account.

From Frank A. Munsey.....	\$9,021.36
Paid to Wood, Putnam & Wood (as per Appendix A).....	9,021.36

APPENDIX A.

APRIL 29, 1912.

Wood, Putnam & Wood, advertising agents, 161 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass., to advertising Massachusetts Roosevelt committee.

TWO COLUMNS, SEVEN TIMES.

Amesbury, News.....	\$32.33
Attleboro, Sun.....	71.40—5
Beverly, Times.....	71.00
Brockton:	
Enterprise.....	261.80—5
Times.....	294.00
Clinton, Item.....	85.39
Fall River:	
News.....	79.00—2
Herald.....	208.87—5
Fitchburg:	
News.....	68.50
Sentinel.....	121.98—2
Gloucester, Times.....	140.00—2
Haverhill, Gazette.....	127.50—2
Holyoke, Transcript.....	90.17—2
Hudson, Sun.....	70.00
Lawrence:	
American and Sun, one time only.....	17.00
Telegram.....	238.00—2
Leominster, Enterprise.....	59.50—2
Lowell:	
Courier Citizen.....	104.97—2
L'Etoile.....	59.50
Lynn, Item.....	261.80
Malden, News.....	125.00
Marlboro, Enterprise.....	85.70—2
Melrose, News.....	50.00

Milford:	
Journal	\$35.70—2
News	52.47
New Bedford:	
Standard	396.90—5
Times	238.00—3
Newburyport:	
Leader and Herald	49.98—2
News, one time only	34.00—2
North Adams, Transcript, four times	73.10
Northampton:	
Gazette	59.50—5
Herald	47.60—2
North Attleboro, Chronicle, one time only	10.75
Pittsfield, Eagle, five times	63.00
Quincy, Ledger	87.50
Salem, News	261.80—2
South Framingham:	
News	70.00
Tribune	42.00
Springfield:	
Republican	229.64—3
Union	386.82—6
Taunton:	
Gazette	154.00—2
Herald	65.45—2
Wakefield, Item	42.00
Waltham:	
News	70.00
Free Press, 60 inches, one time	15.00
Woburn, News, four times	68.00
Worcester:	
Gazette	249.90—2
L'Opinion Publique	122.00
	<hr/>
	5,648.02
Plus 7½ per cent	423.60
	<hr/>
	6,071.62
Discount for cash	151.45
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	5,920.17
	397.81
	328.05
	2,877.33
	<hr/>
	9,021.36
	<hr/>
Boston:	
Globe, 198 lines	\$71.28
Herald	54.00—5
Post	70.40—3
Journal	54.00—5
Record	25.50
American	72.00—5
Traveler, 204 lines	34.68—2
	<hr/>
	381.86
Plus 7½ per cent	28.64
	<hr/>
	410.50
Discount for cash	12.69
	<hr/>
	397.81
	<hr/>
Post, 150 lines, Apr. 20	182.00—3
Globe, 150 lines, Apr. 20	101.25
Journal, 150 lines, Apr. 20	40.50—5

FEMALE HELP.

Boston :

Globe, 14 lines, Apr. 20, 21, 22	\$10.50
American, 14 lines, Apr. 20, 21, 22	7.56—5
Journal, 14 lines, Apr. 20, 22	2.52—5
Traveler, 17 lines, Apr. 20, 22	2.89—2
Record, 16 lines, Apr. 20, 22	3.40
Herald, 4 lines, Apr. 20, 21, 22	1.08—5
Post, 16 lines, Apr. 20, 21, 22	8.45—3

Plus 7½ per cent

Discount of \$7.36 for cash

810.15

23.26

333.41

7.36

326.05

APRIL 29, 1912.

Wood, Putnam & Wood, advertising agents, 161 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass., to advertising for Massachusetts Roosevelt committee.

EQUAL OF THREE COLUMNS ONE TIME.

Abington :

Advertiser \$9.00

Journal and Herald 9.00

Amesbury, North Shore Press 9.00

Amherst, Record 14.02

Arlington, Expositor 12.00

Ayer :

News 12.00

Public Spirit 20.50

Barre, Gazette 25.00

Beverly, Citizen 9.00

Boston :

Progressive Workingman 122.50

Republic 108.00

Braintree :

Bee 9.00

Observer-Reporter 15.00

Bridgewater :

Advertiser 23.50

Independent 15.00

Brighton, Bee 40.00

Brookfield, Times 9.00

Brookline :

Chronicle, 1 page 26.25

Press 25.50

Bryantville, News 9.00

Cambridge :

Times 12.00

Tribune 12.00

Charlestown, Enterprise 60.00

Chicopee :

News 9.00

Record 9.00

Independent 9.00

Clinton, Courant 12.75

Danvers, Mirror 9.00

Dedham, Transcript 22.50

Dorchester, Beacon 60.00

Easthampton :

Enterprise 9.00

News 9.00

East Pepperell, News 9.00

Edgartown, Gazette 19.00

Everett :	
Herald	\$11. 25
Republican	15. 00
Falmouth, Independent and Enterprise	15. 00
Franklin, Sentinel	9. 00
Greenfield, Gazette and Courier	45. 00
Haverhill, Record and Criterion	12. 00
Hingham, Journal	10. 20
Holyoke, Artisan	34. 00
Hudson, News Enterprise	17. 88
Holyoke, La Justice	30. 00
Hyannis, Patriot	19. 68
Ipswich, Independent	9. 00
Jamaica Plain, News	51. 00
Lawrence :	
Anzeiger	22. 50
Sentinel	9. 00
Lexington, Independent	9. 00
Lowell, Sunday Telegram	23. 50
Manchester, Cricket and Essex Echo	32. 50
Mansfield, News	21. 00
Marblehead, Messenger	24. 00
Marlboro, Enterprise	12. 00
Melrose, Free Press	24. 00
Methuen, Transcript	9. 00
Middleboro, News	40. 00
Milford, Gazette	12. 00
Milbury, Journal	9. 00
Milton, Record	12. 00
Monson, Register	9. 00
Natick :	
Bulletin	25. 00
Citizen	9. 00
Needham, Chronicle	22. 50
Newton :	
Graphic	45. 00
Journal	30. 00
Newtown Center :	
Circuit	12. 00
Town Crier	9. 73
North Andover, Enterprise	9. 00
North Brookfield, Journal	9. 00
Northfield, Press	12. 00
Norwood, Messenger	12. 00
Oxford, Journal and Charlton Herald	9. 00
Orange, Enterprise	12. 00
Palmer, Journal	18. 00
Plymouth, Memorial	16. 89
Provincetown :	
Advocate	9. 00
Beacon	9. 00
Quincy, Patriot	15. 30
Reading, Chronicle	15. 00
Rockland :	
Independent	28. 50
Standard and Hanover Branch	20. 00
Rockport, Review and Manchester Breeze	21. 25
Roxbury, Gazette	30. 00
Salem, Observer	9. 00
Saugus, Herald	15. 00
Somerville :	
Journal	46. 12
Reporter	15. 00
South Boston :	
Inquirer	50. 00
News	36. 00

Southbridge:	
Herald	\$10. 80
Sentinel	9. 00
South Framingham, Gazette	9. 00
Spencer, Leader, Brookfield Union, and Leicester Banner	30. 00
Stoneham, Independent	15. 00
Stoughton, Sentinel	24. 00
Springfield, Homestead (Saturday and Monday)	96. 90
Uxbridge, Compendium	9. 00
Wareham, Courier	15. 00
Watertown, Tribune Enterprise	9. 00
Webster, Times	9. 00
Wellesley, Townsman (1 page)	11. 25
Westboro, Chronotype	9. 00
Westfield, Valley Echo	25. 20
Weymouth:	
Gazette	18. 00
Times	9. 00
Whitman, Times and Courier	12. 00
Winchendon, Courier	9. 00
Winchester, Star	19. 00
Worcester, Labor News	54. 00
Yarmouthport, Register	13. 50
Waltham, Watch	15. 00
	<hr/>
	2, 211. 47
Plus 7½ per cent	165. 86
	<hr/>
	2, 377. 33

The CHAIRMAN (showing Hale Exhibit No. 2 to the witness). Mr. Hale, what is Exhibit No. 2?

Mr. HALE. This is a statement of the advertising account. We advertised during the last few days of the campaign in all the papers of the State. The bills went direct to Mr. Munsey, but the make-up of the advertisements went through the hands of our publicity men. That is why I kept it separate from the other accounts—\$9,021.36—with a detailed statement of various papers.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the committee to understand that this is included in Exhibit No. 1?

Mr. HALE. That is not included in Exhibit No. 1.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Hale Exhibit No. 3."

The paper referred to was marked "Hale Exhibit No. 3," and is as follows:

HALE EXHIBIT No. 3.

Received from national Roosevelt committee for recount in Massachusetts	\$475. 00
Paid for recount (as per Appendix A)	475. 28
	<hr/>
Shortage July 1, 1912	. 28

APPENDIX A.

Paid for recount in State of Massachusetts.

Recount in town of Mansfield	\$5. 00
George W. Verrill, Lawrence, seventh district	50. 00
Kenneth Damren, Maynard, fourth district	15. 00
C. P. Norton:	
Great Barrington, first district	9. 30
North Adams, first district	3. 00

Roper, Gary & Gorham, legal services, eighth district.....	\$30. 00
Frank Lewis, tenth district.....	10. 00
Town of Clinton.....	25. 00
Holyoke, first district.....	35. 00
Quincy	5. 00
Wellfleet	2. 00
C. P. Herrington, ninth district.....	5. 00
H. W. Ruggles, eighth district.....	2. 00
J. A. Desmond, tenth district.....	12. 43
Al. Tewksbury, ninth district.....	15. 00
Ralph Dennen, sixth district.....	5. 00
C. C. Cook, Pittsfield, first district.....	8. 00
C. S. Millet, Brockton:	
Fourteenth district	32. 98
Twelfth district.....	7. 50
Robert Tillotson, first district.....	2. 00
Jones & Foss, attorneys, Newburyport.....	15. 00
Peter Caddell, 27 precincts, Lowell.....	105. 45
Charles H. Thompson, cities and Boston and New Bedford and Fall River	125. 64
	<hr/>
	525. 28
Less cash subscription, Charles H. Thompson.....	50. 00
	<hr/>
	475. 28

The CHAIRMAN (showing Exhibit Hale No. 3 to the witness). You may state what Exhibit No. 3 is.

Mr. HALE. Exhibit No. 3 is an item of \$475.28, which was sent directly to the national committee for recounts immediately after the primary.

Senator POMERENE. For what?

Mr. HALE. For recounting certain votes in certain towns. I have not added those three items, but the sum of those three will make the total amount spent in Massachusetts.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the committee to understand that Exhibit No. 3 is exclusive of Exhibit No. 1?

Mr. HALE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hale, do you know of any contributions made to the preconvention campaign in behalf of Col. Roosevelt in Massachusetts, other than those which appear in Exhibit No. 1?

Mr. HALE. I know of no other, Senator. There may have been contributions given locally to some of the local town committees. I understand that occasionally a man will give his office or contribute cards, or something like that, but it never came to my knowledge as to the amount. From the eagerness with which all these local people came to our central headquarters and asked for money, I judge there was not very much given locally.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any expenditures that were made other than those accounted for in Exhibit 2?

Mr. HALE. None except as covered by those same local contributions that I spoke of before, about which I know nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am asking you if you know of any that were made other than those which appear in these exhibits.

Mr. HALE. Well, I assume there were certain amounts spent from these local contributions that I have no record of—that is, I had none during the campaign; but outside of that, no.

The CHAIRMAN. We were unable to get the information yesterday from the manager here in Washington of the Taft campaign. Can you tell the committee who that manager was in Massachusetts?

Mr. HALE. Gen. Edgar R. Champlain, of Cambridge, was the nominal head manager. About three weeks before election he did not seem to be proving very satisfactory to the Taft managers in Washington and Congressman Gardner came down and they opened up separate headquarters. I have never been able to prove exactly where those headquarters were, but the telephone number was the same as the stockbroking concern of Hornblower & Weeks, so I presume that the Taft campaign from that time on was conducted from the brokerage firm of Hornblower & Weeks. The only thing I know outside of that about the Taft campaign is hearsay, but I understand the committee is anxious to find out all it can, and this may help put them on the trace of something they can look up and find out. The largest amount of money that was spent by the Taft people in the last three weeks was in the cities of Fall River, New Bedford, and Worcester, in Congressman Gardner's district, the sixth congressional, where John Hays Hammond lived. I have every reason to believe that a very large sum of money was sent there, but I can not prove it at all.

Senator POMERENE. What district is that?

Mr. HALE. That is the sixth congressional district, and in those three cities. In Fall River, I am informed on pretty definite information, that the day before the primaries each ward leader received \$200. I think our committee in Fall River received less than \$100 for the whole city—between \$100 and \$150 for the whole city.

The CHAIRMAN. How many ward leaders were there in Fall River?

Mr. HALE. I think there are 8 or 9 wards; I am not sure, but somewhere approximately. The difference between the two campaigns was that I expected—in the first place I think they expended very much more money, but I can not prove that; and in the second place our money was spent along the same lines that they spent it in Ohio—in education; distributing literature. We spent, as you will see from that detailed account, a great deal of money in distributing literature and having rallies through the State; whereas most of their money was spent in the last three weeks after Congressman Gardner began to get worried.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you mean that the standpatters had already been educated?

Mr. HALE. I think they thought they had; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Hale, do you know of any fact or circumstance bearing upon or relating to contributions in the preconvention campaign for nominations of Presidency in 1912 to which your attention has not been called or to which you have not testified, and which you now recall?

Mr. HALE. Yes, Mr. Chairman; there are two circumstances that I think affect this matter pretty vitally. The first is that our campaign in the beginning—although having paid them all in one lump sum—our campaign in the beginning was directed primarily to getting a presidential primary bill through the legislature, and in that we met with very bitter opposition from the Taft organization in Massachusetts. They fought it every inch of the way—practically the whole Taft organization.

The CHAIRMAN. About when did the contest for the primary begin—I mean to secure a presidential-preference primary?

Mr. HALE. I can not remember the exact date; some time during the winter, about the middle of January, possibly. I think we intro-

duced the bill way back in December and it hung in committee for a long time.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the time when the bill was passed?

Mr. HALE. It was about, let me see—I can not say accurately, but somewhere between the middle of February and the 1st of March. It was passed just before our campaign began, because we only had about two weeks to get all of our delegates into the field.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the other circumstance that you stated you recalled?

Mr. HALE. The other circumstance is that in our last mayoralty fight in Boston—that has a good deal to do with the need for the education of voters in our State—in the last mayoralty fight in Boston, which was conducted between two factions of the Democratic Party, both of the candidates for mayor were Democrats. A very large sum of money was spent, and in fact the defeated candidate, I believe, filed a sworn return of over \$100,000 merely in the city, and anybody can see the effect of that in a campaign coming a year or two later, where it set the standard for advertising and everything else, made it very large. Those two—the fact that we had to fight the Taft machine to get our presidential primary bill and the fact that we had to overcome this influence of this previous Democratic campaign—were our two great handicaps in this fight last spring.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is there any other fact or circumstance bearing on this subject that you recall?

Mr. HALE. I can not think of any right now.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Hale, I was unfortunately compelled to leave the room and did not hear the better part of your testimony, so I will leave the other Senators to ask you with regard to what I did not hear. But you spoke of the mayoralty campaign in Boston.

Mr. HALE. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. That is, you elected your mayor in Boston under a nonpartisan program. It was a nonpartisan campaign was it—that is the law?

Mr. HALE. We can not have labels on the men. It was a fight between the Citizens' Municipal League candidate, which consisted of one faction of the Democratic Party plus the Republican Party, and on the other side was the Democratic Party.

Senator OLIVER. Then this enormous expenditure of money was carried on in what generally is termed a reform campaign, is it—I mean under a reform rule.

Mr. HALE. I do not know whether you call a reform campaign that comes from the other side a reform campaign.

Senator OLIVER. What I mean is the law by which your mayor is elected in Boston is one that aims to do away with the party's nomination. Am I correct?

Mr. HALE. Yes, sir. That is perfectly true.

Senator OLIVER. Now, you speak of your efforts on behalf of the presidential primaries. You finally got your presidential primary law passed?

Mr. HALE. Yes, sir; we did; we finally got it.

Senator OLIVER. Is it not a fact that in that primary, taking the actual votes cast, the delegates running for President Taft received a majority?

Mr. HALE. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. And President Taft received a majority of the votes over Col. Roosevelt?

Mr. HALE. Yes; and then again no. The ballot was long and flat, and it had on the left-hand end the delegate. For instance, it would be you, with William Howard Taft after you; it would be me, with Theodore Roosevelt after me. That would be in the first column. Then they would have the district delegate. Then at the right-hand side they would have William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt. Our delegates, with the name Theodore Roosevelt on, ran way ahead of the Taft delegates, but the primary vote went about 3,000 ahead of Taft.

Senator OLIVER. The majority of the primary vote was for President Taft——

Mr. HALE. Yes; because——

Senator OLIVER. In the presidential preference. Then you stated that in the vote for delegates your delegates ran ahead of those for President Taft?

Mr. HALE. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Is it not a fact that enough votes were cast for the Taft delegates and were thrown out to have elected them, but that through a misunderstanding those voters voted for nine delegates instead of eight?

Mr. HALE. I do not know whether it was actually enough. It came very close to being enough, I know. I do not know whether it was enough or not.

Senator OLIVER. Now, is it not a fact that there were enough? You were in the campaign, Mr. Hale, and you certainly know the figures. Come out and state it.

Mr. HALE. If I knew I would be very glad to tell you, but I do not think it is very material.

Senator OLIVER. It may not be material, but we are after the facts, whether they are material or not.

Mr. HALE. I will look that up and will be very glad to give it to you later.

Senator OLIVER. I do not think you need to look it up.

Mr. HALE. Senator, you do not really accuse me of not telling the truth, do you?

Senator OLIVER. I do not mean to do so at all.

Mr. HALE. I am glad of that. I say I really do not know what the facts were.

Senator PAYNTER. Appendix A gives the contribution from the national committee. It covers a statement of receipts from the national committee. Who was at the head of the national committee that made these contributions?

Mr. HALE. It came through Mr. Hooker.

Senator PAYNTER. That is what I wanted to get at. I notice four on the 29th of April and four on the 7th of April. Mr. Hooker made all those contributions, did he?

Mr. HALE. I believe so; yes, sir. They came from the national committee, and I presume they all came from him.

Senator PAYNTER. I have forgotten his testimony and I do not know whether he sent any money to Boston.

Mr. HALE. Oh, yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did Senator Dixon send any money to you?

Mr. HALE. No, sir; Senator Dixon sent none.

Senator PAYNTER. It was all through Mr. Hooker?

Mr. HALE. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I was looking over this list, and I want to ask you about Charles L. Bird. Who is he; what is his business?

Mr. HALE. He is the next governor of Massachusetts.

Senator PAYNTER. The ex-governor?

Mr. HALE. The next governor.

Senator PAYNTER. He is the present Republican candidate?

Mr. HALE. He is the present Progressive candidate.

Senator PAYNTER. That necessarily means that he is to be the next governor, does it?

Mr. HALE. I think so; yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Who is the candidate of the Republican organization?

Mr. HALE. Joseph Walker.

Senator PAYNTER. Does Gov. Foss concede his election?

Mr. HALE. Concede Mr. Bird's or his own?

Senator PAYNTER. No; Mr. Bird's.

Mr. HALE. No; he does not concede it. He is still benighted.

Senator PAYNTER. I simply want to get the situation. He seems to have given \$250 at one time, \$500 at another, \$1,800 at another, \$250 at another, and \$2,500 at another time, and \$1,700 at another time. Were those contributions made before he was nominated or after?

Mr. HALE. Oh, yes; long before.

Senator PAYNTER. What business is he engaged in?

Mr. HALE. He is a paper manufacturer. He is some relation, I think, of Charles Sumner—a nephew, possibly.

Senator PAYNTER. You made some statement with reference to your campaign about which we were not investigating, and you said one of the candidates had spent \$100,000, according to his own report. Was that the reform candidate who made that report?

Mr. HALE. That was the reform candidate. I have never been able to find out how much the other candidate spent.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all.

Mr. HALE. Mr. Chairman, Senator Oliver's question reminded me of something else that I want to say, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. If it is germane to the inquiry, you may state it.

Mr. HALE. It is germane to this. In regard to his question as to the confusion between the vote for the delegates and the primary vote, the progressives have been criticised very often for this particular confusion, and I would like to state, principally for the benefit of Senator Oliver, that the Progressive Republicans are very anxious, and asked the powers that be—who were at that time Taft men—to be allowed to have after the names of our delegates, instead of the words "for Theodore Roosevelt" or instead of the pledge for Theodore Roosevelt, say "favors Theodore Roosevelt, but will abide by the decision of the people in the State," and the Taft people refused to allow that to go on.

Senator OLIVER. So your people concluded then that they would not abide?

Mr. HALE. We have never voted against it, have we?

Senator OLIVER. I understood that at Chicago your delegates did not vote for President Taft.

Mr. HALE. We did not vote.

Senator OLIVER. You did not vote for President Taft?

Mr. HALE. We did not vote in that convention for anything.

Senator OLIVER. You shouted a good deal.

Senator POMERENE. You made reference to the mayoralty candidates in the fight in Boston.

Mr. HALE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. In view of your reference to it, who did you support in that campaign?

Mr. HALE. I was for Mr. Storrow. He was running for the city council in that same campaign.

Senator POMERENE. Notwithstanding the expenditure of \$100,000 against Mayor Fitzgerald, they could not beat him?

Mr. HALE. They could not beat him—not yet.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether other money was collected and expended in the several congressional districts in behalf of Roosevelt or Taft delegates other than that which was expended through you—received and expended through you?

Mr. HALE. In behalf of the Roosevelt delegates?

Senator POMERENE. Well, I made my question broad to cover both.

Mr. HALE. For the Roosevelt delegates, I have already stated, Senator, that as far as I know that is all that was spent, with the exception of these small local contributions. Of course, we tried in every case to get—whenever we raised money—to get it sent into the State headquarters.

Senator POMERENE. But you do not have personal knowledge of what contributions may or may not have been made locally?

Mr. HALE. No, sir; I have not; except, as I say, from the general inference that they were always clamoring for money and could not raise any locally, which made me assume——

Senator POMERENE. And do you mean to say that your workers had formed the capacity to ask one person for money?

Mr. HALE. I do not believe so; not from what I know of them.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, unless there is some other fact or circumstance that you can recall.

Mr. HALE. No, sir; I can not.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Hale, just one question, and it is not a very important one. You say the present mayor has not been beaten yet. Have you a Progressive candidate now for mayor in Boston?

Mr. HALE. No, sir; we have not.

Mr. Hale was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF W. T. MOSSMAN, PITTSBURGH, PA., ADVERTISING MANAGER.

W. T. Mossman, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name in full, and address and residence, for the record.

Mr. MOSSMAN. My name is W. T. Mossman; I live at Pittsburgh, Pa.; and am an advertising manager.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mossman, what position, if any, did you hold to the preconvention campaign held in Pennsylvania prior to the Chicago convention?

Mr. MOSSMAN. I was treasurer and manager of the Taft Club of Pittsburgh.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have charge of the club's contributions and disbursements?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a statement of that?

Mr. MOSSMAN. I have it here [producing a paper].

The CHAIRMAN. This will be marked "Exhibit Mossman No. 1."

The paper referred to was accordingly marked "Exhibit Mossman No. 1," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT MOSSMAN No. 1.

Taft Club of Pittsburgh, primaries, 1912.

Receipts:

H. C. McEldowney	\$500. 00
Henry Chalfant	500. 00
D. E. Park	4, 800. 00
C. C. Ramsey	400. 00
G. E. Tener	2, 000. 00
Geo. Westinghouse	1, 000. 00
Geo. T. Oliver	7, 000. 00
H. Darlington	500. 00
W. H. Donner	250. 00
Reuben Miller	100. 00
Wallace H. Rowe	1, 000. 00
Willis McCook	500. 00
J. M. Hansen	1, 000. 00
B. F. Jones, jr.	13, 500. 00
Wm. Larimer Jones	1, 000. 00
J. D. Callery	1, 000. 00
J. H. Reed	1, 000. 00
John R. McCune	500. 00
Wm. Price	250. 00
Morris Baer	100. 00
Joseph Fowell	200. 00
Edward Kneeland	100. 00
J. B. Finley	250. 00
Willis L. King	1, 000. 00
L. G. Wood	500. 00
M. H. Taylor	1, 000. 00
Eugene S. Reilly	100. 00
Henry Oliver	2, 500. 00
John C. Oliver	1, 500. 00
Robert McAfee	1, 500. 00
W. P. Snyder	1, 500. 00
Louis Brown	250. 00
R. B. Mellon	2, 500. 00
A. W. Mellon	2, 500. 00
James Laughlin, jr.	5, 000. 00
Henry A. Laughlin	5, 000. 00
J. M. Schoonmaker	100. 00
D. Leet Wilson	100. 00
J. F. Byers	2, 000. 00
E. H. Jennings	750. 00
J. A. Bell	750. 00
J. R. Walker	500. 00
H. L. Jones	500. 00
Robert Garland	200. 00
Total	\$67, 200. 00

Expenditures:

To anti-Magee-Flinn committee, for legal campaign expenses to elect Taft delegates-----	\$38,500.00
Advertising-----	22,990.12
Printing-----	2,043.00
Postage and mailing-----	2,030.45
Salaries and expenses of office force, headquarters, staff, etc-----	1,620.22
Total-----	<u>\$67,183.79</u>
Balance-----	<u>16.21</u>

The CHAIRMAN (handing Exhibit Mossman 1 to the witness).
What is Exhibit Mossman 1?

Mr. MOSSMAN. That is a statement of receipts and expenditures of the Taft Club of Pittsburgh for the primaries of 1912.

The CHAIRMAN. Under whose direction was this made—this statement?

Mr. MOSSMAN. It is a statement that I compiled from our reports as filed with the clerk of courts of Allegheny County under the corrupt practices act.

The CHAIRMAN. Then it is a true and correct copy of the report filed with the clerk of the court?

Mr. MOSSMAN. No, sir; that is our expenditures and receipts down to date as filed with clerk of courts within the 30-day limit. Some bills have not been received and have not been paid. This is a summary.

The CHAIRMAN. This shows a total of receipts of \$67,200.

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And shows a balance on hand of \$16.21.

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it purport to give the names of all the contributors?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes; it does.

The CHAIRMAN. And the amounts contributed?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They are true and correct, of your own knowledge?

Mr. MOSSMAN. They are.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the nature of this organization—I mean did it have a president or chairman?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Mr. B. F. Jones, jr., president of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Co.

The CHAIRMAN. And a treasurer?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And a secretary?

Mr. MOSSMAN. I was both treasurer and secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. And what was the scope of the work of this club—I mean first as to territory?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Western Pennsylvania.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, by western Pennsylvania, where do you draw the line?

Mr. MOSSMAN. In this case at Altoona.

The CHAIRMAN. How many counties are in western Pennsylvania, as you understand it, with reference to this subject?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Probably 25.

The CHAIRMAN. Including, of course, the county of Allegheny?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any other Taft organizations in western Pennsylvania that you know of?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Not so called; there was an organization known as the anti-Magee-Flinn organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was that organization headquarters?

Mr. MOSSMAN. In Pittsburgh.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was at the head of that?

Mr. MOSSMAN. I do not know. My only relation with that was with the treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the treasurer of that organization?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Mr. C. W. Kiser.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, in your work did you not become cognizant, in a general way, of the personnel of that organization?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were in it, that you recall?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Mr. Arch Mackrell, a local political leader, and several of the so-called regular Republican leaders of the district or county; Mr. E. M. Buckley, Mr. Denny O'Neill, county commissioner, and others—by repute; I have no knowledge of that.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking with reference to your general relations politically to the situation. Have you any idea as to the territorial scope of the work of that organization?

Mr. MOSSMAN. I have an idea it was limited to the county and the four congressional districts within the county.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any other organization in western Pennsylvania, as you have referred to western Pennsylvania, that were active in the Taft campaign?

Mr. MOSSMAN. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no idea, I suppose, as to the amount received or expended by the anti-Magee-Flinn organization?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they file a verified report?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did their report show?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Their report showed \$44,000—I think \$44,500—of which we contributed, as you will note, \$38,500; in other words, they received \$6,000 in addition to that which we gave them.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions to the Taft preconvention campaign other than those which appear here in Exhibit A?

Mr. MOSSMAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Neither personally nor by general repute?

Mr. MOSSMAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether there were county committees organized in the counties in western Pennsylvania during this contest?

Mr. MOSSMAN. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would be most likely to know if there was?

Mr. MOSSMAN. I would say some one connected with the regular Republican organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, who was at the head of that during this contest?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Mr. Mackrell.

The CHAIRMAN. He lives in Pittsburgh?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, was that a State——

Mr. MOSSMAN. That was the county. As for other counties, I have absolutely no knowledge of any Taft organization at all.

The CHAIRMAN. The candidates for Congress were running at the same time primarily that the delegates to Chicago were elected at, were they not?

Mrs. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And members of the legislature—nominees?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The nomination of county officers?

Mr. MOSSMAN. No; not county officers; committeemen.

The CHAIRMAN. Under your law you had a statutory committee?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And so far as you know this is the amount, with the two or three thousand dollars of the anti-Magee-Flinn organization?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. \$6,000 was all that was spent in that campaign?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is there any other matter or thing connected with this subject to which your attention has not been called and which you now recall?

Mr. MOSSMAN. None that I recall.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Mossman, you have divided your expenditures into five parts?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. First, \$38,500 contributed to the anti-Magee-Flinn committee?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Secondly, \$22,990.12 for advertising?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Thirdly, \$2,043 for printing?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Next, \$2,030.45 for postage and mailing; and then the salaries and expenses of the office force at headquarters, \$1,620.22?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Then \$38,500 contributed to the anti-Magee-Flinn committee—that committee had charge of looking after the polls and the general political conduct of the entire campaign, did it not?

Mr. MOSSMAN. That committee represented that wing of the Republican Party in the primaries supporting President Taft, and as such its work in the primary was essentially political in all respects.

Senator OLIVER. Yes; it was political, while you undertook the publicity end of the campaign for the whole western part of the State?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. So that the other items here for advertising, printing, postage, and salaries, etc., of your own headquarters properly belonged to the expenses of the Taft campaign in western Pennsylvania?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes; in which we used some 215 or 220 newspapers, besides direct mailing, and the use of postal cards and literature.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Mossman, Mr. Flinn, when he was upon the stand the other day, stated that the Taft managers in Allegheny County spent \$95,000; is that true?

Mr. MOSSMAN. We spent \$67,200, in round numbers, and the anti-Magee-Flinn committee, under their reports, spent \$6,000 in addition to that. That would make \$73,000.

Senator OLIVER. And to the best of your knowledge, and from your actual knowledge, that \$67,000 plus \$6,000 includes all of the expenses?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. And also includes all of the expenses connected with the nomination of 4 candidates for Congress, 24 candidates for the legislature, and 2 candidates for the State senate?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir; and State committeemen.

Senator OLIVER. And the local committeemen, and so on?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Mossman, what business is B. F. Jones, jr., engaged in?

Mr. MOSSMAN. He is the president of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Co.

Senator PAYNTER. I see he contributed \$13,500.

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Is he related to the President's brother-in-law up there?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I see two other gentlemen of that name give \$5,000 each.

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all.

Senator POMERENE. Does your statute require the filing of accounts?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Within 30 days after election.

Senator POMERENE. With whom is that filed?

Mr. MOSSMAN. In the case of national delegates it is filed with clerks of the court.

Senator POMERENE. That is, for that particular county?

Mr. MOSSMAN. For that particular county.

Senator POMERENE. And your account was filed, showing the receipts and expenditures, as you have reported them here?

Mr. MOSSMAN. No; showing our receipts and expenditures at 30 days after the primaries, showing a deficit of \$10,500 for bills, which were in and not paid, which were subsequently paid by contributions from the members of the club. Thirty days was not quite time enough for us to get that report in.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any knowledge of any other receipts and expenditures in the western portion of Pennsylvania—and I mean by that those counties lying west of a line drawn through Altoona—than those you have given here?

Mr. MOSSMAN. No.

Senator POMERENE. Can you give us any further information touching the receipts and expenditures in connection with the primary campaign in Pennsylvania?

Mr. MOSSMAN. None whatever.

Senator POMERENE. Who had charge of the campaign in that portion of Pennsylvania east of Altoona.

Mr. MOSSMAN. I do not know.

Senator OLIVER.. Mr. Mossman, for the information of the committee, you are not in any way connected with politics?

Mr. MOSSMAN. No, sir.

Senator OLIVER. That was a political episode in your career?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. You are strictly a business man entirely, and that was a business man's organization?

Mr. MOSSMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mr. Mossman, unless you recall some other facts.

Mr. MOSSMAN. Nothing further.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, you will be excused.

Mr. Mossman was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Dubois, we will hear you now.

TESTIMONY OF HON. FRED T. DUBOIS, A FORMER SENATOR OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE STATE OF IDAHO.

Hon. Fred T. Dubois, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, give your name and address to the reporter for the record.

Mr. DUBOIS. Fred T. Dubois; Blackfoot, Idaho.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, during the preconvention campaign of 1912 what relation, if any, did you sustain to any of the candidates for nomination?

Mr. DUBOIS. I was manager for Speaker Clark, who was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any record of the contributions and disbursements made in Speaker Clark's campaign?

Mr. DUBOIS. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you it with you?

Mr. DUBOIS. I will be very glad to read it to you; it is short.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to identify it first.

Witness produces paper.

The CHAIRMAN. Just mark that "Exhibit Dubois No. 1."

The paper referred to was marked "Exhibit Dubois No. 1" and handed to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there two different statements there?

Mr. DUBOIS. No; one sheet shows contributions and the other disbursements.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, what is "Exhibit Dubois No. 1"?

Mr. DUBOIS. The contributions to Champ Clark's campaign fund for presidential nomination, which are as follows:

EXHIBIT DUBOIS No. 1.

Contributions to the Champ Clark campaign fund for presidential nomination.

Congressman Pepper-----	\$75. 00
Mr. Harper, president of District National Bank, Washington, D. C.--	250. 00
W. R. Hearst-----	1, 000. 00

W. R. Hearst.....	\$5,000. 00
Do	2,500. 00
J. V. Davis.....	25. 00
Lafe Pence.....	50. 00
George N. Jesse.....	1,000. 00
W. O. Head, mayor of Louisville, Ky.....	200. 00
Wilbur Marsh, of Waterloo, Iowa.....	1,000. 00
Do	1,000. 00
Do	500. 00
Senator Chilton.....	300. 00
Wallace Bassford.....	878. 98
Jack Garner.....	100. 00
Justice Dowling, of New York.....	500. 00
Champ Clark.....	1,500. 00
Perry Belmont.....	200. 00
Mr. Pickford, real estate agent, Washington, D. C.....	1,000. 00
Mr. Pickford and friends.....	900. 00
Senator William J. Stone.....	4,000. 00
Do	1,200. 00
Gov. Stephens, of Missouri.....	550. 00
Senator Watson, of West Virginia.....	5,000. 00
Do	5,000. 00
Justice J. W. Gerard, of New York.....	500. 00
Do	1,000. 00
Do	1,000. 00
E. L. Dahoney, of California.....	2,500. 00
G. A. Smith, of Chicago.....	300. 00
Col. Roy Hoffman, of Oklahoma.....	100. 00
Democratic Members, House of Representatives.....	350. 00
Citizens of Cumberland, Md., including Mr. Worden, of Washington, D. C.....	170. 00
Homer Bassford, of St. Louis.....	500. 00
Senator R. F. Pettigrew.....	800. 00
Receipts from all other sources.....	5,000. 00
	<hr/>
	45,948. 98

Now, shall I tell what I did with it?

The CHAIRMAN. You may summarize the expenditures.

Mr. DUBOIS. The expenditures are as follows:

EXPENDITURES.	
Organization in Missouri.....	\$1,500. 00
Organization in Kansas.....	500. 00
Organization in New Mexico.....	300. 00
Organization in all other States.....	2,500. 00
Expenses of speakers.....	1,000. 00
Buttons and photos.....	2,928. 17
Stationery and printing.....	8,326. 08
Postage, including stamped envelopes and postals.....	4,918. 59
Telephone and telegraph.....	2,847. 61
Rental, Ebbett House.....	1,652. 08
Office supplies.....	2,272. 33
Pay rolls, secretaries, stenographers, office force, etc.....	8,448. 50
	<hr/>
	38,193. 50
Expenses of Baltimore convention.....	12,275. 00
	<hr/>
Total expenditures.....	50,468. 50
Amount contributed toward campaign.....	45,948. 98
	<hr/>
Deficit	4,519. 52

Deficit created by lengthy session of Baltimore convention. To meet the deficit Senator Watson contributed \$700; W. G. Conrad, of Montana, \$500; other friends of the Speaker, several hundred dollars; the balance, amounting to about \$3,000, was paid by Speaker Clark himself.

October 1, 1911, until July 2, 1912.

The CHAIRMAN. You may summarize the expenditures. The exhibit is part of the record, anyway, and you may summarize the expenditures as much as you care to.

Mr. DUBOIS. It is short.

The CHAIRMAN. Just go ahead.

Mr. DUBOIS. For organization purposes in Missouri, \$1,500; organization in Kansas, \$500; organization in New Mexico, \$300; and organization in all the other States, \$2,500; expenses of speakers, \$1,000. We had more speakers than all the other candidates, but you can readily understand all the Missouri Congressmen, both Senators, and a good many Members of the House, and others, contributed their services for Mr. Clark. We did not have to pay our speakers, although we had more speakers than anybody else, and I put the expense at \$1,000. Then we had campaign funds and photos, stationery and printing, telephone and telegraph, rental at the Ebbitt House, office supplies, pay rolls, including secretaries and stenographers and office force and all of that, amounting in all to \$38,193.50. The expense of the Baltimore convention was \$12,275, the total expenditures being \$50,468.50; the amount contributed for the campaign, \$49,948.98, leaving a deficit of \$4,519.52. This deficit was created by the long session of the Baltimore convention. To meet the deficit, Senator Watson contributed an additional \$700; W. G. Conrad, of Montana, gave \$500; and other friends of the Speaker several hundred dollars, the balance amounting to about \$3,000, and that was paid by Speaker Clark himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, had you any State organizations?

Mr. DUBOIS. We had very perfect organizations in some States. We had organizations in a great many States. In New York we had no organization. In Iowa we had no organization, nor had we an organization in Indiana. We had no organization in States where there were other presidential candidates. We refused to countenance organization in those States. We had none in some of the Southern States, for we thought it was useless. We practically had none in Pennsylvania, but we had very perfect organizations in the Western States, nearly all of which we carried; we had good organizations in the Middle Western States and a superb organization in Illinois, which we carried by 140,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of contributions which were made to the State organizations, exclusive of the contributions which appear in Exhibit 1 here?

Mr. DUBOIS. I know nothing about it whatever. The States did not call on us. They knew we had no money, I presume, so they were not asking us for money at our headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. And there has been no report furnished you by the States organizations of receipts or expenditures?

Mr. DUBOIS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions to Speaker Clark's campaign, other than those which appear on Exhibit 1?

Mr. DUBOIS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any fact or circumstance bearing upon the question of contributions to preconvention campaigns during the year 1912, other than what you have testified to?

Mr. DUBOIS. Well, when I accepted the management for Speaker Clark we had a very frank talk, not knowing that this investigation

was going to take place, but we both concluded that he should not receive any contributions from individuals who were connected with organizations, trusts, or monopolies, nor should he receive contributions from any sort which might embarrass him in the slightest degree if he should become President. I wanted to do that because I wanted Speaker Clark to maintain the high position after the convention that he had before the convention, and in consequence we were not deluged with money. We did not have to dodge the trusts and combinations, because they did not offer us any.

Senator POMERENE. You know of no other contributions than those you have given?

Mr. DUBOIS. No.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be all, Senator Dubois.

Mr. DUBOIS. I am very much obliged to you, gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN. The reporter will insert the following in the record: "Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pa., May 13, 1912," and insert all of page 1, together with the last page, which is the certificate of the clerk of the court that the statement accompanying it is a list of disbursements, which balance with the list and total of contributions.

The pages referred to are as follows:

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
Pittsburgh, Pa., May 13, 1912.

I, John S. Weller, treasurer, certify that the following is a full, true, and detailed account of each and all of the receipts, expenditures, disbursements, and unpaid debts and obligations of Roosevelt Republican League, and of every officer and other person acting under authority or on behalf of said league, except district treasurers, who will file separate accounts showing the disbursements to them herein stated, in accordance with the requirement of the act entitled "An act to regulate nomination and election expenses and to require accounts of nomination and election expenses to be filed," etc., approved March 5, 1906.

Receipts.

Date received.	From whom received.	Amount.
1912.		
Feb. 13	William Flinn.....	\$1,000.00
Mar. 2	do.....	1,000.00
2	do.....	1,000.00
28	do.....	2,000.00
28	do.....	2,000.00
Apr. 4	do.....	2,000.00
4	E. F. Kirtland.....	5.00
10	William Flinn.....	2,000.00
11	do.....	11,700.00
15	R. R. Quay.....	1,000.00
15	J. H. Bruff.....	1,000.00
15	S. O. Jamison.....	1,000.00
15	L. P. Schneider.....	500.00
15	A. W. Powell.....	399.75
15	W. H. Coleman.....	1,000.00
	John S. Weller.....	1,116.35
May 13	George H. Flinn, check, Apr. 11, 1912.....	2,000.00
	Refunded from O. D. & P. Telegraph Co.....	69.14
	Refunded from Louis P. Schneider, treasurer.....	553.89
		\$1,344.13

In the court of quarter sessions of Allegheny County, Pa.

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA,

County of Allegheny, ss:

I, William H. Coleman, clerk of the court of quarter sessions, in and for said county, hereby certify that the foregoing and attached is a just, true, full, and correct copy of the expense account of John S. Weller, treasurer for the Roosevelt Republican League of Allegheny County, Pa., for the April, 1912, primary, as the same remains on file and of record in my office.

Witness my hand and official seal of said court, at Pittsburgh, this 4th day of October, A. D. 1912.

[SEAL.]

WILLIAM H. COLEMAN,
Clerk of Courts.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Senator.

Mr. Dubois was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Warren, you may be sworn.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES B. WARREN, LAWYER, DETROIT, MICH.

Charles B. Warren, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name and residence to the reporter.

Mr. WARREN. Charles B. Warren, Detroit, lawyer.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Warren, is there any corporation or organization of the beet-sugar interests in Michigan?

Mr. WARREN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Each factory is separate and independent of others?

Mr. WARREN. There are separate companies in Michigan. There is no organization of the beet-sugar interests in Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any beet-sugar company there that owns more than one factory?

Mr. WARREN. There is a beet-sugar company that owns more than one factory.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of one of those factories?

Mr. WARREN. The Owasso Sugar Co. owns two factories—a plant at Owasso, Mich., and a plant at Lansing, Mich. The German-American Sugar Co. owns a plant at or near Bay City and a plant at Paulding, Ohio, near the Michigan line. The Michigan Sugar Co. owns a plant at Bay City, a plant near Saginaw, and a plant near Caro, a plant at Sebawaing, a plant at Alma, and a plant at Crosswell. The St. Louis-Holland Sugar Co. owns a plant at Holland and a plant at St. Louis. The owner of the plant at Mount Clements also owns a plant at Janesville. There are other large plants in the State, but I think I have given the names of the companies that own more than one plant.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you, at any time, maintained any official relation with any of these companies?

Mr. WARREN. I am connected only with the Michigan Sugar Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you ever connected with the American Sugar Refining Co.?

Mr. WARREN. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you at any time in the employ of Mr. Havemeyer?

Mr. WARREN. About the year 1900, and for one or two years thereafter, I passed upon the legality of the insurance of the stock and the titles to the property by the corporations that were purchased by the interests that were connected with Havemeyer, as an attorney.

The CHAIRMAN. What properties were those?

Mr. WARREN. They were several different factories in Michigan, of which they bought the stock.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you active in the campaign of 1912, the pre-convention campaign, for the nomination of presidential candidate?

Mr. WARREN. I should think I might be called active. At least, I was actively interested.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Andrew Doherty, of Elk Rapids, Mich.?

Mr. WARREN. I know him to speak to him.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he active in the Taft campaign in Michigan, the preconvention campaign?

Mr. WARREN. I could not say so. He never spoke to me at any time during the preconvention campaign, nor I never heard of his having a conference with anyone.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know John B. McKay?

Mr. WARREN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he live?

Mr. WARREN. Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he active in the campaign?

Mr. WARREN. I think he was. I know he was.

The CHAIRMAN. Who had charge of the Taft campaign in Michigan?

Mr. WARREN. Mr. G. J. Diekema, former Congressman and former chairman of the State central committee of the State of Michigan, appointed by Mr. McKinley. He was manager of the Taft campaign in Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. Appointed by Mr. McKinley?

Mr. WARREN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you certain of that?

Mr. WARREN. I have been told so. At least, he worked in harmony with Mr. McKinley. He may have been suggested by the friends of President Taft in Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of contributions made to the preconvention campaign of Mr. Taft?

Mr. WARREN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state what you know of such contributions. Have you a statement prepared?

Mr. WARREN. I have in mind what I know about it.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not know but that you had a statement that you could put into the record.

Mr. WARREN. I collected from various subscribers the sum of \$18,935, and disbursed the same \$18,935 to the managers of the campaign in the various congressional districts who had been selected by Mr. Diekema. I disbursed nothing myself in a political way, but I gathered the money and sent it to these men, and I gathered it at the invitation of Mr. Diekema, which invitation was in writing, and which I desire to read in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. WARREN (reading):

MY DEAR MR. WARREN: As you know, I have taken the management of the campaign for the renomination of President Taft—

He means in Michigan, although he does not say in Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, of course.

Mr. WARREN. I have inserted the words "in Michigan." [Reading further:]

And in order to secure effective work, it will, of course, be necessary to use some money.

I have arranged for a complete organization, including a publicity department. I know how friendly you feel to the President and how closely you are in touch with his supporters and I will be more than pleased if you will take upon yourself the duty of securing some funds for the Taft organization in Michigan.

I do not want to impose upon you, but feel that you are just the man to do this particular work, and, if you will assume it, I assure you I will be under lasting obligations to you.

Sincerely, yours,

G. J. DIEKEMA.

That was written March 6, 1912.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contribution being raised by Capt. Alger?

Mr. WARREN. There were no funds raised by Capt. Alger.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that as a fact?

Mr. WARREN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Or anyone operating with him?

Mr. WARREN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you the names of the contributors there?

Mr. WARREN. No; I have not. I can give you some of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us those that you can.

Mr. WARREN. I can state some that subscribed. It was a separate matter, and was put by my secretary into one fund, and collected when I was away. At it was received, it was turned over, and, as I say, it was in every case turned over to the people who were working or cooperating with Mr. Diekema. William T. Barbour was one of the contributors.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did he contribute?

Mr. WARREN. I do not know the amounts; I have not them. He is president of the Detroit Stove Works, a large industrial enterprise.

J. B. Ford was a contributor. The late J. L. Hudson, a very large merchant in Detroit, was a contributor. The late J. W. Wright was a contributor; Edwin Denby, the former Congressman, was a contributor; Alexander McPherson; Willis E. Buhl; Mr. Frank W. Gilchrist; Mr. Richard B. Joy; Mr. James E. Danaher; Mr. Gilbert W. Lee; Mr. Otto Kirtchner.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know a George Yerkes?

Mr. WARREN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you turn over any funds to him?

Mr. WARREN. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you turn over any funds to McKay?

Mr. WARREN. I turned funds over to Mr. McKay.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you turn over to Mr. McKay?

Mr. WARREN. I can not say how much was turned over to Mr. McKay. Mr. McKay was in charge of the work under Mr. Diekema

in a portion of the sixth district, seventh district, second district, and of the first district.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, would you undertake to approximately, from memory, say what you turned over to Mr. McKay?

Mr. WARREN. I would rather not testify from recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not know but that you might have sufficient recollection to testify.

Mr. WARREN. As a matter of fact, some of the money was turned over when I was down with my family at Old Point Comfort. All of it was turned over, and that was the only thing I was interested in. I wish to add this about the contributions, inasmuch as you have brought up the question of whether beet-sugar companies in Michigan contributed. There is no beet-sugar company in the State of Michigan that contributed \$1 to me——

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did——

Mr. WARREN. Pardon me a moment.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WARREN. Nor did any other corporation; and the Michigan Sugar Co., which was the only one with which I am connected, has never made a political contribution from the time it was organized until now, to any political party, for the support of any candidate of any political party.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contribution that was made by any sugar company outside of Michigan?

Mr. WARREN. I know nothing about any sugar companies outside of Michigan. I never heard of any contribution, and the mere fact of your asking the question does not raise the question in my mind that they did. I know of no such thing. I doubt it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any person in Michigan connected with any beet-sugar companies, or any of them, that made contributions?

Mr. WARREN. I know that some of the men who contributed undoubtedly had stock in beet-sugar companies, because it is a very great enterprise in Michigan, but all of these men have interests that are very much larger in other things than they are in beet sugar, including myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know John Baird?

Mr. WARREN. Very well; he lives at Saginaw.

The CHAIRMAN. Was any money, so far as you know, turned over to him?

Mr. WARREN. There was not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Leo Butzel, of Detroit?

Mr. WARREN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he active in the Taft campaign?

Mr. WARREN. I should not say so. I do not know in what direction, if he was. I never knew him to have anything to do with politics except as a public-spirited citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of any contributions made in the preconvention campaign to which your attention has not been heretofore called, or which you have not testified to, and which you now recall?

Mr. WARREN. I know absolutely nothing of any contribution except that was raised through me in accordance with this request, and was disbursed by me in accordance with the directions of the men in

charge; and I say further that I doubt very much whether there was any money raised in the State of Michigan other than that.

The CHAIRMAN. Other than the amount that you have testified to?

Mr. WARREN. Yes, sir. If there was any that came into the State of Michigan, I do not know; but I do not think there was any raised in the State of Michigan.

Senator OLIVER. Do you know of any other moneys raised during that campaign for and on behalf of any other party?

Mr. WARREN. Will you just allow me to make a statement before I answer? I am a member of the national committee of the Republican Party at the present time, and of its executive committee, and I do not want to leave the impression to people who might read the report of my testimony that other people have not, since the convention, contributed to me for the benefit of the Republican national committee. Various subscriptions have been made in Michigan by individuals; the checks have been drawn to the treasurer of the Republican national committee. They are my friends, and they have sent the checks to me, to my office, and they have been forwarded to Mr. Wilson at Chicago, the assistant treasurer of the Republican national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, since the beginning?

Mr. WARREN. Yes; I know you were not inquiring about it, but people whose names I did not read might wonder why their names were not given the necessary publicity.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, to avoid any question as to Senator Oliver's questions, my last inquiry was any campaign contributions?

Mr. WARREN. I do not understand your inquiry goes to since the Chicago convention?

The CHAIRMAN. No; but any preconvention campaign. If I did not make it broad enough, I meant it to be broad enough to cover any committee, any candidate, and any preconvention contributions.

Mr. WARREN. I understood your question, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not know that you understood it, and it might have led to confusion.

Senator OLIVER. If you have answered that in the negative, I will not repeat my question.

Mr. WARREN. I will say this in that respect—and I am not stating it for any reason other than as bearing on the reason for some one's having become active in Michigan: The chairman of the Republican State central committee of Michigan, Mr. Frank Knox—whose name has been mentioned as the beneficiary of part of the Hanna contribution here this afternoon—was the chairman of the State central committee of Michigan, and he went under employment of the Roosevelt campaign committee while he still remained chairman of the State central committee of the State of Michigan, and even went to Chicago and was at headquarters for a long period, and there was a necessity for activity in Michigan, because the machinery of the party was being attempted to be used for the interest of one nominee, where that had never been allowed by the party before. Michigan is and has been friendly to President Taft. He was a former judge in the district in which Detroit is located. He was often there and is well known and has many personal friends, among whom is myself and other men that know him well and knew him before he was President, and in the contest for delegates five of the

districts were carried for Mr. Roosevelt, seven of them were carried for Mr. Taft, and about that proportion obtained in the State convention, and the delegates at large were selected for Mr. Taft. There was no great fund used, in my opinion, on either side in the State of Michigan. The Roosevelt people certainly used as much money—and I am going no further—as the Taft people used, but none of them used any excessive amount of money in the State of Michigan for delegates, nor has there ever been any excessive amount used for delegates in any campaign that I ever heard of in the State of Michigan.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Warren, you have given the amount of money that was received and expended by yourself as \$18,935. This, I assume, was in behalf of President Taft's campaign?

Mr. WARREN. It was.

Senator POMERENE. And was it expended generally throughout the State, or only to particular portions of the State?

Mr. WARREN. It was expended almost entirely in the following districts: The tenth, seventh, sixth, second, and first.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of any other moneys being received and disbursed in that State on behalf of Mr. Taft?

Mr. WARREN. I do not; no, sir.

Senator POMERENE. How many districts are there?

Mr. WARREN. Twelve.

Senator POMERENE. You named five, I believe, did you not?

Mr. WARREN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether or not any substantial sums were expended in the districts other than those you have named?

Mr. WARREN. The twelfth district is composed of the upper peninsula of Michigan exclusively, and it is so strongly Taft that there is no object of anybody spending any money in the interest of the Presidency to get the delegates, and I do not think that anybody did. There was no contest except as to who would be the delegate, and that was friendly, and prominent men in the district wanted the honor of going to the convention, and competed for it in a gentlemanly way and remained friends. Two of them went. In the eighth district the convention was held very early. I think it was the earliest district convention that ever instructed its delegates for President Taft, and there was no necessity for any campaign there. In the western part of the State those districts—my home is in Detroit, which is in the eastern part of the State—southern and eastern—in the western part of the State I have no information regarding the expenditure of money there, but I have much doubt whether there were any considerable sums spent other than small sums received from Mr. Diekema, for the purpose of maintaining his organization.

He had himself headquarters at Grand Rapids assisted by Paul King, clerk of the Michigan House of Representatives, as secretary, and a young man named Roy Brownell, in charge of some of the work. I think he was called assistant secretary, and he had a publicity bureau, and there were headquarters in Detroit, a place was rented, and Mr. Leonard, I believe, was in charge of the headquarters there under Mr. Diekema, and Mr. McKay, in various ways of advertising, etc., and as a matter of fact, in Wayne County

they had actually to print tickets. This was an old-fashioned caucus—no primary law—and he did all the work of getting out the voters in all the 177 precincts in the city of Detroit and in the adjacent county—that is, in the county adjacent to Detroit—where there is a large number of voters. So it is a very large task getting the voters out, and there really was not very much interest in the situation. In fact, after the convention for the election of the delegates to the State convention district caucuses were held in the first congressional district, which is all within the city of Detroit, and there were only Roosevelt candidates in about 26 of those 177 districts put up at all.

Senator POMERENE. Who could give us any further information touching the receipts and expenditures on behalf of the Taft campaign?

Mr. WARREN. Mr. Diekema is the only one.

Senator POMERENE. He is the only one you have in mind?

Mr. WARREN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Who could give us further information touching the expenditures in the Roosevelt campaign?

Mr. WARREN. In the Roosevelt campaign they had two men in their employment—Mr. Knox, whom I have mentioned—

Senator POMERENE. Give his first name.

Mr. WARREN. Frank Knox—W. Frank Knox.

Senator POMERENE. And his address.

Mr. WARREN. I believe he lives in New Hampshire now.

I think he has moved out of the State since some of the episodes and lives in New Hampshire. The other man who was prominently identified with the Roosevelt campaign was the city clerk of Detroit, Charles A. Nicholas, who had the title of manager for Michigan of the Roosevelt campaign.

Senator POMERENE. What do you mean by your reference to an episode? Something in connection with the campaign?

Mr. WARREN. Yes; Mr. Knox was more or less discredited in Michigan on account of the methods that he used.

Senator POMERENE. What do you mean by that?

Mr. WARREN. Not in this campaign; a letter that he wrote—

Senator POMERENE. Well, if it is a personal matter I care nothing about it. If it is something pertaining to this campaign, it may be of interest.

Mr. WARREN. It did not pertain to this campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. He said it was not in this campaign.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I do not care about it at all.

Mr. WARREN. In other words, he was not reelected chairman of the State central committee.

Senator POMERENE. I do not care about it.

Now another matter. I was out while you were testifying as to some of these sugar matters. Are you connected with the American Sugar Refining Co.?

Mr. WARREN. I am not; I have never had any interest in the American Sugar Refining Co.

Senator POMERENE. Were you during the year 1904?

Mr. WARREN. I was not.

Senator POMERENE. Do you in any way represent Mr. Havemeyer in these matters?

Mr. WARREN. I have testified——

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator was out at the time you testified.

Mr. WARREN. I said that about the year 1900, or from 1900 to 1902, or thereabouts, I passed upon the titles to the stock, and necessarily the title to the property owned by the corporations that had issued the stock that that interest bought in some Michigan institutions.

Senator POMERENE. You were acting simply as his attorney?

Mr. WARREN. Acting in that capacity, not as general attorney. I have never performed any general service for him.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any knowledge of contributions being made to the Republican campaign fund, or any other party campaign fund in 1904 by the American Sugar Refining Co. or Mr. Have-meyer?

Mr. WARREN. I have no knowledge; I would not know anything about it if I did. I had no connection whatever in a general way with them.

Senator POMERENE. Or during the campaign of 1908?

Mr. WARREN. No, sir; no connection whatever with them in any campaign matter, nor did I ever represent them generally in any matter except that which I have mentioned here.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you made collections here during the recent campaign—the primary campaign—and I am limiting my question to the preliminary campaign and not to anything that you may have done since in your capacity as a member of the executive committee——

Mr. WARREN. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Were any of those contributions from men engaged in the sugar business?

Mr. WARREN. Not from men engaged in the sugar business in any other sense than that some of them undoubtedly owned stock in some of the sugar companies. There are 17 sugar companies in the State of Michigan, and there was no general attempt to collect money from people interested in the sugar business, with one exception. I would like to add one name to that list that I recall now. I do not think I named him. It is Mr. Philip H. McMillan, the late Senator Mc-Millan's son. He was one of the contributors. Some of those men are more extensively interested in sugar than they are in other things, and none of them are officers of any sugar company.

Senator POMERENE. And no contributions were made on behalf of any of those sugar companies?

Mr. WARREN. Not a dollar was allowed by me to be received from any corporation—sugar company or any other corporation—and I testify, in addition, Senator, that the Michigan Sugar Co., with which I am connected, has never contributed one dollar to any political campaign for any party for any candidate from its organization until now, and if it had I would have known it.

Senator POMERENE. Is Mr. Oxnard interested in your company?

Mr. WARREN. He is not.

Senator POMERENE. What is the company that owns the plant at Paulding?

Mr. WARREN. The German-American owns the plant at Paulding. The Continental owns the plant at Findley and Fremont, and another up in Michigan, at Blissfield, I believe. It is a very great industry in Michigan.

Senator OLIVER. I was going to ask you a question—it has nothing to do with the case, but for my own information: In the conduct of the beet sugar business, it is necessary to have the factory near the source of supply, is it not? Does not that explain to a certain extent the ownership of more than one factory by the same company?

Mr. WARREN. To be perfectly frank, the six companies that went together to form the Michigan Sugar Co. thought it was a good business move to do it, to lessen the overhead expenses and make a better management, make sugar cheaper, and, as a matter of fact, they have reduced the cost of manufacturing sugar by a very great percentage since they did get together, primarily because of the fact that the best management was taken and extended over all of them. The men who did not know anything about the business, and were trying to do it, but were making a failure of it, were weeded out, and the man who succeeded—the one man—was put in charge, and is in charge yet, and he has made a success of it.

Mr. Warren was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will now take a recess until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Thereupon, at 5.20 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, October 10, 1912, at 10 o'clock a. m.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER, 10, 1912.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

The committee reassembled at 10 o'clock a. m., pursuant to adjournment, for the purpose of resuming the consideration of Senate resolution 79 and Senate resolution 386.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Oliver, Paynter, and Pomerehne.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Laylin will take the stand.

TESTIMONY OF L. C. LAYLIN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, COLUMBUS, OHIO.

L. C. Laylin, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your name, residence, and business for the record.

Mr. LAYLIN. Louis C. Laylin; Columbus, Ohio; Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Laylin, you were connected with the pre-convention campaign of Mr. Taft in Ohio for the year 1912?

Mr. LAYLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What relation did you occupy to that campaign?

Mr. LAYLIN. I had the management of the preprimary campaign in Ohio for the election of delegates from the several congressional districts to the Chicago convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Our jurisdiction as to 1912 includes only the pre-convention campaign, so that in answering any questions you will bear in mind that we have no authority as to anything subsequent to the Chicago convention. You made a statement pursuant to the laws of Ohio, did you not, and filed it, of the contributions and expenses?

Mr. LAYLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall how much that statement showed as the contributions?

Mr. LAYLIN. Between \$65,000 and \$70,000. I would have had the amount exactly if I had had time to have sent for a copy of this report.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand. At this time I will ask you to later get a copy and file it with the committee, but I desire to ask you some questions this morning.

Mr. LAYLIN. I will be very glad to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. What contributions were made, so far as you know, outside of the contributions made by Charles P. Taft?

Mr. LAYLIN. There were contributions by Charles P. Taft, Charles D. Hilles, Hulbert Taft, a son of Charles P. Taft, who resides in Cincinnati, and one or two other contributions that were small; one from a gentleman in Portsmouth whose name I do not recall, but it was only about \$100.

The CHAIRMAN. Was any money, to your knowledge, sent into Ohio in that preconvention campaign for the Taft campaign?

Mr. LAYLIN. I have no personal knowledge of any except, as I have stated, these sums, which came through Mr. Vorys, to me, and I was furnished the names of the contributors and so entered them in my report. These contributions were not all given at one time.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, no.

Mr. LAYLIN. Mr. Taft contributed, beginning as far back as January. The preprimary campaign began in January and ended with the primary in May—May 21—and it is to that period I have referred. These contributions were not all given at one time, and my report will show how they were received.

The CHAIRMAN. What date did you say the primary was held?

Mr. LAYLIN. May 21.

The CHAIRMAN. When was the State convention held?

Mr. LAYLIN. It was held in June.

Senator POMERENE. It was adjourned over?

Mr. LAYLIN. Yes, sir; it was adjourned over.

The CHAIRMAN. How long, as nearly as you can recall, after the primary?

Mr. LAYLIN. It was not over two weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, does your statement include the expenses down to and including the State convention?

Mr. LAYLIN. No; it does not. I had telegraph and telephone and office expenses following that, which were paid, but would not appear in my report, for the Ohio law required the report of the primary expenses. These were succeeding that, but they were not great; they were minor expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, under the Ohio law, you would not file a report of anything that occurred after a certain number of days after the primary?

Mr. LAYLIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the number of days within which you are required to file it under the Ohio law?

Mr. LAYLIN. No; I think it was within 20 days, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall, Senator Pomerene?

Senator POMERENE. I think it is 20 days. It seems to me somebody testified to that a day or two ago.

I see, by referring to section 2 of the corrupt practices act, it provides that this account must be filed within 10 days after the election.

The CHAIRMAN. What relation did Mr. Vorys occupy to the Taft campaign?

Mr. LAYLIN. Well, I had to have means for conducting this campaign——

The CHAIRMAN. I did not hear your answer.

Mr. LAYLIN. I say, so far as I know, he aided in securing contributions for the expense of it. No other relation that I know of. Of course, he was a member of the national committee until he was superseded. My relations with him were only of the character I have explained. He secured money and turned it over to me.

The CHAIRMAN. And you testify that you know of no money being sent into Ohio in the Taft campaign from outside?

Mr. LAYLIN. Well, I know only by hearsay. I had nothing whatever to do with any money that was sent in.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear this from men with whom you were associated during the campaign?

Mr. LAYLIN. No. So far as I now recall, I have given all the sources of contributions that I have any knowledge of. I have no doubt there were other funds contributed from outside the State, but they did not pass through my hands, and I have no personal knowledge of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would you state as being likely to know as to such funds?

Mr. LAYLIN. Well, I can not tell. I do not know who they were. Probably Mr. McKinley would know whether he has any, as the manager of the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but I am speaking of some one in Ohio who would be apt to know as to these facts, in addition to what you know of them.

Mr. LAYLIN. I can not give the names of any persons that I can recall now. Mr. Vorys would know about funds other than those he turned over to me.

The CHAIRMAN. And you testify that all that you know of funds raised in the preconvention campaign and—and by “preconvention” I mean prior to the Chicago convention——

Mr. LAYLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is what appears in the statement you have filed and about which you have testified already?

Mr. LAYLIN. Well, Mr. Chairman, I testified that all that appeared in the report would be made prior to May 21, at the time of the primaries, and then there were some expenses that we had which do not appear in the report, which followed during the two weeks subsequent to the primary and before the State convention.

The CHAIRMAN. But I am speaking now of contributions.

Mr. LAYLIN. No; I have no knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you leave the stand I want to ask you the general question whether you know of anything, any fact or circumstance, relating to or bearing upon the question of campaign funds in the preconvention campaign, applying either to Mr. Taft's campaign or to the campaign of any other candidate, to which your attention has not been directed, or of which you have not testified, and which you now recall?

Mr. LAYLIN. No, sir; unless the scope of your inquiry would extend to a period prior to January 1, when the only expenses we had were paid out of a small fund that we were fortunate enough to carry over from the 1910 State campaign. We kept up a publicity

department during the entire two years, but that only had general application for the welfare of the party; and with that exception I know of nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. You know of nothing?

Mr. LAYLIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea how much that was?

Mr. LAYLIN. Prior to this?

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to the 1st of January.

Mr. LAYLIN. We carried over about \$3,000.

Senator PAYNTER. The money to which you refer is the same money that Mr. Taft and others turned over to Mr. Vorys?

Mr. LAYLIN. I assume that it was; it came through Mr. Vorys to me.

Senator PAYNTER. I suppose it is the same. How much did you say—you have stated but I do not recall the amount?

Mr. LAYLIN. The expenditures of the preprimary?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes.

Mr. LAYLIN. Between \$65,000 and \$70,000.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know how much of it Mr. Charles P. Taft contributed?

Mr. LAYLIN. I should say fully three-fourths of it.

Senator PAYNTER. The balance was raised through Hulburt Taft and others?

Mr. LAYLIN. Yes, sir. Mr. Hilles and perhaps one or two other minor contributors.

Senator POMERENE. It appeared in evidence here that Mr. McKinley sent, as I recall it, about \$20,000 to Ohio during that primary campaign. Do you know to whom that would be sent?

Mr. LAYLIN. No; I do not.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether any part of that came to you?

Mr. LAYLIN. Not to my knowledge. The money that was turned over to me was accounted for, as stated, by the contributors. I have no knowledge of any fund from Chairman McKinley.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether any money was sent directly to the different congressional districts?

Mr. LAYLIN. It may be true, but I had no personal knowledge of it.

Senator POMERENE. I am not entirely familiar with this subject, but if such money was sent I understand that under the corrupt-practices act a statement would have to be filed with the secretary of state.

Mr. LAYLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. That is correct, is it?

Mr. LAYLIN. That is correct as to congressional and State matters. I suppose as regards the contributions made within a county they would be filed with the deputy supervisors and inspectors of election of that county.

Senator POMERENE. You know of no further contributions than those about which you have testified here?

Mr. LAYLIN. No.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all. If you will get a copy of that statement and file it with the committee, we will be very much obliged to you.

Mr. LAYLIN. Yes, sir; I will be glad to file it.

The CHAIRMAN. You may be excused now.

Mr. Laylin was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will now hear Mr. Plant.

**TESTIMONY OF MR. ALFRED H. PLANT, COMPTROLLER OF THE
SOUTHERN RAILWAY CO., WASHINGTON, D. C.**

Alfred H. Plant, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Please give your full name, address, and occupation to the reporter for the record.

Mr. PLANT. Alfred H. Plant, Washington, D. C.; comptroller of the Southern Railway Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Plant, state what, if anything, you know with regard to contributions made for the precampaign convention of any candidate for the nomination for the Presidency in 1912.

Mr. PLANT. I know of no contributions made, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I call your attention especially to Mr. Underwood; whether you know of any contributions that were made in his behalf?

Mr. PLANT. Nothing whatever, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you whether prior to the Baltimore convention, or at the close of that convention, you turned over any funds to anyone in Mr. Underwood's behalf?

Mr. PLANT. No, sir; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of anyone else who did?

Mr. PLANT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Plant, you may state whether there is any fact or circumstance bearing upon or relating to the question of contributions to campaign funds to the preconvention campaigns in 1912 to which your attention has not been called, or about which you have not testified, which you now recall.

Mr. PLANT. Absolutely nothing.

Senator OLIVER. For the information of the committee and the public, Mr. Plant, what relation, if any, did you bear to Mr. Underwood's campaign?

Mr. PLANT. Nothing whatever; no relation whatever, except my acquaintance with Mr. Underwood; nothing beyond that at all.

Senator PAYNTER. Are you from the South, Mr. Plant?

Mr. PLANT. From Alabama.

Senator PAYNTER. I suppose that was the reason why it was supposed that you knew something about contributions.

Mr. PLANT. I rather supposed that to be the case.

Senator PAYNTER. I was wondering what connection you had with him.

Mr. PLANT. He and I are from the same State.

Senator PAYNTER. I recall now how your name was mentioned in connection with the matter.

Mr. PLANT. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You had no connection with the Underwood committee?

Mr. PLANT. None whatever, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. How long has it been since you lived in Alabama?

Mr. PLANT. I left Alabama in 1881.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Plant, your attention has been directed to the Underwood campaign. Did you take any part in or contribute to the campaign of any other candidate, either Democratic, Republican, or Progressive, prior to the several conventions?

Mr. PLANT. I did not.

Senator OLIVER. I would like to ask Mr. Plant just one other question. Did you read the testimony of Senator Dixon before the committee the other day?

Mr. PLANT. Only part of it, sir; that part where he made the statement that I had made a contribution.

Senator OLIVER. Then, Senator Dixon, as I understand you to say, is certainly mistaken with regard to any activities of yours in connection with the raising of funds or contributing of funds to Mr. Underwood's campaign?

Mr. PLANT. That is true, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all. You may be excused.

Mr. Plant was thereupon excused.

Senator POMERENE. Just to make this record complete, I want to ask Mr. Plant another question.

I directed my question to you individually. Do you know of any such contributions being made on behalf of the Southern Railway Co. for the campaigns of any of the candidates prior to the several conventions, either Democratic, Republican, or so-called National Progressives?

Mr. PLANT. There were none, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN D. ARCHBOLD—Resumed.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Archbold, I show you, on page 2206 of Hearst's Magazine of May, 1912, what purports to be a photographic copy of a letter dated March 26, 1900, addressed to Senator Foraker, and purporting to be signed by you. [The same being handed to the witness.]

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes. I have no doubt I wrote the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. It reads as follows:

MARCH 26, 1900.

HON. J. B. FORAKER.

1500 Sixteenth Street, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: In accordance with our understanding. I now beg to inclose you certificate of deposit to your favor for \$15,000. Kindly acknowledge receipt and oblige.

Yours, very truly,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

Mr. Archbold, Mr. Foraker is not at present in the Senate, but our resolution, as it was broadened by the Senate, covers all correspondence between you and Members of Congress and Senators.

I will ask you to state what, if anything, you know in regard to the subject matter of the letter just read?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. The payments made were for the service of Senator Foraker as counsel in our Ohio affairs. That and that only.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have litigation pending in Ohio?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. We had had litigation running for a number of years in Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. I now call your attention to the next letter, which appears on page 2207, and ask you to state if you wrote it. [The same being handed to the witness.]

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no doubt I wrote the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter reads as follows:

APRIL 17, 1900.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I inclose you certificate of deposit to your favor for \$14,500. We are greatly at a loss in the matter, but I send this, and will be glad to have a very frank talk with you when opportunity offers, and if you so desire.

I need scarcely again express our great gratification over the favorable outcome of affairs.

Very truly, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon. J. B. FORAKER,

1500 Sixteenth Street, City.

The next appears on page 2208. Will you examine the first letter on that page. [The same being handed to the witness.]

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no recollection of it, but I would not say I did not write it. I probably did.

The CHAIRMAN. Before I take it up I will ask you to state the subject matter of the one previously read, dated April 17, 1900, referring to the \$14,500. The one I read just before this one.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes. In what respect, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. What does that relate to?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. To the same business relationship. I do not remember distinctly about it, but I should judge, from the tenor of the letter, that we were a trifle surprised at the amount of the Senator's charge, and wanted to have a talk with him about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Reading now the one which appears at the top of page 2208, as follows:

NOVEMBER 26, 1900.

MY DEAR SENATOR: In pursuance of our understanding in our talk over the telephone to-day I now beg to inclose you certificate of deposit to your favor for \$10,000.

Very truly, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon. J. B. FORAKER,

1500 Sixteenth Street.

I now call your attention to what purports to be a photographic copy of a letter at the bottom of page 2208. [The same being handed to the witness.]

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes. I would make the same answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Which reads as follows:

DECEMBER 11, 1900.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Referring to our telegraphic conversation of to-day, I now beg to inclose you certificate of deposit to your favor for \$5,000.

Yours, truly,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon J. B. FORAKER.

I will ask you to what the two letters on page 2208 refer or relate to, the one for \$10,000 and the other for \$5,000?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. To the same relationship, as counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. I now call your attention to what purports to be a photographic copy of a letter signed by you, addressed to Hon. M. A. Hanna, on page 2213 [the same being handed to the witness].

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no recollection of it, but I have no doubt I wrote the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter on page 2213, to which your attention has just been called, reads as follows:

No. 26 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, *January 19, 1900.*

DEAR SENATOR: The matters regarding which I wanted to talk with you this afternoon are those of threatened and very objectionable legislation at Columbus. The first is a bill introduced by Mr. Russell, of Meigs, amending the so-called "antitrust" law in a way that would be most objectionable to every corporate interest in the State. Probably you are familiar with this bill.

The second is a most malicious resolution for an investigating committee to be headed by Griffin, of Lucas, giving them power to investigate pretty much everything within the State, from the supreme court down. The resolution does not limit the expense of the investigation, and authorizes the employment of counsel. It is said to be the intention of the committee to employ Mr. Monnett as its counsel. We want to enlist you actively and promptly to the defeat of these measures. They are undoubtedly inspired by Monnett and his followers, and their purpose is unquestionably of the most vicious character. That appointment of the "marauding" committee comes up by agreement on the 25th, so that it, as well as the other, should be attended to very promptly. Will you do everything possible to compass their defeat? Shall be glad to hear from you promptly.

I inclose you clipping from the Plaindealer describing the Willis resolution.

Very truly, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon. M. A. HANNA,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Archbold, on page 2215, there appears what purports to be a printed copy of a letter. I do not now observe any photographic copy of it. I desire to call your attention to it, and ask you if you recall receiving a letter of that character?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no recollection, no distinct recollection of it whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you made search among your files for letters covered by the scope of this inquiry?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you find any letters?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Not of this character. If you will allow me, Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Just for a moment to refer to this letter which purports to be written to Mr. Hanna regarding the threatened bills in Ohio, if I may be permitted to say, that was the era of so-called strike legislation in the various legislatures; and every fair-minded man who had to do with corporate interests, was called upon to not only defend those interests but to write letters to influential persons with reference to the subject.

If I wrote that letter, that is my excuse for it.

The CHAIRMAN. You are now referring to the letter from you to Senator Hanna?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. Which was just last read into the record?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I now recall your attention to pages 2362 and 2363 of the June, 1912, number of Hearst's Magazine, containing what purports to be a photographic copy of a letter addressed by you?

Mr. ARCHBOLD.— (after examining). I do not remember it, but I do not doubt I wrote the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter is as follows:

OCTOBER 12, 1900.

MY DEAR GENERAL: I have your favor of 10th, and it gives us pleasure to inclose you herewith certificates of deposit to your name for \$1,000 to aid in the good work, and with very best wishes, I am,

Very truly, yours

JOHN D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR,
Athens, Ohio.

Do you know what that referred to?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, I would understand that it was to aid him in his campaign; some campaign that was on at the time. I do not recollect specifically about it.

Senator POMERENE. What year was that?

The CHAIRMAN. That was 1900. I now call your attention to what purports to be a printed copy of a letter addressed to you, found on page 2365. You may examine it [handing paper to witness].

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no recollection of it at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make a search for it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes; I did. I did not find anything. I have no recollection of it at all—1903. A queer time. It may have been something local.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Archbold, I now show you, on pages 2366 and 2367, what purports to be a photographic copy of a letter received by you [handing paper to witness].

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no recollection of the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were unable to find it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. And have been unable to find it. It was stolen from my files if I did receive it.

Senator POMERENE. Do you recognize the handwriting?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. The handwriting looks like Senator Hanna's handwriting. I am not a handwriting expert. It looks like it.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter reads as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, September 15, 1903.

MY DEAR ARCHBOLD: I am in receipt of yours of 14th instant, and wish to thank you for your kind assistance. Your prediction that I will have a "walk-over" does not seem likely. As to the governor, it is true, but the contest for the legislature will be the hottest we have known for 50 years. Johnson is straining everything to that end. We have 30 close counties out of 88, many of which we carried two years ago by narrow margins. Of course Johnson is making every effort to use his money in these contests. Now I am the target, for my defeat means more to J. than anything else he hopes to accomplish. If we lose Cuyahoga County, with its 14 members, it is a close proposition. Daly can help us here and in Toledo, and I want you people to help our State committee liberally. The demands on me are simply awful.

Truly, yours,

M. A. HANNA.

I now show you, on page 2367, what purports to be a printed copy of a letter addressed to you, and on page 2370 what purports to be a photographic copy of the same letter. You will find that printed copy on page 267, and the photographic copy, with its postscript, on pages 270 and 271. You may examine them and see whether you recollect writing them [handing paper to witness].

Mr. ARCHBOLD. They were not written by me.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean receiving them. They are addressed to you.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. That [indicating] is the one we have already referred to.

The CHAIRMAN. It begins at the bottom of the page, as I have indicated there. Hand it to me and I will indicate it with pencil marks. [After indicating.] That is on pages 2367 and 2368, and the other is on page 2370 and 2371. I have turned the leaf down for the photographic copy.

The paper was handed to the witness, who examined the same.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recollect receiving such a letter?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no recollection of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you able to find it in your files?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I did not find it in my files.

The CHAIRMAN. In view of the inquiry made by Senator Pomerene, I will ask you if, in your opinion, it is Senator Hanna's handwriting?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It looks like Senator Hanna's handwriting to me.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read the letter for the record.

UNITED STATES SENATE.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *September 16, 1903.*

MY DEAR JOHN: I am in receipt of yours of the 15th instant, and reply that I can not go East as I can not leave this situation for a day. I know you will do the fair thing, and I want the State Republican committee to get a liberal subscription from you this time. Although the fight is all directed against me, I do not want them to think I am selfish in taking subscriptions from my friends to use in the legislative fight, nor do I feel like bearing the whole burden, as there is more than me interested in the result. There is no haste about it, only we must cut our garments to our cloth.

Sincerely, yours,

M. A. HANNA.

Personal.]

P. S.—Your people can be of great help in Allen County, Hancock and Wood Counties, which, if successful, will secure the election of three members. This whole fight is against the corporations and me as their champion.

M. A. H.

The language of the letter is "State Rep. committee"—as I read it—"State Republican committee." The photographic copy has the words "State Republican committee" underscored, and the word "three" in the postscript underscored; also the word "day" in the first paragraph of the letter itself.

I now call your attention to what purports to be a photographic copy of a letter on page 2373, signed by you [handing paper to the witness].

Mr. ARCHBOLD. This is 1898, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, I beg the witness's pardon. I did not notice that. Well, the other was 1903.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And without looking at the date, it would not be competent under our resolution.

I now call your attention to what purports to be a photographic copy of a letter on page 2376, dated March 20, 1903, purporting to have been signed by you [handing letter to witness].

Mr. ARCHBOLD (after reading letter). I have no doubt I wrote that letter.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter reads as follows:

Personal.]

MARCH 20, 1903.

MY DEAR SENATOR: To our amazement, it is reported that Smith W. Bennett is making a canvass for the attorney generalship in Ohio. Mr. Bennett is a

brother-in-law of F. S. Monnett, recent attorney general, and was associated with Monnett in the action against us in that State. If there is any possible danger, which I can not believe, of Mr. Bennett's candidacy assuming serious proportions, I would like to tell you something of our experience and impressions of the man in connection with that case. I am sure, however, that you will agree that Ohio is not so poorly off as to take that sort of timber for its attorney general. I will be very glad to hear from you on the subject.

Sincerely, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon. M. A. HANNA,
Washington, D. C.

On page 2376a there appears what purports to be a photographic copy of a letter from you. You may examine it [handing letter to witness].

Mr. ARCHBOLD (after reading letter). I would not remember it, but I have no doubt I wrote the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter reads as follows:

Personal.]

MARCH 20, 1903.

MY DEAR SENATOR: We are surprised beyond measure to learn that Smith W. Bennett, brother-in-law of E. S. Monnett, recently attorney general, of Ohio, is in the race for the attorney generalship on the Republican ticket. Bennett was associated with Monnett in the case against us in Ohio, and I would like to tell you something of our experience and impressions of the man, gained in that case. If you know him at all, I am sure you will agree that this candidacy ought not to be seriously considered from any point of view. Monnett, as you know, has gone over, body and breeches, to the Bryan wing of the Democratic Party, but I have no manner of doubt but that Bennett and he are still cheek and jowl in every way.

I would esteem it a favor to have a line from you on the subject.

Very truly, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon. J. B. FORAKER,
1500 Sixteenth Street, NW., Washington, D. C.

I now call your attention to a photographic copy of what purports to be a letter signed by you, dated October 3, 1901, found on page 2367d [handing letter to witness].

Mr. ARCHBOLD (after reading letter). I remember the Bond case. He was the son of a sister, I believe, of Gen. Grosvenor, who was stricken with some lung trouble, and he had to be placed in some locality where it would be favorable for him, and the general wrote me regarding him.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter reads as follows:

OCTOBER 3, 1901.

MY DEAR GENERAL: Referring again to your favor of September 6 regarding Mr. Bond, of Columbus, I have delayed answering, awaiting some report on the matter. I regret to say that I do not now have anything definite to promise of employment for him in the localities named, but if he will decide on a locality which he would prefer, we will send him out and put him on the roll. I am sure that work will be found for him within a very short time, if not immediately. If you will, therefore, let me know what your wish is in the matter, I will endeavor to meet it as nearly as possible.

Very truly, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon. C. H. GROSVENOR,
Athens, Ohio.

Can you state what that had reference to?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have already stated, Mr. Chairman. It was a nephew of the general's, a sister's son, who, being stricken with some lung malady, wanted to be sent for a time to some favorable western climate, and was so sent.

Senator POMERENE. He was in the employ of the company prior to that date?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I don't know whether he was or not, Senator, I am sure.

The CHAIRMAN. I now call your attention to a print of a purported letter from you, dated November 20, 1900, found on page 2376c [handing letter to witness].

Mr. ARCHBOLD (after reading letter). I have no recollection of it, and I do not know to what it refers.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you find my letterpress copy of it among your files?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; no, I did not. I do not know what it refers to, I am sure.

The CHAIRMAN. I now call your attention to a photographic copy of a purported letter from you dated September 27, 1904, found on page 2376f. You may examine it [handing letter to witness].

Mr. ARCHBOLD (after reading letter). I have a vague recollection of having received such a letter, but I can not say positively about it. My recollection is at best vague. I did not find it in my files, of course. If it is genuine, it is among the stolen letters.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you have a vague recollection of it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have a vague recollection of hearing from Gen. Grosvenor.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you familiar with his signature?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes. It looks like his signature.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will read the letter.

At the top of the letter appears "Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, House of Representatives, U. S."; and to the left hand corner are the figures 250.

ATHENS, OHIO, *September 27, 1904.*

JOHN D. ARCHBOLD, Esq.,
New York City, N. Y.

MY DEAR SIR: I have had some correspondence with our mutual friend Sibley which you will understand, and he has suggested that I go in person to see you. It is exceedingly difficult for me to get away from here by reason of my local campaign, but if you think it necessary I will come to New York; but if I do, could I see you on Sunday, the 9th of October. I must make a hurried dash to New York and back, and I would like very much to meet you, if it is possible, at your residence on the morning of Sunday. Could you meet your emergencies just as well without my coming to New York? I think you will understand it, as you know I have come to you for friends, but never for myself, and now there is a great necessity at home. I am not complaining of the general tendency of my campaign, but it is most burdensome and one that requires the utmost care and the utmost ability to meet great emergencies. There are 10,000 coal miners in this congressional district, and there are seven counties stretching from the Ohio River on the south to within 12 miles of Columbus on the north and covering about 45 per cent of the coal output of Ohio. You can see something about what I have got on my hands, with a State committee unable to assist anybody and a fight all myself; alone practically.

Now, if it is best for me to come to New York, please say you will see me as suggested.

Yours, truly,

C. H. GROSVENOR.

Do you recall making any reply to that letter?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any evidence among your files that you replied to it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No; I do not find anything about it. I am sure that he did not come; beyond that the matter is entirely hazy in my mind.

Senator POMERENE. Is it signed by Gen. Grosvenor?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I stated it was signed by C. H. Grosvenor.

Senator PAYNTER. And dated September 27?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

I now call your attention to what purports to be a letter in print, signed by you, dated January 13, 1902, and found on page 2376g. You may examine it [handing letter to witness].

Mr. ARCHBOLD (after reading letter). I have no recollection of it at all. I do not know what a good deal of it means.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you find any letterpress copy of that letter?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir. I do not know what it refers to, I am sure. What is the date of it, Senator Pomerene?

Senator POMERENE. January 13, 1902.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state whether you recall having had any conversation with Mr. Sibley with reference to any Ohio matters.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not recall distinctly any such conversation. It is barely possible that in my meetings with Mr. Sibley there may have been some such conversation, but I do not recall it. It did not fix itself in my mind as being of any great importance.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall anything in connection with the New Jersey Senatorship that year?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not. I do not know who it refers to.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea who the Mr. "G" is?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not know. I have not the remotest idea. I can not think to whom "G" refers. What is the reference to "G"?

The CHAIRMAN. The connection is this:

I can not learn that we or any of our people have taken any active interest in the New Jersey Senatorship matter. What you said to Mr. G met the case thoroughly, and we thank you cordially for it.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It is beyond me. I do not know what it means.

The CHAIRMAN. I now call your attention to a photographic copy of a purported letter signed by you, on page 35, of the July, 1912, number of Hearst's Magazine. You may examine it. [The same was handed to the witness.]

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no doubt I wrote the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter reads as follows:

Personal.]

SEPTEMBER 6, 1900.

DEAR MR. CASSATT: In Mr. Patton's absence I venture to write you on a political question which seems to me of real importance and interest. In the twenty-seventh congressional district L. Emery, jr., the old-time agitator, is running for Congress against J. C. Sibley, of Franklin. Sibley has had, as you know, rather a variegated political career, but he is now again squarely in the Republican fold, and I think sound in every way.

Emery's election would certainly be a great misfortune, and I venture to ask that you do everything possible in the matter in Mr. Sibley's favor, on the sure ground that all corporate and vested interests will have at least fair consideration and treatment at his hands.

With kind regards, I am,

Very truly, yours,

JOHN D. ARCHBOLD.

Mr. A. J. CASSATT, *President,*

Broad Street Station, Philadelphia, Pa.

On page 36 of this number of the Hearst's Magazine there appears a photographic copy of a purported letter, dated October 5, 1900,

appearing to be signed by you. [The same was handed to the witness.]

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not remember it, but I have no doubt I wrote the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter is as follows:

Personal.]

OCTOBER 5, 1900.

DEAR MR. PATTON: In re the Emery-Sibley contest, it is reported that a good many of your W. N. Y. & P. men are actively for Emery, and especially a Mr. Wilmoth, a detective officer of Bradford, Pa., who is said to be working hard for Emery. Judge Logan's department will know about him. Won't you see what you can do?

Very sincerely, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

W. A. PATTON,

Pennsylvania Railroad Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

I now call your attention to what appears to be a photographic copy of a letter addressed to you, dated February 26, 1905, I would say, and appears on pages 37, 38, 39, and 40. You may examine the same. [The same was handed to the witness.]

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, it is to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I say it is addressed to you.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. A man who would write as long a letter as that ought to be killed. I have no recollection of receiving it, but it looks like Mr. Sibley's writing, and I probably did receive it. I do not think I ever read it through before now, though.

The CHAIRMAN. I was going to suggest while you were reading it that it must be a novel experience to you to have to decipher these letters for yourself.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes; and as long a one as that.

The CHAIRMAN. You think it likely you might have received it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I think it likely.

The CHAIRMAN. You were in correspondence more or less with Mr. Sibley?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, yes, indeed.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the handwriting resembles his?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir; it does.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter reads as follows:

[Joseph C. Sibley, chairman.]

COMMITTEE ON MANUFACTURES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES U. S.,
Washington, February 26, 1900.

MY DEAR MR. A.: Yesterday I had a long talk with a friend in the Senate whom you know I have always regarded as one of the strongest men in that body. "Mr. B. a Democrat." He is wholly and unalterably apposed to the Prest's and Garfield's policy vs. corporations. I think he is prepared to make a great fight against the vicious principle that the Gov't. can open my books of reveal my trade secrets because some one thinks I am engaged in making too much money.

He has the courage and the ability to make a legal argument on the floor of the Senate second to no man of that body.

Had you ought not to have a consultation with him some day?

One great man at the proper time would be a "tower of strength and safety."

He comes nearest to-day to being the leader of his party of any one man in it.

If you want to see him think I could arrange for him to call when in N. Y. I put in all day yesterday in the Dem. cloakroom of the Senate, and I guess I answered about 25 different Senators. "What is the trouble in Kansas?" I told them that "it was an attempt to nullify the law of supply and demand."

The cotton growers could as well with their surplus crop this year demand some spinners to pay last year's prices. That increasing production from 6,000 bbls. to 40,000 per day meant a surplus, and in oil as in cotton the surplus fixes the price of the whole crop.

If you think of anything for me to do let me know, but I guess the Members of the H. R., including the Speaker, pretty well understand the situation.

I could quietly give away a dozen or two more of the little books. I have bought and given away many copies of Lloyd's "Newest England," and I think it is doing good work.

If at any time my long scribbles annoy you, chuck them in the basket, but one has at times to pour out wrath somewhere, and I make you the victim.

Sincerely, yours,

JOSEPH C. SIBLEY.

P. S.—In re power to fix R. R. rates.

Mr. B. is for giving power to make rates, but will fight the idea of a separate court. I was sorry not to be able to change his views on that topic.

It appears that the letters on pages 44, 45, and 46 are dated prior to 1900 and not within the jurisdiction of the committee under the Senate resolution.

I now call your attention to what purports to be a photographic copy of a letter signed by you, dated February 13, 1900, to be found on page 47. [The same was handed to the witness.]

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I would not have remembered it, but I have no doubt I wrote the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter reads as follows:

Personal.]

FEBRUARY 13, 1900.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Referring to your note regarding the new California Senator, Senator Penrose had already written me on the subject, and I have asked our people to do everything they can through the Santa Fe. We have no direct relations of any kind with the new Senator, and I am dubious about the efficiency of our effort through the Santa Fe.

Very truly, yours,

JOHN D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon. M. S. QUAY,
Beaver, Pa.

It is "A. S. Quay" here, but it is a misprint. It should be, of course, "M. S."

The letters on page 48-A, a print copy, on 48-B, a print copy, 48-C, a print copy, and 48-D, a print copy, are all dated prior to 1900 and not within the scope of the resolution.

The letters appearing on page 48-E, except the one at the bottom, are also dated prior to 1900 and not within the scope of the resolution.

At the top of page 48f I call your attention to what appears to be a photographic copy of a letter purporting to be signed by you, and dated October 30, 1902. You may examine it [handing paper to witness].

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no doubt I wrote the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter reads:

OCTOBER 30, 1902.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I duly received your favor of 26th. Not because we think we should, but because of your enticing way, I inclose you certificate of deposit for \$10,000. I have heard that you have recently said some disagreeable things about me for which I think you ought to be ashamed.

Very truly, yours,

JOHN D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon M. S. QUAY,
Hotel Walton, Philadelphia, Pa.

At the top of page 48g there appears what purports to be an extract from a letter from you, dated January 5. You may examine

it and see whether you recall anything about it [handing paper to witness].

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no distinct recollection of it—no recollection of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you find anything in your files?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; I do not find anything in my files.

The CHAIRMAN. In the letter to Quay of date October 30, 1902, can you state what the \$10,000 referred to there applied to?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, my recollection of it is vague; but, of course, it was for some campaign matter, or Pennsylvania State matter—Pennsylvania State committee matter.

The CHAIRMAN. It was a campaign contribution of some kind?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. A campaign contribution pure and simple.

The CHAIRMAN. As we can not complete the next volume, the committee will take a recess until 1.30 o'clock.

Accordingly, at 12 o'clock m., the committee took a recess until 1.30 o'clock p. m.

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled at the conclusion of the recess, at 1.30 o'clock p. m.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN D. ARCHBOLD—Resumed.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we had concluded with August. We had concluded with July, and we examined the witness with reference to the letters contained in the August number at the former hearing. On page 5 of the September number of Hearst's Magazine is a photographic copy of a letter dated September 28, 1899. Being prior to 1900 it is not within the purview of the authority of the committee. Mr. Archbold, I call your attention to what appears to be a photographic copy of a letter addressed to you of October 31, 1904, on page 6 of the Hearst's Magazine for September. You may examine it [handing paper to witness]. What do you say of the probability of your having received that?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no recollection of it whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recognize the signature?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, I have seen Mr. Elkins's signature a number of times. I should say, as my general impression goes, that it looks as I have seen his signature, but I could not vouch for it.

The CHAIRMAN. You were in correspondence somewhat with him?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, very, very seldom. I have known him for many years, but had very slight correspondence. We have always been on friendly terms.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your best judgment as to whether you received such a letter?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I really could not express any opinion. It might be that he wrote me the letter; and, of course, among the stolen letters——

The CHAIRMAN. You have found nothing?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have found no answer to it. He is not a Member of Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. The next letter that was addressed to a Congressman or a Senator is found on page 9, where it appears of date June

28, 1898, and is not within the purview of our resolution. The next is on page 12, dated August 3, 1899, and consequently not covered by the resolution, dated prior to 1900. The next is on page 16, to which I call your attention, dated December 4, 1902, purporting to be a photographic copy, with the initials "J. D. A." as the only signature [handing paper to witness].

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no recollection of writing such a letter, but I may easily have done so. It would have been in the regular and ordinary and orderly course of my life as an American citizen to have done, and I have never assigned them.

Senator PAYNTER. Was the party a Member of Congress at the time that letter was addressed?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not know, I am sure. What is the date of the letter?

The CHAIRMAN. December 4, 1902.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not want to call his name. I just want that information, because if he was not a Member——

The CHAIRMAN. 1902. Well, that would not make any difference.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I can not say.

Senator OLIVER. It has no bearing upon our matter.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It is a State matter. He is one of the best judges we ever had in Pennsylvania.

The CHAIRMAN. There are several letters in this copy of September, 1912, which are already public by reason of being published, which relate to judicial appointments, and the committee is of the opinion that it would have no authority under the resolution to go into the matter of the judicial appointments in Pennsylvania—that is, if that meets the approval of the committee. Is that satisfactory?

Senator POMERENE. I think that is true, under the scope of the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say that the committee reaches that conclusion the more readily because they are already published, and anyone who examines them can determine for themselves as to the action of the committee.

Mr. Archbold, I now call your attention to what purports to be a letter address to you, bearing date October 19, 1904, and found on pages 2 and 3 of the Hearst Magazine for October, 1912 [handing letter to witness]. [After the letter had been read by Mr. Archbold:] Did you receive the letter referred to?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. It reads as follows: In the corner, "Chairman, Boies Penrose; secretary, W. R. Andrews. Headquarters Republican State committee, Philadelphia, Pa., 1417 Locust Street, October 19, 1904."

Mr. JOHN D. ARCHBOLD, *New York City, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. ARCHBOLD: I have yours of 13th instant with highly appreciated inclosure, which will be of great service.

With best regards, I am, yours, truly,

BOIES PENROSE,
Chairman.

Do you know what that related to?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir; that was the \$25,000 contribution about which I testified in my last appearance before you or your committee. I have found the letter, strange as it may seem. It simply escaped the hands of the thieves or was rescued from them. It is one of the letters of that date that I have found. [Witness producing letter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you may mark it "Exhibit Archbold No. 1."

The paper referred to was marked "Exhibit Archbold No. 1."

Senator POMERENE. Is that the original, of which this purports to be a photographic copy?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It is; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do I understand, then, from that that this letter was probably photographed and then returned to your files?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It came back apparently in—it came back, as I recall it, in rather a mysterious way. I had forgotten about its return; I did not know of its return when I appeared last before you, but I found it in going over my files. It came back from the thieves. For some unaccountable reason it was returned. It had evidently been photographed in the interim.

The CHAIRMAN. I call your attention to what appears to be a photographic copy of a letter addressed to you dated October 10, 1904, and appearing on pages 4 and 5 of the magazine. You may examine it [handing letter to witness].

Mr. ARCHBOLD (after reading letter). I call your attention, Mr. Chairman, to the fact that that relates only to some minor office—to the candidacy for some minor office in the county of Venango, Pa.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true, but it also relates to your using your influence with——

Mr. ARCHBOLD. On his behalf only.

The CHAIRMAN. With men in your employ or with whom you were supposed to have influence?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no possible objection to the letter. I have no recollection of it at all, but it is possible that it may have been received.

The CHAIRMAN. What would you say of the signature?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, I did not look specially at the signature. [After examining the signature.] It looks like his signature, I should say. I would say that it was most too good to be true, but it looks like it; it generally looks like it. It is much better than he generally writes. I have no possible means of determining whether such a letter was ever received. I have no record of it.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your impression now as to whether it was received or not?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I think it might have been written. I think it is a natural letter for him to write.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

COMMITTEE ON MANUFACTURES.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.,

Franklin, Pa., October 10, 1904.

[Personal.]

Mr. JOHN D. ARCHBOLD,

26 Broadway, New York.

MY DEAR MR. ARCHBOLD: We are in for a pretty hot political campaign in this county. My election, I think, is certain, but the Prohibitionists are active, and in some cases have joined with the Democrats, especially on their candidate for sheriff, and I do not want to see a Republican candidate for sheriff defeated. The objection that is being made to him is because he is a major in the National Guard and went out during the riots. Maj. McElhinney is the gentleman who is running for sheriff. The labor organizations in this county are strong, and they have declared against McElhinney simply because he is a member of the National Guard, and I understand they are antagonizing Dr. Magee, our candidate for the legislature, because of the employment of nonunion labor on his residence. I do not want nor do I think any of us can

afford to have men defeated because they belong to the National Guard of Pennsylvania or because they have employed nonunion labor. I think if you would speak a word to our friend, Mr. Payne, of the National Transit Co., that he could call in a few of the faithful and give the quiet tip.

You have in this county a large number of loyal and good men who would be glad to act in a quiet way according to your wishes, and if this was done I know it would be a wonderful help to us here. Sooner or later every man in public life has got to meet this issue, and when he meets it manfully I think he is entitled to encouragement and support of law-abiding citizens. If the union of the Prohibitionists and the Democrats, plus the labor unions and Socialists, could be defeated roundly, I think it would stop things for a long time in this neck of woods. I think we are going to defeat them, and I have no fear personally as to my election; but if Mr. Payne and our other friends would take a quiet interest in affairs, it would bring every man through with flying colors. May I ask your kind offices in the matter? On many accounts I should prefer that you do not mention that I had written you.

I trust you will believe me,

Appreciatively, yours,

JOSEPH C. SIBLEY.

Here is one, Mr. Archbold, that I guess you will recognize, as the whole letter is in script. It is found on pages 8 and 9, and dated November 23, 1903; you may examine it [handing letter to witness]. [After the witness had read the letter:] What would you say as to having received that letter?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I probably received it, although I have no distinct recollection of it. It was, of course, stolen, and I have no knowledge of the matter. I have no distinct recollection of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You have examined the writing and the signature?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It looks like Mr. Sibley's writing and signature.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., November 23, 1903.

[Personal and confidential.]

MY DEAR MR. A.: A "Rep." U. S. Senator came to me to-day to make a loan of \$1,000. I told him I did not have it, but would try and get it for him and would let him know in a day or two. Do you want to make the investment? He is one who will do anything in the world that is right for his friends if ever needed. Please telegraph me yes or no. I will give you name when I see you. I don't know but what I ought to come over and see you. Events are crowding, and I am on the inside of them, and think I am playing no small hand and want to know whether to go ahead. The nomination of a "Rep." President is not yet settled. No man can safely predict the nominee, and guess I have got hold of the real situation as closely as anyone here. If you need me for any purpose, telegraph me and I will come over.

Sincerely, yours,

JOSEPH C. SIBLEY.

In the photographic copy the word "Senator" is underscored, the word "inside" is underscored, the word "nomination" is underscored, and the letters "Rep." are an insertion. The words "no man" are underscored.

Mr. Archbold, do you know to who that related?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send the thousand dollars?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever have any talk with Mr. Sibley?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not remember the matter ever being followed up at all. I suppose the mere fact, as stated, that the almost incredible condition arose that any United States Senator would ever want to borrow a thousand dollars shut him off from ever speaking of it again. I can not imagine such a thing.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no impression as to who it referred to?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. None whatever. I should say that Mr. Sibley put

it on rather a queer ground. If a gentleman was willing to do what was right he could get a thousand dollars. I never heard of it afterwards if I received the letter, and I probably did.

The CHAIRMAN. On page 10 is a print copy of what——

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I think I ought to add, Mr. Chairman, if you will allow me——

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not want to reflect on Mr. Sibley unfairly in the matter. He was a man of great kindness of heart. Any of you who knew him would know that. I have no manner of doubt that his impulse in the matter, if he was approached in such a way, was altogether kindly and straightforward and honest.

The CHAIRMAN. On page 10 is a print copy of what appears to have been a letter addressed by you, of date, I think, of May 31, 1900. You may examine it. [The same was handed to the witness.]

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no recollection of it. I would not say it was not written, but I have no recollection of it. I think it is a sort of letter I could have written. I do not know what it was about; some pending measure, evidently.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any recollection, or did you find in your files, a letter from the party to whom this letter of May 31 is addressed, bearing date May 29? [The magazine was handed to the witness.]

Mr. ARCHBOLD. May 29?

The CHAIRMAN. If you wrote the letter, you referred in that letter to——

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, no, I have no recollection of what that refers to. I have no recollection regarding it at all. What is the date of it? 1903?

The CHAIRMAN. The letter that purports to have been written by you is dated May 31, 1900, and refers to a letter received by you of the 29th.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no recollection of it at all.

Senator POMERENE. Have you made search of your files?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. To ascertain whether there is such a letter?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes. I did not find anything. The letter to me was undoubtedly stolen.

The CHAIRMAN. I now call your attention to what appears to be a printed copy of a letter purporting to have been written by you, bearing date January 21, 1903, on page 11 of the magazine. You may examine it. [The same was handed to the witness.]

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no recollection of it at all.

The CHAIRMAN. It refers to a letter of "yesterday." Do you recall any letter to which this would have been an answer?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not. I have not the remotest idea what it was about.

The CHAIRMAN. And you found nothing of this in your files?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I now call your attention to a photographic copy of what appears to be a letter addressed to you on pages 12, 13, and 14, bearing date January 15, 1904. You may examine it. [The same was handed to the witness.]

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Is this printed? I can not read the writing.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. I think you will find it on page 16a.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It is undoubtedly Mr. Sibley's letter, and I undoubtedly received it, for I find in my press book a copy of my answer to it. There were three or four communications with reference to that luncheon later. Perhaps you would care to have them now?

The CHAIRMAN. I want to put them in in order.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. There are the copies made from my letters to him on the subject. I wanted specially to answer, for, if I remember rightly, Mr. Roosevelt thought that no such conversation had ever occurred with Mr. Sibley.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Exhibit Archbold 2."

The paper referred to was marked "Archbold Exhibit 2," and shown to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Exhibit Archbold 2?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. A copy of a telegram addressed by me to Mr. Sibley, dated January 6, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Your kind telegram received. Please express my high appreciation and great regret that it is utterly impossible for me to go to Washington this week. Will be glad to hear more fully from you by letter.

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

Senator POMERENE. What is the date of that?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. January 6.

Senator PAYNTER. What is the date of the Sibley letter?

The CHAIRMAN. January 6.

I now read the letter found on pages 12, 13, and 14 of the magazine, which the witness has just identified, reading as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., Wednesday, January 6, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. ARCHBOLD: Your telegram received. Sorry you can't run over for a day. Think it most important that you know the situation. The President was "delighted" to know that he had been misled as to the attitude of the S. O. Co., or, rather, "delighted" to know that the report was untrue. I think you can put in a very profitable hour over here. I know who told him, but I can not repeat it. I asked you and Mr. Rogers a question at the lunch table yesterday that, if you chance to remember it, may afford you a clue. I much prefer that you learn the situation from the President's own lips and not from me. He urged strongly that you come over and meet him, and said he wanted you at luncheon where he could have a quiet talk with you. I can not solve the motives of the ones who put him on the wrong track, but he was there, and told me the story, so far as I would let him do so. I finally said, "Please do not tell me, but if Mr. Archbold comes over, you tell him."

In official life the invitation of the President is regarded in the nature of a command, and our friend probably construes it so, as strongly as any one. Should you wish to meet him, or wish not to do so, please tell me and I will make excuses or arrangements as you indicate. If you can't run over this week, can you come next? You will get a first-class reception and will have a great surprise. I shall keep track of matters here and will advise you of any matters of general interest. The puzzle, however, is no longer a Washington but a New York one, and the New York situation is Greek to me.

Please command me in any way, and believe me,

Sincerely, yours,

JOS. C. SIBLEY.

The "book business" fetched down the game the very first shot. You had better read at least the titles of those volumes to refresh your memory before you come over. The boy has just told me you would call me at 7 o'clock on phone.

J. C. S.

I first call your attention there to what was meant by the question which he states here he asked you and Mr. Rogers at the luncheon table the day before, if you recall.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No; I do not, I am sure. I have not the remotest idea of what it means.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the reference to the book business?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, I do recall some silly talk, referring to an original statement, probably by me to Sibley, with reference to the pleasure I had in reading the colonel's books, especially *The Winning of the West*; and he apparently made much of it.

The CHAIRMAN. In one of these letters he refers to a little book. Do you know what he meant by that?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, I do not know; some book that he thought was very pertinent to the issues of the time. I never saw it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Reporter, you may mark this "Exhibit Archbold No. 3."

The paper referred to was accordingly marked "Exhibit Archbold No. 3."

Exhibit Archbold No. 3 was handed to the witness.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Shall I read my own composition?

The CHAIRMAN. Just state what it is.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. This is a letter addressed to Mr. Sibley by me, dated New York, January 8, and marked "personal."

The CHAIRMAN. You may read it.

Mr. ARCHBOLD (reading):

EXHIBIT ARCHBOLD No. 3.

Personal.]

JANUARY 8, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. SIBLEY: I duly received your kind telegram and letter and answered the former promptly with great regret, asking you to express my appreciation for the kind suggestion that I lunch with the President and my great regret that I could not do so this week. We are going through, as you can well understand, a perfect avalanche of first of the year matters, and my relation is such to many of them that I feel that I can not leave at the moment. I judge, however, that the matter of a week or so will not make any special difference, and if the President would like to have me then I can undoubtedly go.

Everything jogging along as usual with us here—everybody waiting with the most intense interest for news from the Far East. I most earnestly hope that war will be averted, but fail to sympathize in the Wall Street scare about it. It seems to me that it would likely be a benefit to this country commercially, rather than an injury.

Very truly, yours.

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

Hon. J. C. SIBLEY,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. This paper will be marked "Exhibit Archbold No. 4."

Senator POMERENE. Do I understand that this is from your copy book?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. State what Exhibit No. 4 is.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It is a letter addressed by me to Mr. Sibley, dated January 12, 1904, as follows:

EXHIBIT ARCHBOLD No. 4.

MY DEAR MR. SIBLEY: Many thanks for your kind letter of the 9th. I appreciate very highly, indeed, the great courtesy of the President, and would not,

for the world, have him think that I do not properly value his kind suggestion that I lunch with him. I hope to go to Washington for a few days as soon as the first of the year rush is a little past, and if he wants me then I will esteem it a great favor and privilege. Of course, he must be the judge as to the wisdom of the matter.

With many thanks for your kind offices, I am,
Very sincerely, yours,

JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

HON. JOSEPH C. SIBLEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Exhibits 3 and 4 are taken from your letterpress book?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. They are taken from my letterpress book.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you the book here?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; I did not bring the book.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, when you were before the committee on a former occasion some question was raised as to whether you had a receipt from Mr. Bliss for the \$100,000. Have you made a search for that?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have made a search for it, Mr. Chairman; but on reflection, after my appearance before you, I remember distinctly, as one of my associates also does, that before Mr. Rogers died we went over a mass of old matter and that, among other things, was destroyed. We did not consider it of any possible value; we did not regard it as a thing of pleasure to look at, and we destroyed it.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated on your former examination that Mr. Rogers died, I think you stated, in 1904.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. In 1905, it appears in the printed record, Mr. Chairman. That is an error.

The CHAIRMAN. When did he die?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. In 1909.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, have you all your files from January, 1904, intact?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Files of letters received by me?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; or written by you.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I imagine not—not certainly received by me. I do not know what date it occurred or how long it continued. I have forgotten just the limit, and I doubt whether my files go thoroughly back, but I have gone over them all very thoroughly and I do not find anything that would come under the scope or that would be of interest to you.

The CHAIRMAN. You started to state how this original letter marked "Archbold Exhibit No. 1" came back to you.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes. It came back with two or three others, as I now know, by the contact of one of my friends with one of the parties to the theft. He had the letters with him at the time and was showing him a sample of them and my friends just kept possession of them. This happened to be among them. He only had three or four. One other I had with me has a little bearing on the matter that was spoken of by me—I do not know whether it was referred to by Col. Roosevelt or not, but it is just a note from him. It is not important. If you wish to see it, you are at liberty to have it [handing paper to the chairman]. That and the Penrose letter, and one other that has no bearing whatever, was taken from the thief or one of the parties concerned in the theft by this friend. It is of no significance except as showing the friendly attitude of Col. Roosevelt

after a period in 1904, when he, I think, has conveyed somewhat the impression that he considered me under the ban.

The CHAIRMAN. You may mark this [indicating] "Exhibit Archbold No. 5." [Exhibit Archbold No. 5 shown to the witness.]

Mr. ARCHBOLD. This is a letter addressed to me, dated at the White House, Washington, April 26, 1904, and signed "Theodore Roosevelt:

EXHIBIT ARCHBOLD 5.

MY DEAR MR. ARCHBOLD: I am in receipt of your letter of 25th, and shall carefully take up the name of your brother-in-law with the hope that I can promote him.

Sincerely. yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Archbold, the fact that some of your letters and files having been taken has been the subject of some discussion in times past. In view of some of these letters being part of this record, you may state the circumstances, so far as they are within your knowledge, of the loss of your letters and files—when they were taken, as near as you know, and by whom, and what efforts were made to recover them.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the courtesy of the opportunity. My statement is necessarily of a general character. I, of course, know that the letters were stolen, and that my books and my office were pillaged in every way. My books were taken out and photographed and the files of my letters—my letter files—were rifled. This extended over quite a period, just how long I have never been able to determine, and I am in that position with reference to a charge as to who it was, that I can not make a definite statement regarding it. I have strong suspicions, of course, but, as I say, proof is a different thing, and I would have to be guarded in my statement regarding the matter. My opinion is that one of the principal parties to the theft is dead and the other is unavailable in every way. Probably his testimony would be all as against anything that I could say or prove in the matter, where there is no definite proof. The course of the letters is, of course, beyond any sort of question. It needs no proof to know or needs no assertion on my part to show that they went into Mr. Hearst's hands, and that he has used them as, of course, the world knows.

I want to say in reference to the matter that I do not consider that there is a letter of mine published among all this number that is the subject of just criticism. They are such letters as the representative—as I was—of a large business interest would write to people concerned with the question of legislation affecting that interest. I never made a request of any man in any position that meant any infraction of an existing law or the creation of a new law that meant any special privilege. They were such letters as I would write again under similar circumstances. Of course, conditions have changed with reference to the question of contributions since the passage of the law forbidding the making of contributions by corporations. We have, of course, carefully observed that; that would not be repeated, but other features I certainly would repeat on occasions.

I love my country. I believe, with the same ardor,—with as great ardor as that of any man. I have the same right to make recommendations as to appointment to office as any man. I should con-

sider it an evil day for this country when the question of making recommendations for office and grabbing for office should be left to men of the Hearst ilk. It would be a fateful day, and I have no apology whatever to make for any letter here published.

I want, if you will permit me, to say one further word with reference to the outrageous charges that have been made against Mr. Sibley. Mr. Sibley was an honored Member of the House of Representatives here for many years. He has been my life-long personal friend and business associate. There has never been any possible secret relation between us. His relationship to us in business and mine to him in business are perfectly understood by his constituency always.

We both live in the same section and were known to the people there, and he had his popularity there, with the full knowledge of his constituency with reference to his relation to me, personally and in business. The charge that he was my agent here in any unfair way with reference to legislation is wholly untrue, and not less monstrous, but more monstrous, is the charge against Senator Penrose.

I must ask you to let me make that record again, that the alleged relation of my contribution of the year 1904, or our contribution of the year 1904 through Senator Penrose, to the action of the Industrial Commission is a monstrous distortion, and it is amazing that a man in Col. Roosevelt's position has taken the stand that because of this charge before you in his testimony—that because of this charge, Senator Penrose should be expelled from the Senate—it is a monstrous expression to have been made. I never asked Senator Penrose to do an unfair thing. His relations to me have been of the standing of a lifetime, but I ask the most careful scrutiny as to the question of that relationship ever exceeding the bounds of ordinary and orderly intercourse with reference to business. That is the answer I have to make with reference to those letters. I have never gone beyond in my correspondence, so far as I know, and I have no possible desire to go beyond the question of what is regular and orderly in connection with the questions of legislation. I have no purpose to serve. Of late years we have had no special relation here to serve in any way. Our former relation, especially to the tariff question, was done away with under the Payne-Aldrich bill, and that which had theretofore been a most fair and just provision of our tariff laws, that there should be an automatically reciprocal relation on the part of this country to any other country, in that if they charged a duty on the admission of our product—petroleum—into their country, the same product coming from their country to ours should bear the same tariff charge—that was done away with, unfair as it was. It was a thing that affected the producer of petroleum more than it did us, the manufacturer, but a most unjust prohibition of tariff affairs in the advocacy of that clause. We have no other relations here excepting that which benefits every citizen of this country, and as a citizen of the country, and as a corporation, we want to obey its laws and to live under it, and go on extending its commerce.

That is our position in the matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been able to find any other paper or document than those you have presented to the committee bearing upon the subject of our inquiry?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have not, Mr. Chairman. I have gone as carefully as my somewhat limited time would allow over this matter, and I do not find anything that would have a relation to this matter or that would be of interest to you.

The CHAIRMAN. These letter books and letter files were in your private office?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. They were.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first discover that they were missing?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I ought to have a memorandum of that date, but I did not do it. My impression is that it was late in 1906.

The CHAIRMAN. That you discovered the fact that they were missing?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Of missing something; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Archbold, since you were before us the other time the scope of our inquiry has been further enlarged to include the campaign contributions to the preconvention campaigns of 1912. You may state whether you made any contribution to the preconvention campaign of any candidate for the Presidency of 1912.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Senator, perhaps you will allow me one minute in making a somewhat personal explanation.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Mr. Roosevelt on the stand, speaking of the luncheon invitation, put me in the very peculiar attitude of having been taken to luncheon—brought, as he said—to luncheon at Oyster Bay, at his residence at Oyster Bay by Senator Bourne. I want to say to you that I am not accustomed to accepting invitations at third hand to luncheon at gentlemen's houses. The facts of the matter, if I may state them, were that at one of my visits to the White House at President Roosevelt's request always, or suggestion, he spoke of knowing of the return of my son-in-law and daughter—my daughter and her husband—from an African hunting expedition; they were just at home, and he said, "I must have you bring them here to luncheon with me. As soon as I get down to Oyster Bay I will send you word as to the time." We reached Oyster Bay on the day set by him a little bit late for luncheon—a number of people being present, and luncheon being under way, and we found the place of honor reserved on the President's right for my daughter and on his left for myself. I feel constrained to make this explanation because I am being somewhat ridiculed for having gone to his house without any invitation. We were, of course, at his invitation. Senator Bourne would hardly have presumed to have invited not only me, but my son-in-law and daughter under any such condition. I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, referring to my inquiry as to contributions for the preconvention campaign of this year, 1912.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I know of no such contributions. It is possible that some have been made by individuals, but I do not know of any.

The CHAIRMAN. You have made none yourself?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have made none myself.

The CHAIRMAN. And do not know of any that have been made?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Archbold, before you finish I want to ask you if there is any fact or circumstance bearing upon the question of contributions to the presidential campaigns and congressional cam-

paings of 1904 and 1908 and the preconvention campaigns of 1912 to which your attention has not been directed, and about which you have not testified, which you now recall?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not recall any such contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. You were quoted, after leaving the former hearing—I have forgotten the term—as expressing yourself to the effect that there were matters in your knowledge that had not been called out, and that is why I asked you this question, if there is anything?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have probably been quoted in all sorts and variety of ways; but as affecting this question which you have specifically asked, I am bound to answer “No.”

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing that you know of?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Archbold, the correspondence with Mr. Sibley led you almost to the door of the White House, but did not take you in. Was that correspondence followed by a visit to the White House?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Not at that time; no.

Senator OLIVER. Not at that time?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No. The matter went along and it simply seemed to drop.

Senator OLIVER. There has been some allusion in the public prints to a visit or visits that you paid to the White House. Have they any bearing upon this inquiry?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No bearing upon this inquiry.

Senator OLIVER. You have stated, brought out in your voluntary explanation, something I intended to ask you about your relations with Mr. Sibley.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Sibley is a member of the firm of Miller & Sibley, is he not?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir; Miller & Sibley, under the corporate name of the Galena Signal Oil Co.

Senator OLIVER. Your corporation, before its dissolution, was a large stockholder in that corporation?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It owned a majority of the stock in that corporation.

Senator OLIVER. Your relations with Mr. Sibley and with Gen. Miller, therefore, for a long term of years were of a close business and personal character?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. They have been.

Senator OLIVER. And Mr. Sibley in writing so freely to you was evidently occupying that standpoint, rather than as a mere representative of the Standard Oil Co. in Congress?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. That is true.

Senator OLIVER. I wanted to bring that out in Mr. Sibley's behalf.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. That is true.

Senator OLIVER. I know him very well and respect him very highly, as everybody does who knows him.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. That is true. He is a nice fellow.

Senator OLIVER. He is a very fine fellow.

Now, Mr. Archbold, have you, since your return, read an article in Collier's Weekly, published within a few weeks, with regard to these letters?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I glanced at the article; I have not read it.

Senator OLIVER. I am sorry you did not read it, because I would like to examine you somewhat about it. You do not know the particulars of the proof that the writer in Collier's brings to show that these so-called photographic copies of the letters are not actual copies?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No; I have not studied the matter to judge of the importance of the article and the correctness of the production. My own feeling about it, if I may say so, Senator Oliver, is that there is nothing in the letters that I would at any time have objected to publishing. I am very sorry that they appeared, however.

Senator OLIVER. I understand that you do not deny the authenticity of the letters as published.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir.

Senator OLIVER. But this article goes on to show that the photographs are not in reality photographs of the copies; and if they were changed in one particular they may have been changed in phraseology in many other particulars.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. But as you did not read that article, I will not go further into it.

Senator PAYNTER. You mean the article in Collier's?

Senator OLIVER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It would seem that anybody who would be a party to a theft of a person's correspondence and to its use in such a way as this was used might easily be guilty of anything.

Senator OLIVER. I simply wanted to bring out the fact that the party who has obtained possession of these letters, no matter by what means, has not scrupled to doctor them, to a certain extent at least.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. None in the world.

Senator OLIVER. Now, with regard to that letter, your letter to Senator Penrose, transmitting \$25,000, it has been openly charged by one—and I rather think by two newspapers inimical of Senator Penrose, that this money was not obtained by him as a political contribution, but as a personal contribution.

I call your attention to the fact that this letter, "Exhibit Archbold No. 1," is written upon the letterhead of the Republican State committee, at 1417 Locust Street, Philadelphia, and is signed by Boise Penrose, chairman. It shows undoubtedly, does it not, that it was a contribution by your company to the campaign then pending—the presidential campaign then pending—to be used by the Republican State committee of Pennsylvania?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It does, and that was the purpose of the contribution. It is a monstrous charge.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Archbold, were you at the White House in 1904?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. In 1904—I do not know.

Senator PAYNTER. That was the year of the presidential campaign.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not recall that I was.

Senator PAYNTER. The letter, or the photographic copy of the one purporting to have been written by Mr. Sibley, was written in 1904, I think it was?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes; I think it was.

Senator PAYNTER. And reference is made there to the fact that the President had been wrongly informed with regard to using letters there to indicate the Standard Oil Co. Did you ever learn in any way what was referred to in that letter, if you have investigated it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, if I did at the time, Senator, it has gone from my mind.

Senator PAYNTER. You do not recall?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No; I do not recall; nor do I recall who Sibley refers to at all in his reference to the matter.

Senator PAYNTER. Some one, whoever wrote the letter, seemed, from Mr. Sibley's point of view, to have misrepresented your position?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know whether it referred to politics or not?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not know. And possibly our attitude toward the President, our feeling toward him—but, as I have stated, I am without distinct recollection about the matter.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you remember the luncheon at Oyster Bay?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not remember the date.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not mean the exact date, but approximately.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It was the summer of 1908.

Senator PAYNTER. The summer of 1908?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes; it must have been the summer of 1908. In 1901 I went abroad. 1908 it was.

Senator PAYNTER. I did not know but what it was at an earlier date than 1904.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No; 1908.

Senator PAYNTER. The letter also that purports to have been written by Mr. Sibley to you says that a United States Senator wanted to borrow a thousand dollars?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Is there any suggestion in that letter that this Senator sought through Mr. Sibley to borrow a thousand dollars from the Standard Oil Co. or from you personally?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have no knowledge whatever.

Senator PAYNTER. I say, do you understand this letter as meaning that this man was seeking, through Sibley, to borrow from you? Or was it on Sibley's own motion?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I think it was on Sibley's own motion. I do not suppose the Senator had the remotest idea he was going—

Senator PAYNTER. There is nothing in the letter that suggests that he wanted to borrow it from the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No. I think that is a very good point to bring out.

Senator PAYNTER. I was simply talking about the thing that was in the mind of the Senator who sought to borrow the money from Sibley.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He undoubtedly thought he was going to Sibley personally.

Senator PAYNTER. And then Sibley, if he wrote that letter, wanted—

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He was willing to have somebody else furnish the money.

Senator PAYNTER. Of course I have not the remotest idea who was the Senator.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Neither have I.

Senator PAYNTER. I haven't the remotest idea who is the Senator at that time that he had in mind, but I simply wanted to call your attention to the fact that there is nothing in that letter, as I understand it, that indicates that the Senator was seeking to get money from the Standard Oil Co.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Nothing whatever.

Senator PAYNTER. Sibley had the reputation of being quite a rich man himself, had he not?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes; and a generous man; but he seems to have been a little snug just at that moment.

Senator PAYNTER. I understand, Mr. Archbold, that you have made a search of your records, but could not find any other letters bearing upon this question?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. That is true.

Senator PAYNTER. There is another question I want to ask you: Did Mr. Hearst ever offer to return these letters?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No.

Senator PAYNTER. Or advise you that he had possession of them?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, no.

Senator PAYNTER. Has he ever told you how he got possession of them?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No. I never have known of any statement from him regarding the matter, except the characteristic one that they were handed to him by a friend.

Senator PAYNTER. I have never heard the explanation at all. You say that has been the explanation of Mr. Hearst?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. That was his own statement, as I recall it.

Senator PAYNTER. That was his explanation?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes; that they had been handed to him by a friend.

Senator PAYNTER. You say he has never offered to return them to you?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, no.

Senator POMERENE. Have you ever sought to get possession of them by legal proceedings or otherwise?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; I have not. I have talked about the matter with counsel, and have been advised that probably that was part of the notoriety that Mr. Hearst was seeking; that if I did not care about the letters that their recovery would mean that he would still have the photographs of them; they said if it meant nothing to me that I had better leave it alone. I did not care anything about the letters myself. I am exceedingly sorry if they have had some hurtful effect on others, for if used as they were, they probably did—used from time to time. It is my belief that they were simply used in connection with political matters in a way to be hurtful to people.

Senator POMERENE. If I understood you correctly, you stated that you first became aware of the fact that your files had been rifled when you were hunting for something.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. That is my recollection.

Senator POMERENE. And could not find it.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you remember when that was?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I think it was in 1906; I would not be sure as to the date.

Senator POMERENE. Have you at any time discovered when the letters were in fact taken?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No.

Senator POMERENE. You have spoken of the fact that pages in your books and records had been photographed?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. How did you discover that fact?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. By the publication of the copies.

Senator POMERENE. You knew nothing of it until they were copied publicly?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No. The publication of this mass of letters that are here is a very great surprise to me.

Senator POMERENE. You have stated also that perhaps two letters which you have produced here were first photographed and then returned to you by a friend to whom they were shown.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Who was that friend?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Mr. F. T. Barstow, a business associate of mine, who died some years ago.

Senator POMERENE. He was one of the directors of your company, was he?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He was. This man came to him with them, and wanted to get a price for them. As I recall it, he thought he could get more for some of these letters from us than from the man he was stealing them for, and Mr. Barstow just grabbed the letters and put them in his pocket.

Senator POMERENE. You have no knowledge of that transaction except such as he related the matter to you?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No, sir; that is all.

Senator POMERENE. Did he advise you at that time who the person was?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. He did.

Senator POMERENE. Do you have any objection to telling who it was?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I would rather not.

Senator POMERENE. That is because of possible legal difficulties?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir. I do not see how it could serve any useful purpose here.

Senator POMERENE. I will not insist upon it, under those circumstances.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Thank you.

Senator POMERENE. I can understand how some difficulty might arise.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I thank you very much.

Senator POMERENE. When you were on the stand before you said you would produce this receipt, if you could, and that you would also produce copies of your book entries showing this contribution. Have you got those entries with you?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have not. I have had such search made as I could since my return home a few days ago, but I did not find the entries.

Senator POMERENE. You found no entry of the \$100,000?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No entry of the \$100,000 on such books as I have access to. The money was handed to me, as I recall, either by Mr. Rogers or by Mr. Howe, and they are both dead.

Where it was entered I did not find. Of course, my relation now is only with the one company, the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, and it is not on their books. Where it was entered I could not say.

Senator POMERENE. Is it likely that you had that amount of cash in the office at the time that it was contributed?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. From wherever it was drawn from it was drawn in view of the promise of the obligation.

Senator POMERENE. If that be true, then it was certainly not withdrawn earlier than a few days before the contribution was made, was it?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Probably not, and yet I do not know. Mr. Rogers was a man who sometimes had large sums of money available; he often had, as I know.

Senator POMERENE. You have your bank books, I assume?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Well, I suppose they are there. It has all been changed in the dissolution and the readjustment of our business. There were, of course, a great number of companies—Mr. Rogers was connected with a number of companies from which he could have gotten this amount of money.

Senator POMERENE. A large concern like yours necessarily kept bank books and cashbooks, and by placing an expert accountant on those books you can certainly trace that \$100,000 item?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It might be that it would be possible to do so.

Senator POMERENE. Will you do so for the committee?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I will have to remind you, Senator, that I have no official relation with any but the one company, and I can not undertake to go into the affairs of any company of which I am not now related, as I am advised. I would be very glad to make any inquiry I can.

Senator POMERENE. You do not mean to suggest to the committee that where there is a question in controversy as to whether or not the Standard Oil Co. contributed \$100,000 to a specific purpose, that any of your former business associates will not gladly furnish you, or give you access to those books?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. If they will I will be very glad to do anything I can. But my own ability to make the inquiry is now limited to the company with which I am officially related, as I am advised. It would have to be a matter of inquiry.

Senator POMERENE. I assume as between yourself and your business associates, this would not be an advisory matter?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not think it would be, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. And I think that that information should be furnished to the committee.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not know where to go to look for it. May I, with all deference, ask the question as to how important it is? There is no manner of question about the payment of the money, and that is the essential feature.

Senator POMERENE. There is to some extent a suggestion that the money has not been paid, and there is a further suggestion made to

the committee that if it was paid that it was probably refunded. Now, it seems to me that in view of your having taken one position here, it becomes important that we have all of the evidence either on the one side or the other that we can obtain.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And to that end, on behalf of the committee, I make the request that you furnish us with such tangible evidence as you can.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I will be very glad to make such further inquiry I can. I repeat again, and without any possible reservation, that the money was paid, and that it was not refunded.

Senator POMERENE. And was paid by you yourself?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. And was paid by me to Mr. Bliss, just as I have testified. I don't want any man to tell me it was not.

Senator POMERENE. I am not suggesting that.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I understand, Senator; I understand you are not.

The CHAIRMAN. Right at that point, if there are books——

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Available.

The CHAIRMAN. That might show this account, which you have been advised you have no jurisdiction over, will you advise the committee as to whom to apply?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I will if I can. I will talk with counsel about it.

Senator POMERENE. Is your recollection now distinct that that receipt was destroyed?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I remember distinctly coming to it and saying, "Well, here is something that is absolutely valueless." I am mighty sorry about it, but it is the fact.

Senator POMERENE. Your attention has been called to certain correspondence, and you were served with a subpoena to produce any correspondence relating to financial transactions between yourself and George W. Perkins and Col. Theodore Roosevelt. Have you any correspondence with either or both of these gentlemen pertaining to such transactions which you have not produced?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have not.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any knowledge of any such correspondence?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have not.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any correspondence with any Representatives in Congress or Members of the United States Senate from the year 1900 to the date of the investigation provided for herein other than that which you have produced?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not recall anything that would be of interest to your committee in this investigation.

Senator POMERENE. Have you made a search of your files to ascertain whether or not there was any such correspondence?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have.

Senator POMERENE. It is your present belief, fortified by the investigation you have made, that there is no such correspondence?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. That is true.

Senator POMERENE. With any Congressman or any Senator?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I know of none.

Senator POMERENE. If you ascertain in the future there is any such correspondence, will you produce it before the committee?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I will be very glad to. Or if you get any information from any source that would give me a clew I would be only too glad to follow it up.

Senator POMERENE. Was Congressman Sibley looking after the legislation which you might have had in mind during the time he was in Congress here?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Not more than a man in friendly attitude and in business and personal association would naturally do.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any knowledge of any further correspondence which would shed light upon the matter of the campaign contributions for the campaign of 1904 other than what you have given?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have not.

Senator POMERENE. Or for the campaign of 1908 other than what you have given?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have not.

Senator POMERENE. Or for the preconvention campaign of 1912?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I have not.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Archbold, were you ever at a courthouse when cases were being tried?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. A suit in law?

Senator PAYNTER. I do not mean any particular suit.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, yes.

Senator PAYNTER. If you should institute a suit against Mr. Bliss, if he were living, to recover this \$100,000, and you testified that you had paid it to him, and then you would prove that he had exhibited his books and showed you were credited with it, would you think the court would have much trouble or much difficulty to arrive at a judgment in your favor, that you were entitled to recover if he had received it?

I say, suppose you had instituted a suit against Mr. Bliss to recover it, and he was alive; that you testified you had paid it to him, and then you proved by reputable gentlemen, at least men who seemed to be such, that Mr. Bliss had exhibited his books, showing you had paid it to him. Do you think a judge would have much trouble in finding the fact you had paid him the money?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I do not think so.

Senator PAYNTER. You think the judgment would go to you under such circumstances?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I think so; yes.

Senator PAYNTER. There has been mention of additional testimony, and I was just attempting to state what was going through my mind.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. If Mr. Bliss were alive, there would be no question about the matter.

Senator POMERENE. In one of these letters you refer to Mr. F. S. Monnett and Mr. Smith Bennett. They were respectively the attorney general and assistant attorney general of the State of Ohio in charge of the proceedings begun against the officials of the Standard Oil Co. for alleged contempt of an order made some years previous by the supreme court of the State of Ohio, dissolving the trust agreement between several of the constituent companies of the Standard Oil Co., and also enjoining them from further prosecuting the object of the trust as contained in that agreement.

Those are the gentlemen, I believe, who were connected with that litigation.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. They were connected with all that litigation in Ohio. I do not know that I remember specifically the case to which you refer. The case which was decided in Ohio was that of the Standard Oil Co. of Ohio alone. The action was against it, as I remember it.

Senator POMERENE. The original action was begun by Attorney General Watson——

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. For the purpose of dissolving the trust agreement entered into by sundry companies?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, no; it was as against the Standard Oil Co. of Ohio to compel the Standard Oil Co. of Ohio to withdraw from the so-called trust agreement.

Senator POMERENE. I think if you will consult the reports of the supreme court you will find that you will want to modify that statement.

There was a trust agreement made by sundry companies under which stock was turned over to a number of stockholders—Mr. Rockefeller and others—to carry out the purposes of that trust. That agreement was dissolved and the companies and trustees were enjoined from further prosecuting the purposes of that agreement.

Now, then, the proceedings with which Mr. Monnett and Mr. Bennett were connected were begun in the supreme court, alleging a contempt on the part of these trustees in having violated the order of the supreme court. I think you will find that that is the fact.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It may be. That was all a good while ago. In the matter of the State of Ohio litigation, I supposed it referred only to the Standard Oil Co. of Ohio. It may be so.

Senator POMERENE. I think it is in 49 Ohio State Supreme Court Reports, as I recall, although I will not be sure of that.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. I would not undertake from memory to give the course of the matter there. It was a long, drawn-out affair.

Senator OLIVER. I will ask you one more question which I omitted. Copies of letters, or what purport to be copies of some letters, from the late Senator Hanna to you have been introduced here.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. I just want to ask you about the length and nature of your acquaintance with Senator Hanna. I happen to know something about it.

Mr. ARCHBOLD. My relations with Senator Hanna were almost lifelong. We had known each other through all the years in a personal and business way before he went into politics.

Senator OLIVER. His letters to you would therefore partake more in the nature of letters of one close personal friend to another?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Certainly so.

Senator OLIVER. His letters to you would therefore partake more in the nature of letters of one close personal friend to another?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Certainly so. And he and his family were related with the oil business in a very considerable way.

Senator OLIVER. There is one letter there of yours to Senator Quay transmitting \$10,000. Was that or was it not a political contribution?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. Oh, it undoubtedly was a political contribution. I never had any other possible relation with Senator Quay than that.

The CHAIRMAN. When you were before the committee on a former occasion, if I remember correctly, you were at a loss to recall in what form the \$25,000 was sent to Senator Penrose. Does the letter which you offer refresh your memory in any way?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. It looks as though it had been made by check, or probably by certificate of deposit.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think of anything else at this time or recall anything else?

Mr. ARCHBOLD. No.

Mr. Archbold was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES D. HILLES, NEW YORK, CHAIRMAN REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Charles D. Hilles, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. You may give your name in full, address, and occupation for the record.

Mr. HILLES. Charles D. Hilles, New York, chairman of the Republican national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The resolution under which we are proceeding has been enlarged so as to cover the preconvention campaign of 1912 as to all the various candidates who were candidates for nomination for the Presidency. Our jurisdiction does not come this side of the nomination.

What connection, if any, did you have with the preconvention campaigns of any of the candidates in 1912 for the presidential nomination?

Mr. HILLES. I had not an official connection. I was interested in the renomination of the President. I was sympathetic with that movement.

The CHAIRMAN. What relation did you sustain to the President during that time?

Mr. HILLES. I was the Secretary to the President.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any knowledge as to contributions that were made in his behalf?

Mr. HILLES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior, of course, to the nomination.

Mr. HILLES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any record of such contributions as you have knowledge of?

Mr. HILLES. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state, so far as you can, what contributions you have knowledge of—by whom made, the amounts, and, as near as you can, when.

Mr. HILLES. I have not any record of any contributions, and I have not any knowledge of any contributions of any sums for the preconvention campaign that have not been included in the testimony given by Mr. McKinley, a copy of which I received last night and have read.

The CHAIRMAN. You have read his testimony?

Mr. HILLES. I have read his testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Having read his testimony, you state now that you have no knowledge in addition to what he has stated.

Mr. HILLES. I have no knowledge of any sums contributed that are not included. I have one memorandum with respect to a contribution of thirteen or fourteen thousand dollars made to Mr. McKinley in Chicago at the time of the convention. I found that memorandum yesterday or a day or two ago.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom was that made?

Mr. HILLES. There were several persons who contributed a total, Mr. McKinley says, of about \$14,000. I have a record of only \$12,000, I believe. I can give those names if you like.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state them.

Mr. HILLES. H. M. Byllesby—

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where he lives?

Mr. HILLES. Chicago. These are all Chicago. H. M. Byllesby, \$1,000; George M. Reynolds, \$500; John G. Shedd, \$500; James A. Patten, \$1,000; Max Hart, \$250; A. G. Becker, \$250; Julius Rosenwald, \$5,000; Max Pam, \$2,500; Fred S. James, \$100; Joseph E. Otis, \$500; Henry Siegel, \$500.

As I say, these made up, in part at least, a fund of thirteen or fourteen thousand dollars, which seems to have been subscribed to Mr. McKinley in Chicago, practically at the time of the convention. He told me of it at the time, and I seem to have this memorandum.

I had knowledge of many other contributions to which Mr. McKinley has testified—the contribution of Senator Crane, of members of the Taft family, of Secretary Knox and Attorney General Wickersham, and the others as reported by Mr. McKinley. In addition, the presence of Mr. Glover here this afternoon has suggested that, I think, Mr. Glover gave \$500. I am not sure whether it was his own contribution or whether it was transmitted through him.

There was also a contribution from J. H. S., in the form of a New York draft, if I recall, for \$2,000. I do not know who J. H. S. was or is.

I have not any knowledge of any other contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. Was your attention called to the testimony of Mr. C. P. Taft yesterday?

Mr. HILLES. No, sir; I saw only what appeared in the morning papers.

The CHAIRMAN. He testified to contributions by himself, and also it either appeared in his testimony or perhaps the testimony of the Assistant Secretary of the Interior—

Mr. HILLES. Mr. Laylin?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; of a contribution by Mr. Taft's nephew, Hulburt. Now, do you know of any contributions being made by any other members of the Taft family except by C. P. Taft and by Hulburt Taft?

Mr. HILLES. Also by Henry W. Taft.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did he contribute, do you know?

Mr. HILLES. My impression is that his contribution was \$2,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Aside from what you have testified to, and in that, of course, Mr. McKinley's testimony is taken as part of your own.

Mr. HILLES. Yes, sir; I have no knowledge of everything to which he testified, sir; but aside from the data I have given you his testimony contains everything of which I had knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. I say, treating that as part of your testimony, is there any fact or circumstance bearing upon the question of contributions to the preconvention campaigns, either of Mr. Taft or of any other candidate, to which your attention has not been called and that you now recall?

Mr. HILLES. You say with respect to the other candidates. Do you mean to inquire whether I have information with respect to the contributions to the campaigns of other candidates before the convention?

The CHAIRMAN. What I mean is this, Mr. Hilles, that we desire, of course, to get all the facts bearing upon these several campaigns, and I had up to that point asked you certain specific questions.

Mr. HILLES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, before I dismiss that, I want to ask you the general question, so that if there is anything that you now recall to which your attention had been previously called or which you have not testified to, you might state it, so that you might not afterwards say that——

Mr. HILLES. I do not recollect anything, sir. I would be very pleased to have a chance to make this statement. Mr. Laylin testified this morning that he received a contribution from me for the campaign in Ohio. I know that statement was part of his sworn statement to the secretary of state. I was somewhat embarrassed to find that I was alleged to have contributed \$4,200 for that campaign, because it was not a personal contribution; it was a contribution from the Taft bureau, and I think I delivered that contribution in the form of a draft; therefore, it seems to have been credited to me.

The CHAIRMAN. That is probably how that occurred.

Mr. HILLES. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. That is part of the McKinley——

Mr. HILLES. Yes, sir; part of the fund charged to Ohio by McKinley.

The CHAIRMAN. You are credited with having stated, either in an interview or speech, or by writing, substantially as follows:

Roosevelt spent millions of dollars of Harvester Trust money to gain the Republican nomination.

Have you made any statement like that?

Mr. HILLES. I think I am responsible for that statement, sir; at any rate, I assume the authorship of it.

The CHAIRMAN. And what do you say to that?

Mr. HILLES. Well, I have written a letter to Mr. Perkins. As I understand it, I am indebted to Mr. Perkins for the suggestion that I should come before the committee. He wrote me to that effect at any rate——

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Hilles, you would naturally, as one of the active participants in the Taft campaign, have been called before the committee, of course.

Mr. HILLES. I am glad that I would not have been overlooked. But Mr. Perkins has called my attention to that, and has demanded the statement, and I have written him a statement which I would be very pleased to give to the committee, either read it to the committee now or have you read it if you will.

The CHAIRMAN. You may read it to the committee as your statement under oath.

Mr. HILLES. This is addressed to Mr. Perkins, the chairman of the executive committee of the Progressive Party, and is as follows:

HILLES EXHIBIT A.

OCTOBER 9, 1912.

GEORGE W. PERKINS, Esq.,

Chairman Executive Committee, Progressive Party, New York City.

DEAR SIR: In your letter of recent date you question my assertion that millions of dollars of Harvester money were expended in the effort to nominate Mr. Roosevelt.

Your letter suggests two grounds of complaints, namely, that I said there had been a campaign expenditure of millions of dollars, and that I alleged that Harvester money had been used. I will deal with these two points separately.

First, as to the amount expended. The public has not been furnished with statements as to sums received and disbursed by you and your allies, and the careless business methods of Chairman Dixon in handling campaign funds, as shown by his testimony before the Senate committee, indicate that no accounts or records were kept from which any reliable statements could ever be compiled. But there are other ways of ascertaining the amounts expended, and particularly by estimating the easily ascertainable cost of the things that were done. Five or six of Mr. Roosevelt's witnesses have already admitted that they expended approximately \$667,000. This was exclusive of the money spent in eastern Pennsylvania; in Maryland, where a vigorous war was waged; in West Virginia, where Mr. Edwards and others were said to have been lavish with money; in Maine, Vermont, and Connecticut; in Tennessee, where it was freely reported in the public press that William J. Oliver (who did not succeed in getting Secretary of War Taft to award him the Panama Canal contract) was making his money and influence felt in Indiana; in Illinois, where there was fierce fighting throughout the State; in Michigan, which was also a real battle field; in Missouri, where there was much activity; in North Dakota, where Mr. Roosevelt vainly appeared in person to engage in hand-to-hand combat with Senator La Follette; in Senator Dixon's State of Montana; in Washington, Oregon, California, and South Dakota; in Texas, where Cecil Lyon was reported to have used large sums of money; in Oklahoma, where Mr. Priestly, the rich oil and gas operator, was an eager giver; and in Louisiana, where two contesting delegations were set up.

In addition to the above expenditures enormous sums were spent by the Roosevelt management in fomenting strife and creating nearly 200 contests in the Southern States and in transporting the fictitious claimants to Chicago and paying their hotel expenses while there for three weeks supporting their pretensions. It was these 200 contestants whose claims were finally admitted by the Roosevelt managers themselves to be totally unsupported, insufficient, and dishonestly put forward—"set up," as Mr. Munsey, one of your responsible leaders formally announced, "for psychological effect as a move in practical politics."

Then, there was Ohio. I am informed by men in that State who are experienced in matters of political management that what was done by the Roosevelt managers there shows an expenditure of not less than \$300,000. One item alone on which this conclusion was based may be mentioned for illustration: State-wide newspaper advertising, at commercial rates, indicated a cost of \$50,000.

Another State in which money was expended by the Roosevelt managers with a lavish hand, and from which no report has been received by the Senate committee, is Massachusetts, where special trains were run and a general campaign conducted. For instance, the advertising in Massachusetts newspapers during the pre-convention campaign from actual measurement of the space occupied, is calculated to have amounted to not less than \$100,000.

Hon. Timothy L. Woodruff, now of your party, stated in April last that William Flinn told him that he had expended almost \$250,000 in Pennsylvania and was willing to expend as much more to nominate and elect Mr. Roosevelt.

There was evidence on every hand of the expenditure of large sums of money in Mr. Roosevelt's behalf, and his pre-convention campaign expenses undoubtedly amounted to not less than \$2,000,000.

With respect to the assertion that Harvester money was used in the campaign, certain undisputed facts permit no other reasonable conclusion. Although you have been active in the organization of several trusts, your most distinctive personal achievement was the formation of the International Harvester Trust. Since its organization you have been a dominant factor in its management. You organized the trust in 1902; you were its promoter; you brought together the five chief manufacturers of harvester machinery in the United States. They had before that for many years been engaged in active competition. On August 12, 1902, the company was organized with a capital stock of \$120,000,000. The promotion fee was \$3,451,000. Before bringing the five manufacturers together you had acquired an option on a sixth plant which your interests were to back. In January, 1903, a few weeks after the Harvester Trust commenced business, its finance committee, through you as its chairman (you conducting the negotiations), secretly acquired its largest competitor, namely, D. M. Osborne & Co. The purchase of this company was concealed for several years, and during the period of concealment the Osborne Co. was widely advertised and solicited trade as an independent concern.

As a feature of the combination the owners of the five constituent companies delivered all their stock in the Harvester Co. to three voting trustees, who issued stock-trust certificates. You were at the outset, and have continued to be, one of the voting trustees, and, with your two associates, have had absolute control over the election of every director of the International Harvester Co. during the 10 years of its existence. As you and your two associates have held all the stock, there have been no bona fide stockholders' meetings. There was a further provision that a large proportion of the voting-trust certificates should be deposited and withheld from sale for 10 years, for the purpose of insuring control. There is no executive committee. The finance committee practically has absolute power. When the board of directors is not sitting, the finance committee has the power of that board, and when the finance committee is not in session the chairman of that committee (yourself) has all the powers of the committee. To all intents and purposes, therefore, you have been the Harvester Trust.

In the year 1907 it was the purpose of the Government to prosecute the Harvester Trust. It was quite apparent that civil and criminal proceedings were about to be instituted when you took a hand in matters, and in as short time thereafter the subject was sidetracked. The inquiry by the Government was begun in 1906 under the direction of Mr. Townsend, of the Department of Justice, who recommended prosecution. On February 21, 1907, the Attorney General transmitted Mr. Townsend's report to the United States attorney at Chicago and instructed him to take up the matter, with a view to the institution of a prosecution. Before action was taken, you and Mr. Herbert Knox Smith, the Commissioner of Corporations, went to see President Roosevelt at Oyster Bay, and the Harvester Trust was not prosecuted. It is a matter of record that Commissioner Smith stated that you told him that if the Harvester Trust was to be attacked, interests represented by you were going to fight. Thereupon Commissioner Smith wrote to President Roosevelt that "it is a very practical question whether it is well to throw away now the great influence of the so-called Morgan interests." During the remaining 18 months of the Roosevelt administration the Harvester Trust was not prosecuted.

When you formed the Harvester Trust you created a monopoly controlling from 85 to 90 per cent of the business in harvesting implements, which constitute by far the most important class of agricultural implements. The leading articles are binders, mowers, rakes, reapers, twine grain binders, tedders, hay rakes, sweep rakes, hay stackers, hay loaders, corn shredders, and huskers. During the 10 years the trust has been in business it has expanded into nearly every line of agricultural implements, so that to-day it makes everything that the farmer uses except plows. By virtue of the power of its monopoly in harvesting implements it has been able to extend and to build factories to manufacture its new lines. Its chief new lines of manufacture are farm wagons, manure spreaders, cream separators, gasoline engines, cultivators, harrows, and other implements. In 10 years the properties of the company have increased in value from \$120,000,000 to \$220,000,000. In the same period there have been paid to the stockholders by way of cash and dividends (including present surplus) a further sum of \$80,000,000. If we estimate 6 per cent per annum as a reasonable return upon the original capitalization the investors would have received in 10 years \$72,000,000. It

therefore appears that the stockholders have profited, in addition to a liberal return upon the original capital, to the extent of the enormous increase in the valuation of the properties.

Your denial of my statement can not be understood as implying that you have had any moral objection to causing political contributions to be made by corporations controlled by you, for there is at least one episode in your career which indicates the contrary. There is still fresh in public memory the contribution of \$50,000, made in behalf of the New York Life Insurance Co., to Mr. Roosevelt's campaign in 1904—made with your knowledge and while you were an executive head of that company.

It is perfectly plain that enormous sums of money were expended to procure the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt after it had been loudly proclaimed that he had been forced to run only because of the spontaneous uprising of the people, and that you were one of his political financial backers.

Senator Dixon testified that when they became desperately hard up "they always went back to Perkins." You do not open your books to show how much you have contributed or where you got it. Reasonable people will seek some motive for enormous depletions of a man's private fortune for political purposes. The explanation that is made in your behalf is that you have entered upon the pursuit of philanthropy, and that Mr. Roosevelt is the only man who can save the country and make it a fit place for you to rear your children in. But at the same time you have been in effective control of one of the most oppressive trusts this country has ever known, and you still cling to your connection with this monopoly. Men may well doubt, therefore, whether the sole motive for your political activities is the emancipation of suffering mankind from social injustice.

There is a fact full of significance, namely, that the Harvester Trust itself is silent as to whether it has contributed anything. It permits you, however, to go on with your political activities and to bring its affairs conspicuously into public notice. Why does it do this unless it is itself interested in your endeavors? Whether justly or not, your conduct is subjecting it to the suspicion that it is trying to elect Mr. Roosevelt in order that it can get rid of Government prosecution. Is it strange that the man in the street concludes that the failure to insist upon your retirement from the trust indicates that some motive must be lurking in the background which is very powerful, and will he not conclude that you and your "interests" have been to the candidacy of Mr. Roosevelt "as rivers of water in dry places, as the shadow of a great rock in a dry land"?

Sincerely, yours,

The CHAIRMAN. When was this statement prepared that you have just read?

Mr. HILLES. Yesterday—not yesterday; it was rewritten yesterday, prepared the day before.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the names of the witnesses who had testified at the time this statement was prepared that Col. Roosevelt's preconvention campaign had caused the expenditure of \$667,000?

Mr. HILLES. Perhaps—no; I have not the list with me, sir. As I recall Mr. Bliss's testimony, his contribution was \$143,000; I think Mr. Hooker testified to \$144,000; Mr. McHarg to an expenditure of \$30,000; Mr. Hanna to a contribution of \$177,000, and I may perhaps have forgotten one.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hanna testified yesterday, did he not?

Mr. HILLES. Yes, sir; I corrected that; as I say, it was rewritten—the correction was made.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Flinn testified last week?

Mr. HILLES. Yes, sir; and Mr. Hooker had testified earlier, and Mr. McHarg testified this week.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of these men had testified at the time that you made the statement?

Mr. HILLES. I think not one of them—probably not one of them—because that statement was made on the 22d of September. But I had knowledge of the activities of all these men, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but in response to that statement you now file an answer, or whatever you have in mind to call it, in which you justify that statement upon the evidence of men who have given the evidence subsequent to your original statement. Did you have that in mind when you stated that Roosevelt spent millions of dollars of Harvester Trust money to get the Republican nomination?

Mr. HILLES. Do you mean did I have in mind that these men would testify?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HILLES. Of course, I knew they would. Your committee was sitting then.

The CHAIRMAN. But did you have in mind that their testimony would account for \$600,000 of these alleged millions?

Mr. HILLES. Well, I felt absolutely sure that these men would testify, or that it would be brought out that they had contributed that much; yes, sir.

Indeed I thought Mr. Hooker had received more than he testified to. I had assumed that he had received more.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a lawyer by profession?

Mr. HILLES. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought not. When you made this statement that Roosevelt had spent millions of dollars of Harvester Trust money to secure the nomination, did you have in mind that these men would testify to amounts in the aggregate of approximately what you have stated in your statement of October 9?

Mr. HILLES. I had this in mind, Senator, that it is possible for this committee to ascertain the amounts expended by Mr. Roosevelt and his supporters in the preconvention fight, and if the amounts are ascertained I have the belief that the total will be \$2,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but I am speaking now, Mr. Hilles, of what you based your statement of the 22d of September upon.

Mr. HILLES. On what I knew and had heard and had seen prior to the convention and at the convention. All these amounts had been expended, of course, prior to the time this was written, which was September 22.

That, by the way, is a quotation from some newspaper. I have not claimed credit for it. The very opening paragraph of the statement says that it is a quotation from a paper out in Washington, I think—Orville, Wash.

The CHAIRMAN. This does not indicate that; however, I do not want any misunderstanding about it. I called your attention at the outset to the statement credited to you.

Mr. HILLES. I said I assumed the authorship of it.

The CHAIRMAN. So that it does not really make any difference whether it is a quotation or not?

Mr. HILLES. Except that it is incidental.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any information upon which you based that statement, other than what appears in the typewritten copy which you have just read and handed to the committee?

Mr. HILLES. Well, I had a very great deal of information at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this paper "Exhibit Hilles A."

The paper referred to was marked "Exhibit Hilles A" and handed to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any information outside of that stated and embraced in "Exhibit A"?

Mr. HILLES. The information on which these statements were founded——

The CHAIRMAN. But I am asking you now whether you had any foundation when you made the statement that Roosevelt had spent millions to secure the Republican nomination, other than that which appears and is referred to in "Exhibit A"?

Mr. HILLES. Well, Mr. Senator, I was in Massachusetts during the preconvention fight, and in Ohio and New York and New Jersey and Maryland, and I saw the newspaper advertisements and the billboards and passed the special trains, knew of the special trains, and saw the activity that ordinarily obtains in a general campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HILLES. So that I had that information at first hand, and I had some information as to what that sort of entertainment cost. I had statements at the convention, prior to the convention, from men in the several States as to what the so-called opposition seemed to be expending in those States.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were those statements from?

Mr. HILLES. From men in practically every State in the Union.

The CHAIRMAN. I am speaking now of matters that are not within "Exhibit A"; and if there is any misunderstanding I desire to make that plain. I ask you now what information you had, if any, other than that contained in Exhibit A and referred to in Exhibit A.

Mr. HILLES. No; I haven't any. I thought you were asking for the foundation for the statement.

The CHAIRMAN. No; I am glad you called attention to it, because I would not want any misunderstanding.

Then, at the time you made the statement that Roosevelt had spent millions of dollars of Harvester Trust money to gain the Republican nomination, you had no information upon which to base that other than what appears or is referred to in Exhibit A?

Mr. HILLES. I think that is so; yes, sir. I do not recall anything other than that. I made a conscientious effort to put it all in; I am not conscious of having overlooked anything.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any knowledge or information of the Harvester Trust contributing to Mr. Roosevelt's preconvention campaign other than that stated and referred to in Exhibit A?

Mr. HILLES. Nothing. Nothing other than that.

The CHAIRMAN. I ask you now a general question which we ask of all witnesses to refresh your memory if there is anything—whether there is any fact or circumstance that you now recall bearing upon contributions to the preconvention campaign of 1912 as to any of the candidates other than what you have stated or to which your attention has been called?

Mr. HILLES. I think not, sir; not so far as I know.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Hilles, the testimony brought before this committee so far up to date shows the expenditures in behalf of Col.

Roosevelt's campaign for the Republican nomination for President in the following States only: New York, Massachusetts, Oklahoma, Illinois, Maryland, Maine, Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Ohio; in nine States. What is the figure you gave in your letter to Mr. Perkins?

Mr. HILLES. The amount that had already been reported?

Senator OLIVER. Yes.

Mr. HILLES. \$667,000. I am bound to say that I have relied upon the newspaper reports of your proceedings; I have not verified it in the record.

Senator OLIVER. I think that is approximately correct.

Mr. HILLES. I have taken that from the New York newspapers.

Senator OLIVER. I presume that in figuring out your conclusions you just adopted the rule of three, that as 9 States is to 48 States, so is \$660,000 to the answer, and then you made a liberal deduction?

Mr. HILLES. No; I did not do it that way. Because there was more money expended in Ohio and Massachusetts than in many of the other States. For example, I think there was very little expended in Nevada. I was told at the time of the convention that their expenditures there were probably not in excess of \$2,000. There was very much more expended in Missouri. There was a relatively small amount spent in Iowa. There was much more expended in Kansas and Illinois.

You speak of having returns from nine States. I did not understand, Senator, that that is a complete report from those States.

Senator OLIVER. No.

Mr. HILLES. You have not the reports?

Senator OLIVER. But Mr. Hooker testified that all of the money handled by him went into one or the other of these several States, mentioning them—New York, Massachusetts, Oklahoma; some I think to Illinois; yes, to Illinois; Maryland, Maine, and Vermont.

Mr. HILLES. And in all of these States that was supplemented by the local contributions.

Senator OLIVER. Oh, naturally; but that is what he testified to, and he gives the amount that he expended.

Mr. HILLES. But his statement has not been reconciled with Mr. Hanna's. He states that he received \$25,000 from Mr. Hanna, and Mr. Hanna said under oath that he had given him \$50,000. Am I correct about that?

Senator OLIVER. Yes; but in justice to that end, with which I do not have much sympathy, I will state that Senator Dixon also alludes to a contribution of \$25,000 from Mr. Hanna, and no doubt those two make up the sum of \$50,000.

Mr. HILLES. I see.

Senator OLIVER. Then Mr. Flinn accounts for \$143,000 or \$144,000 in Pennsylvania. Mr. Hanna, in addition to the \$50,000, which is included in Mr. Hooker's and Mr. Dixon's statements, acknowledges \$127,000 in Ohio.

Mr. HILLES. That does not include the purchase price of the newspaper, of course.

Senator OLIVER. He does not go into the particulars. Mr. Dixon, of course, accounts for \$144,000 scattered throughout these different States and gives a pretty scattering account of how it was expended.

Now, I want to ask you, Mr. Hilles, this question: You have spoken of the large amount expended in advertising in Massachusetts.

Mr. HILLES. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Do you know anything about, or has it been brought to your attention, the activities of Mr. Lawson in Massachusetts?

Mr. HILLES. It is only hearsay, Senator.

Senator OLIVER. Did you read an open letter addressed—I will state here that Mr. Hale, who represented Massachusetts, who is the head of the Massachusetts Roosevelt propaganda, testified here yesterday as to the amount of the total expenditure; the total amount expended on behalf of Col. Roosevelt in the preconvention campaign in Massachusetts. I do not remember the total sum.

Senator PAYNTER. I think it is \$53,000.

Senator OLIVER. About \$53,000. Did you happen to read an open letter addressed some time ago, which was published in the newspapers, from Thomas W. Lawson to Mr. William J. Bryan, in which he stated that he, Mr. Lawson, had contributed almost or about \$100,000 toward advertising the Roosevelt interests?

Mr. HILLES. Yes. And there was every evidence of the return of his money in Massachusetts.

Senator OLIVER. I have not access to a copy of that. Can you obtain a copy of one of the newspapers containing that?

Mr. HILLES. I think I can.

Senator OLIVER. Will you send it to the committee?

Mr. HILLES. It was freely reported to us when we were in Massachusetts that Mr. Lawson stated that he had bet \$100,000 on Roosevelt and that he would spend \$100,000. But that, as I say, is only hearsay.

Senator OLIVER. In this letter, as I read it, he stated that he had expended \$100,000 in Massachusetts.

Mr. HILLES. In advertising. That would be in addition to what Mr. Hale testified yesterday about; that would be in addition to the sum testified to by Mr. Hale yesterday.

Senator OLIVER. I was not informed on this yesterday, or I would have certainly asked Mr. Hale about it.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Hilles, in your statement with regard to the Harvester Trust, you said a fee of \$3,000,000 and more was paid. Did you mean to the secretary of the State or to somebody having charge of corporations that received that amount of money?

Mr. HILLES. No, sir; I say to Mr. Perkins, "You were the promoter, and the fee to the promoter was \$3,451,000."

Senator PAYNTER. That is what I understood. I just wanted to see if my understanding was correct.

Mr. HILLES. Paid in stock, as I believe, sir—7 per cent stock.

Senator PAYNTER. You said that concern did not manufacture plows, I believe.

Mr. HILLES. That is the only exception, I think. Everything else that the farmer uses, except plows.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, the steel corporation does not manufacture plows, does it?

Mr. HILLES. I do not know as to that.

Senator PAYNTER. I hardly think it does.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Hilles, can you inform the committee as to whether this International Harvester Trust is to be classed as a good trust or a bad trust?

Mr. HILLES. Well, apparently, it was a good trust; but the times have changed. It is being prosecuted now by the Government. It was not prosecuted until last autumn.

Senator POMERENE. Well, if there should be an interstate trade commission and Mr. Perkins were placed on that commission, would it be a good or a bad trust?

Mr. HILLES. I rather think I have said enough about him for one day; and I have confined myself to the facts, except this—I do not mean that I have not confined myself to the facts except this; I mean I have not said this: That here is a trust reduced to the point where he is the whole thing. He is one of the three voting trustees, and the condition was for 10 years. He was to have a block of stock deposited insuring the control. That trust has paid dividends equal to approximately 7 per cent on the original capitalization of \$120,000,000. In addition to that it has \$100,000,000 in value to-day that it did not have 10 years ago.

I submit that the farmers of the country paid the piper and the promoter. I think they have fattened at the expense of the farmer to the extent of \$100,000,000 over and above a reasonable return on their investment; and if the farmer paid it primarily, I fancy the ultimate consumer paid it later.

Senator POMERENE. From what source do you get these figures?

Mr. HILLES. I got them from the Government suit that is on in Chicago now. These facts have come out in the suit.

Senator POMERENE. In the testimony?

Mr. HILLES. In the testimony; yes, sir. And if this trust has, in addition to paying a reasonable return, 7 per cent on the money invested, given an increase in value of \$100,000,000 at the expense of the farmer and therefore of the consumer, he has his full share of responsibility for the high cost of living.

Senator POMERENE. Are you able to state what the actual value of these properties was which entered into the formation of the International Harvester Co.?

Mr. HILLES. I think they agreed upon their values in 1902. I am stating this from memory; I have not the facts before me. The total capitalization and assets of the five constituent companies in 1902 was \$110,000,000. They gave up their stock and received in exchange the stock of the International Harvester Co., which was issued to the extent of \$120,000,000. That paid the expenses of the merger, the fee to the promoter, and perhaps some ready cash for the transaction of the business. As I say, this last statement is purely from memory.

Senator POMERENE. Where did you get your information as to voting trustees?

Mr. HILLES. I get that from the same source. The Government has brought that out, sir.

Senator POMERENE. In the testimony?

Mr. HILLES. Yes, sir; in the testimony.

Senator PAYNTER. You probably saw the statement that Mr. Wilson made the other day with reference to the Steel Trust, by which

the public understood he charged that the Steel Trust was supporting Col. Roosevelt. Do you remember that statement?

Mr. HILLES. I did not read that; I saw the headlines only.

Senator PAYNTER. I had in mind if that were true, and they did manufacture plows, that the Harvester Co. and the Steel Corporation were manufacturing most of the things which the farmers used. But, as I understand, the Steel Trust does not make plows?

Mr. HILLES. I do not know as to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hilles, before retiring, is there anything now that you recall to which you have not testified, or to which your attention has not been called?

Mr. HILLES. Senator, I do not think of anything.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you.

Mr. HILLES. I do not think of anything.

Mr. Hilles was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will adjourn until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Thereupon, at 4.15 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, October 11, 1912, at 10 o'clock a. m.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1912.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

The committee reassembled at 10 o'clock a. m., pursuant to adjournment, for the purpose of resuming the consideration of Senate resolution 79 and Senate resolution 386.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD T. STOTESBURY, OF PHILADELPHIA, PA., BANKER.

Edward T. Stotesbury, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Please state your name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. STOTESBURY. Edward T. Stotesbury; Philadelphia, Pa.; banker.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you connected with the banking firm of Drexel & Co.?

Mr. STOTESBURY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you are practically at the head of that firm.

Mr. STOTESBURY. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stotesbury, the resolution under which we are acting authorizes us to inquire into the question of contributions to the campaign funds for the presidential and congressional campaigns of 1904 and 1908 and the preconvention campaign of 1912. Beginning with 1904, what, if anything, do you know of contributions to the campaign fund in that year, 1904?

Mr. STOTESBURY. In 1904 I collected funds in Pennsylvania from Pittsburgh east.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any record of what you collected?

Mr. STOTESBURY. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you it with you?

Mr. STOTESBURY. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you produce it?

Mr. STOTESBURY (producing books). I collected \$165,795.50.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a summary of the collections?

Mr. STOTESBURY. Yes, sir; the list is in the book there. I say that is the amount I collected—\$165,795.50.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Now, have you a list of the contributions?

Mr. STOTESBURY. It is in the book. Each page gives the name of each contributor.

The CHAIRMAN. You may mark this book "Stotesbury A."

The book was accordingly marked.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stotesbury, what is Exhibit A?

Mr. STOTESBURY. It shows the list of contributors to the campaign fund alphabetically and also as to trades and firms that I collected the money from.

Senator PAYNTER. That was in 1904?

Mr. STOTESBURY. In 1904; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This account is quite a long account, and you can leave the book with the committee. The committee will subsequently give it more specific examination, and later the book will be returned to you.

Mr. STOTESBURY. Very well.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you tell us—as the book is rather a voluminous one—the amount of the subscriptions collected, if any, which were turned over to the national committee?

Mr. STOTESBURY (examining book). All this money was turned over to the national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. All of it?

Mr. STOTESBURY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That covers it?

Mr. STOTESBURY. Yes, sir; with the exception of some bills or expenses which I took out before I turned the money over.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you happen to know of any contributions that were made in 1904 which were not collected by you, and, consequently, do not appear in your account?

Mr. STOTESBURY. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. These collections were for the Republican campaign?

Mr. STOTESBURY. The Republican campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, as to the campaign of 1908, do you know anything of contributions made to either the presidential or congressional campaigns of 1908?

Mr. STOTESBURY. I collected money in 1908 for Pennsylvania.

The CHAIRMAN. You have list of that?

Mr. STOTESBURY. I have a list.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you kindly submit it?

(Mr. Stotesbury here submitted the books called for.)

The CHAIRMAN. You may mark this "Exhibit Stotesbury B."

The book referred to was accordingly marked "Exhibit Stotesbury B."

The CHAIRMAN. What is Exhibit B? Just give a description of the exhibit.

Mr. STOTESBURY. It shows the names of contributors to the campaign fund.

The CHAIRMAN. Of 1908?

Mr. STOTESBURY. Of 1908.

The CHAIRMAN. This shows a total subscription from all sources of \$101,057.67, as I read it?

Mr. STOTESBURY. \$101,057.67.

The CHAIRMAN. And total expenditures of \$82,396.98, leaving a balance on hand of \$18,702.19.

Mr. STOTESBURY. On the other page you will see how that money was used.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I understand; I am just abbreviating the totals. And were the subscriptions that you received in 1908 also turned over to the national committee?

Mr. STOTESBURY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that your account, both as to 1904 and 1908, shows nothing of the expenses of the State campaign?

Mr. STOTESBURY. None whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stotesbury, the committee will retain this book for a few days, and later it will be returned to you. Were you a member of the national committee each of these years, or either of them?

Mr. STOTESBURY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who was national committeeman for Pennsylvania in 1904?

Mr. STOTESBURY. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Or in 1908?

Mr. STOTESBURY. I do not remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, coming down to the preconvention campaign of 1912, do you know anything of any subscriptions or contributions to any of the preconvention campaigns of 1912?

Mr. STOTESBURY. I know of one, which I gave.

The CHAIRMAN. And how much was that?

Mr. STOTESBURY. \$25,000.

The CHAIRMAN. And to whom was it given?

Mr. STOTESBURY. I gave it to Mr. McKinley—sent it to Mr. McKinley.

The CHAIRMAN. In behalf of Mr. Taft's campaign for renomination?

Mr. STOTESBURY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions which were made in 1908 other than those which you obtained and which appear in Exhibit B?

Mr. STOTESBURY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any campaign contributions to the preconvention campaign of 1912 other than the one you have testified as to your own?

Mr. STOTESBURY. None.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stotesbury, do you at this time recall any fact or circumstance bearing upon or relating to campaign contributions or expenditures in the national or the congressional campaigns of 1904 and 1908 and the preconvention campaigns of 1912 other than that you have testified to or to which your attention has not been called?

Mr. STOTESBURY. In 1904 Mr. Bliss told me that they would have to have some money, I think he said, for New York State.

The CHAIRMAN. About when, as near as you can recall, was that request made?

Mr. STOTESBURY. Oh——

The CHAIRMAN. Well, no matter. You may proceed with your answer.

Mr. STOTESBURY. He would have to have some money, and stated that if he could raise \$150,000, \$50,000 would be given by Mr. Harriman or the Southern Pacific.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was that conversation held?

Mr. STOTESBURY. That was in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. He stated they would have to have it for the State?

Mr. STOTESBURY. For the State, as I recollect it.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there anything in the conversation relating to State issues or National issues?

Mr. STOTESBURY. I think he said that Judge Parker that day had made a speech. That is all I remember—that Judge Parker had made a speech.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions that your business associates made in any of these campaigns to which your attention has been called?

Mr. STOTESBURY. No; nothing but what I heard Mr. Morgan state the other day that he had made. He is a partner of mine.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard that since these hearings began?

Mr. STOTESBURY. Yes, sir. I did not hear of anything.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in addition to the Bliss incident, do you recall any other incident bearing upon this subject to which your attention has not been called?

Mr. STOTESBURY. None whatever.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you remember what time it was, if it was October, that you had the conversation with Mr. Bliss with reference to raising money for the Republican committee for the State of New York, to which you have just referred; do you remember what the date was in October, if it was in October, that you had that conversation with Mr. Bliss that you have just related?

Mr. STOTESBURY. I do not remember the date. I go to New York every Tuesday and Bliss just happened to meet me there.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you ever hear Mr. Bliss at any time subsequent to that make any statement with reference to Mr. Harriman raising money?

Mr. STOTESBURY. No, sir; I never saw Mr. Bliss after that.

Senator PAYNTER. I will ask you to state, Mr. Stotesbury, whether Mr. Bliss said anything about the New York committee being under some promise or obligation to contribute to the State Republican committee.

Mr. STOTESBURY. Nothing whatever.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you ever hear him say anything about contributions from the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. STOTESBURY. Never.

Senator PAYNTER. Or Mr. Gould?

Mr. STOTESBURY. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Or Mr. Frick?

Mr. STOTESBURY. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you ever discuss the question of contributions with him wherein the names of persons or firms or corporations, as the case might be, were mentioned?

Mr. STOTESBURY. Nothing whatever; never.

Senator PAYNTER. I notice, just glancing over your record here, that Mr. Tower made a contribution as ambassador; it is put down as

ambassador to Berlin. Was he at that time an ambassador to Berlin, or did he become so subsequently?

The CHAIRMAN. He was at that time, and that is why he put it in that form.

Senator PAYNTER. I did not know whether the record was made at that time or subsequently.

Mr. STOTESBURY. Subsequently; it was made by my clerk, whom I employed to make up a list of contributors to the fund.

Senator PAYNTER. So you really, then, know nothing about it, except as you related here, as to the matter of contributions to the campaign of that year for the Republican Party?

Mr. STOTESBURY. None whatever.

Senator OLIVER. I just want to ask a question. Senator Paynter has mentioned Mr. Tower. Mr. Tower had always been a reasonable contributor of his means toward the Republican campaign, had he not?

Mr. STOTESBURY. Well, that is the only time I was treasurer of the fund, so I do not know what he might have given before.

Senator OLIVER. You do not know about that. In other words, it was not insisted upon because of his official position?

Mr. STOTESBURY. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I notice there is a contribution of \$5,000 by the Bethlehem Steel Co., is it?

Mr. STOTESBURY. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Is that the company of which Mr. Schwab is president?

Mr. STOTESBURY. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Then there is another contribution of \$5,000 by some Pennsylvania steel company, is it?

Mr. STOTESBURY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Schwab president at that time—in 1904?

Mr. STOTESBURY. I do not think he was.

Mr. Stotesbury was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL ARONOWITZ, 841 JENNINGS STREET, NEW YORK; OCCUPATION, SALESMAN.

Samuel Aronowitz, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. State your name, address, and occupation.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Samuel Aronowitz, 841 Jennings Street, New York; occupation, salesman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state what, if anything, you know in regard to campaign contributions for the pre-convention campaigns of 1912. Under our resolution we have no jurisdiction over the campaign expenses that are being incurred now, but only down to and including the nominations of candidates.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Well, I do not know of any contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any disbursements?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. No, sir; not in New York County or anywhere else.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of anything that throws light upon the subject of our inquiry as to contributions or disbursements?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Yes, sir—not contributions, because I came here to testify in reference to the \$600 that was mentioned by Mr. Mills

last Monday, and I think he got the information through Mr. Koenig Samuel S. Koenig—and the \$600 that was given to him by William Halpin. That \$600 was supposed to be used for practical purposes. Well, I do not think there is any other man in the country that knows better the truth how the money was used than Mr. Koenig himself—that it was not used for practical purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. What was it used for? I do not know what you have come for. You have asked to be sworn and testify.

Senator PAYNTER. Senator Clapp, if it will not interrupt you, I should like to ask this question: What did Mr. Mills say about that, so as to refresh our recollections, so that we can appreciate what you have to say?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. He testified here with reference to the frauds that had occurred——

Senator PAYNTER. In certain districts?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. In certain districts.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; I remember that.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. And he mentioned my name in the sixth assembly district as receiving \$600 for fraudulent purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. Go on and state what you know about the matter.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Well, I am here to tell the truth, the entire truth, as to what occurred at that time. The time that the Evening Mail had canvassed——

Senator PAYNTER. Do you want to state how you received the \$600 and how you disbursed it—is that the idea?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Yes, sir; and what connection I had with Mr. Koenig.

The CHAIRMAN. Go on.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. The time that the Evening Mail had a post-card canvass for the enrolled Republicans I signed my preference for Roosevelt on a post card. There was an open rumor that I had signed a post card for Roosevelt, and Mr. Koenig sent for me, I being at that time the corresponding secretary of the Federal Club, a regular organization of the sixth assembly district.

Senator PAYNTER. Was it a political organization?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Yes, sir; that is the regular Republican organization in that district.

Mr. Koenig asked me why I signed that postal card for Mr. Roosevelt. I told him that I had the right to express my opinion or preference for the man that I thought was best fitted to be President. At that time he begged me not to go out and work for Mr. Roosevelt before the spring primaries, but he said: "You may undertake the leadership of the Roosevelt committee in our district." I hesitated a little while, and he coaxed me into this, and I accepted the leadership in the sixth assembly district. I went up to Mr. Halpin, and I applied for the leadership, and he appointed me as such.

Mr. Koenig asked me to appoint as captains his own men.

The CHAIRMAN. Which side was Koenig on?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. On the Taft side.

The CHAIRMAN. Which side were you on?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. I was supposed to be on the Roosevelt side.

The CHAIRMAN. Go on.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Well, I took his advice, and I appointed some of his men; some were Independent League men. And Mr. Koenig

again asked me that I should report to him daily what I had done. I did not want to be seen by anyone, nor did he, so I used to telephone to him. One day I met Mr. Louis Friedel up in the Roosevelt committee, and I notified Koenig that I saw Mr. Friedel in the Roosevelt committee, because I knew him to be a Taft leader.

At the time I met Mr. Friedel I greeted him and asked him how the sentiment was in his district, and he told me: "Oh, it is very strong for Taft."

I telephoned over to Mr. Koenig and told him that I had seen Mr. Friedel in the Roosevelt committee. He wanted to know the full particulars, and I was not in a position to state them over the telephone at that time. I told him I would meet him otherwise if he wanted me to. So he said: "You make an appointment with my assistant, Mr. Tishler." So I made an appointment for the next day to meet him in a taxicab at Forty-eighth Street and Fifth Avenue between 7 and 8 in a yellow taxi. I told him how I met him, and he said that the sentiment in his district was very strong for President Taft.

Senator OLIVER. Speak a little louder; I can not hear what you say.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. All right, sir. Now, about the \$600 that I received. That was supposed to be for the expenses that might incur on election day; that is, the spring primary election day. I received the \$600, just as Mr. Mills stated, and a slip was signed by Mr. Halpin, and I got the \$600.

Senator PAYNTER. From Mr. Halpin?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. No, sir; from the man who handled the money.

Senator PAYNTER. Oh, yes.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. That was two floors above.

Senator PAYNTER. On the request of Halpin, did this man give you the \$600?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not know whether I have got your story just as you told it.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. I do not understand what you say.

Senator PAYNTER. Did Halpin tell this gentleman who handled this money to give you the \$600?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. He signed the slip, O. King it, and then he gave me the \$600.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all right.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Before then I was asked by the assemblyman of that district, Harry Kopp, that I should drop the Roosevelt matter on election day, and to make sure that I kept my word with them he sent his brother-in-law with me. His brother-in-law, Mr. Dendo, went along with me, and he saw me get this \$600, and we went over to one of Mr. Koenig's captains, a fellow named Marks Graff, and this Mr. Graff and Mr. Dendo had urged me to give up to Mr. Koenig that day.

I had with me at that time a box of Roosevelt badges and watcher's certificates, besides the money I received that day.

I went up to Mr. Koenig with these two gentlemen, and Mr. Koenig asked me what I received from the Roosevelt committee. I said I got \$600, and I related the story to him. He said, "What have you got in this package?" I said, "I have got Roosevelt badges and watcher's certificates." He started to beg me for them, and he begged

me so long that I acceded and gave him the box of badges. But he first explained to me what he wanted them for. He told me that he wanted the badges and the watcher's certificates for the twenty-sixth assembly district in New York County; that it looked bad for President Taft in that district; the sentiment was very much for Roosevelt. And he also told me that he wanted to have these badges and watcher's certificates to be used by Taft men and drive out the original Roosevelt men.

Well, the consequences were that President Taft carried that district.

Senator PAYNTER. He got the box of badges and certificates, did he?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Yes, sir; and he immediately called a messenger and sent the box of badges and certificates to the twenty-sixth assembly district.

The CHAIRMAN. Which side of this fight was Halpin on?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. On Roosevelt's side.

The CHAIRMAN. Which side was Koenig on?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. President Taft's side.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything more?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Well, again, that day I came back to the district, and if there ever were any frauds in the sixth assembly district it was made by Koenig's men, because not a cent of the \$600 was used for any purposes in the election, or rather for any practical purposes favoring Mr. Roosevelt.

I can show you figures how the sixth assembly district was carried for President Taft, Mr. Koenig being one of the delegates that ran on the ticket.

We received in the district; that is, for Mr. Roosevelt, which is very strong——

Senator PAYNTER. Is yours now the sixth district?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. I was at that time in the sixth assembly district.

Senator PAYNTER. In the sixth assembly district?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Yes, sir. Mr. Roosevelt's delegates received 71 votes; Mr. Taft's delegates received 966 votes.

Senator PAYNTER. In your district?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. In the sixth assembly district.

Senator PAYNTER. And that is the one you were operating in?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Yes, sir. I have the figures, copied down from the board of elections last Wednesday. In one district Mr. Roosevelt did not get any votes. The highest number of votes that he did receive was in the twelfth election district, 10 votes. In all the others he received 2, 3, 4, or 5, up to 10, numbering in all 71 votes.

Now, according to Mr. Mills's statement, Mr. Friedel's district went for Mr. Roosevelt, and I know it was very strong, the sentiment was very strong for Mr. Roosevelt in that district; I should say as strong as it was in the sixth assembly district. But the difference in the returns was because Mr. Friedel at that time was for Mr. Roosevelt, and Mr. Koenig controlled the election in the sixth assembly district.

I would ask you, Senators, to ask Mr. Koenig to appear before this committee and testify how I spent the \$600 fraudulently.

The CHAIRMAN. Does Mr. Koenig know more about how you spent this money than you do yourself?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then suppose you tell us how you spent it.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. I never heard it until Mr. Mills's statement. According to Mr. Mills's statement, I spent it fraudulently.

Senator OLIVER. There is no such assertion in Mr. Mills's paper.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. It was given for practical purposes, I understand.

Senator OLIVER. He did not say anything about what it was given for.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. I read that in the newspapers. I do not know how true it may be in the newspapers.

Senator OLIVER. Excuse me, Mr. Chairman, for interrupting you.

The CHAIRMAN. You may go ahead.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Mills simply cites this \$600 being given to you for use in one district, the sixteenth election district——

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. As an example of the amount of money that would be expended for watchers in the whole city of New York, county of New York, provided an equal amount was expended for that purpose in each district.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. There were some districts——

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Mills does not intimate anything as to the manner in which you used the money.

I wish to ask you now, Mr. Aronowitz, not how you did use the money, because there is no charge that you used it fraudulently, but for what purposes was it intended that this money should be used when Mr. Halpin ordered it to be given to you?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. To pay off the expenses that might occur on that day.

Senator OLIVER. What was the nature of those expenses?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Captains, watchers, and different small items that may be needed that day, as on election day, because you have to use drinks and cigars and all such items.

Senator PAYNTER. What is your business?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. I am a salesman.

Senator PAYNTER. At whose instance do you appear here as a witness?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. At my own instance, seeing my name mentioned.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all right. You had a right to do it. You say that none of it was used for practical purposes?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. What do you mean by "practical purposes"?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. As I understand, it was supposed to be used—that is, according to the newspaper reports—practical purposes—I interpret it as the money to be used to buy votes.

Senator PAYNTER. Oh, yes. I just wanted to see what was in your mind—the feeling of it. You say Mr. Roosevelt got how many votes in that legislative district?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. The sixth assembly district?

Senator PAYNTER. The assembly district.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Seventy-one votes, according to the board of elections.

Senator PAYNTER. How many polling places in that district?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. There were eight polling places. Two election districts in a polling place.

Senator PAYNTER. Two election districts——

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Two election districts in one polling place.

Senator PAYNTER. What do you mean by an election district and a polling place—what is the difference?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. A polling place is where they vote.

Senator PAYNTER. A polling place is where they vote?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. What is an election district? What do you mean by an election district?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. An election district is a subdivision of an assembly district.

Senator PAYNTER. Oh, yes. You have more than one representative or one assemblyman from a district?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. No, sir. We haven't more than one in the sixth assembly district, but there are 16 election districts.

Senator PAYNTER. So Mr. Koenig asked you to apply to Mr. Halpin for the position of Roosevelt leader in that district?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You say he was for Taft?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. He was for Taft. Mr. Koenig was for Taft.

Senator PAYNTER. And he suggested the names of the captains to you?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. He did not exactly suggest them.

Senator PAYNTER. He wanted you to take care of the men that he wanted?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Yes; that he was satisfied with.

Senator PAYNTER. And you named part of them?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. I named part of them. I had three or four men from the Independent League.

Senator PAYNTER. And then afterwards you turned over to him the certificates, the Roosevelt certificates?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. I was practically forced to do it, because the two gentlemen that went with me and Mr. Koenig had urged me so long and coerced me so long that I gave them to them.

Senator PAYNTER. These certificates were intended for whom?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. These certificates were intended for my watchers.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you have any watchers in the district for Mr. Roosevelt?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You did not?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Were you the most active Roosevelt man in the district?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Well, in a way I was.

Senator PAYNTER. You say you only got seventy-odd votes?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Seventy-one votes. I canvassed my own election district, where I lived at that time, and I found that the sentiment for Mr. Roosevelt was about 50 out of 68.

Senator PAYNTER. The \$600 was used not for practical purposes, but you had certificates and all that kind of business, and the sentiment for Roosevelt was strong, but still you could not muster over seventy-odd votes for him in that district?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Well, the election was controlled by Mr. Koenig's men.

Senator PAYNTER. I suppose Mr. Koenig begged you so hard to give him that position that you could not resist?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. What position?

Senator PAYNTER. To give him the position—that is, the right to select the Roosevelt watchers?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. No; I don't think I stated that he begged me so hard for the position.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; for the position.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. No.

Senator PAYNTER. I thought he named the watchers.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. He named the watchers. I was supposed to be the Roosevelt leader in that district.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes.

Mr. ARONOWITZ. He suggested several names—that is, through his representatives.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, did Mr. Roosevelt have leaders in all the assembly districts?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. I don't know that.

Senator PAYNTER. Did Mr. Koenig select any more of them?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. I don't know.

Senator PAYNTER. Did Mr. Roosevelt make a better race in any of the other assembly districts than he did in yours?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Yes; he did.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know what was done with the certificates that you turned over to Mr. Koenig for the other election districts?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. I don't know exactly, but I understand they were used by Taft men.

Senator PAYNTER. You were so enthusiastic, then, for Roosevelt that you did not want to operate only in your own district, but in another district?

Mr. ARONOWITZ. Not that I wanted to operate, but Mr. Koenig got those badges and certificates, and he sent them up there.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

The witness was excused.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Edwards, will you be sworn?

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM SEYMOUR EDWARDS, LAWYER, OF CHARLESTON, W. VA.

William Seymour Edwards, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name in full, address, and occupation to the reporter.

Mr. EDWARDS. William Seymour Edwards, attorney at law, Charleston, Kanawha County, W. Va.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Edwards, we are acting under authority of the Senate, which gives us authority to inquire into contributions and expenditures for the presidential and congressional campaigns of 1904 and 1908, and the preconvention campaigns of 1912. Do you know anything of contributions or expenditures with reference to the presidential campaign of 1904?

Mr. EDWARDS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of contributions to the congressional campaign of 1904?

Mr. EDWARDS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of contributions or expenditures in the presidential campaign of 1908?

Mr. EDWARDS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Or to the congressional campaign of 1908?

Mr. EDWARDS. I contributed in 1908 a thousand dollars toward the nomination expenses of S. B. Ayres, the present Republican nominee for Congress in the third district.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all you know of the congressional campaign in 1908?

Mr. EDWARDS. That is all I know about it.

The CHAIRMAN. What, if anything, do you know of contributions or expenditures in the preconvention campaigns of 1912?

Mr. EDWARDS. I don't know anything precisely. I contributed probably a couple of thousand dollars toward the general movement, being a candidate for the Republican national committee. It was expended in my own behalf.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom were you favoring in the preconvention campaign?

Mr. EDWARDS. I was for Theodore Roosevelt's nomination.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. EDWARDS. The situation in West Virginia was this: The State committee did the unprecedented thing of calling 356 district conventions in 55 cities of the State from which delegates should be chosen to the five congressional district conventions and the State convention. Our State is a large one. It is 300 miles from Charlestown, in Jefferson County, to Charleston, in Kanawha County—as far as from New York to Boston. There are very few railroads in our State, and the calling of these district mass conventions was an entirely new move in West Virginia. We felt that inasmuch as the sentiment of the people of West Virginia was predominantly for Roosevelt, it was wise and right that they should be acquainted with the fact that they should get out to these conventions, and, in many cases, we had to send men on horseback to ride these counties and tell the people why they should get out. Districts are similar to townships in Ohio and the North, and what moneys were expended, so far as I know, were expended in a regular way in sending out handbills, sending out posters, and putting men on horseback to ride the counties, and the result was that the people turned out in immense majorities, so that when the State convention met at Huntington on the 16th of May, out of 950 delegates there were about 132 for Taft and the balance for Roosevelt, and all of the congressional district conventions, responding to the sentiment of the people of the State, were practically unanimous for Roosevelt, and all conventions, by unanimous act, sent Roosevelt delegates to Chicago, instructing these delegates in every case to support my candidacy for the national committee. The delegation at Chicago, heeding the commands of the people in the several congressional and State conventions, unanimously chose me as national committeeman. That choice was declared to the convention, and I take it, and my people take it, consequently, that I am now the national committeeman for the Republicans of West Virginia.

The CHAIRMAN. Who had charge of this campaign?

Mr. EDWARDS. There was what we call the State Roosevelt organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was at the head of that?

Mr. EDWARDS. Gov. Wm. M. O. Dawson was chairman of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who was treasurer?

Mr. EDWARDS. The treasurer was——

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you can get it.

Mr. EDWARDS. I will give it to you shortly.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Do you know of your own knowledge or by repute among your associates how much was raised for that campaign?

Mr. EDWARDS. I do not suppose there was more than three or four thousand dollars. It did not take much money. The sentiment of the people was so unanimous and pronounced that all we needed was to let them know—just as to-day they are 9 to 1 for Roosevelt in West Virginia.

The CHAIRMAN. Of this fund, I understand you contributed \$2,000?

Mr. EDWARDS. Possibly.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any other contributions, as to who made them or what the amounts were?

Mr. EDWARDS. No; I do not know anything about them. It is always my habit to chip in toward public movements that I approve of.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the law of West Virginia, is it required that statements be filed of expenses in the primaries by the committee in charge?

Mr. EDWARDS. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether the man who acted as treasurer for the committee did make any formal report?

Mr. EDWARDS. I think not. I do not think we have such a law.

The CHAIRMAN. Now——

Mr. EDWARDS. The name of the treasurer was Wilbur Stump, cashier of the Elk Bank & Trust Co., Charleston.

The CHAIRMAN. Charleston or Charlestown?

Mr. EDWARDS. t-o-n.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any other fact or circumstance relating to or bearing upon contributions or expenditures in the presidential and congressional campaigns of 1904, the presidential and congressional campaigns of 1908, and the preconvention campaigns of 1912 for the presidential nomination to which your attention has been not called or of which you have not testified and that you now recall?

Mr. EDWARDS. Well, toward the preconvention campaign of 1912, inasmuch as all of the congressional and the State conventions had been unanimously instructed for me for national committeeman, I felt disposed to be liberal; so I took a Pullman train and took all my friends who would go, and we went up to Chicago. We took the Sherman House, and I think we had the third floor, and I entertained them as my guests during the convention, just as I should entertain my friends at home. They were all for me; they were all my friends, and we were all for Roosevelt, naturally.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Have you any statement as to the expense of that trip?

Mr. EDWARDS. No; I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you approximate it?

Mr. EDWARDS. It might have cost me a couple of thousand dollars, but that was my own personal matter of hospitality.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is there any other fact or circumstance bearing upon this subject that you recall?

Mr. EDWARDS. Nothing that I think of.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Edwards, you stated that you contributed something, you supposed about \$2,000, to this preconvention campaign?

Mr. EDWARDS. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. Have you not the data from which you can tell exactly what you contributed and to whom you contributed it?

Mr. EDWARDS. I may be able to locate it.

Senator OLIVER. Did you not know when you were asked to come here that you would be expected to give this information?

Mr. EDWARDS. Not any more than I have given it to you.

Senator OLIVER. Did you give the amount that you contributed to any one person?

Mr. EDWARDS. I gave it to the treasurer of the Kanawha County Roosevelt League.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Stump?

Mr. EDWARDS. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. You stated that you considered yourself to be a member of the Republican national committee?

Mr. EDWARDS. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Are you——

Mr. EDWARDS. That predatory bunch in New York has no authority——

Senator OLIVER. Are you a Republican?

Mr. EDWARDS. I am a Republican, and I am a regular Republican, and I am an honest Republican, not any irregular Taft Republican, whom I do not consider within the pale.

Senator OLIVER. Then, you are not a member of the Progressive Party?

Mr. EDWARDS. I am a Progressive Republican. I am like the people of California; I do not recognize the right of that predatory band at Chicago to steal the nomination of a great party, and my people don't.

Senator OLIVER. Then you belong to both parties at the same time?

Mr. EDWARDS. No, sir; the regular Republicans are progressive, and the irregular Republicans have stolen the nomination.

Senator OLIVER. That is all.

Mr. EDWARDS. The people of West Virginia stand with me on that.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you say that you are a member of the national Republican committee now?

Mr. EDWARDS. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Were you selected at Chicago?

Mr. EDWARDS. I was, in response to the unanimous action of the congressional and State conventions.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know of anybody who contributed to the campaign fund, for either the Taft or Roosevelt campaign funds, in West Virginia, other than yourself?

Mr. EDWARDS. No; I do not.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know anything about contributions for the campaign of 1904?

Mr. EDWARDS. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you have any connection with the campaign of West Virginia at that time?

Mr. EDWARDS. No.

Senator PAYNTER. Do you know anything of contributions in the national campaign of 1908?

Mr. EDWARDS. No.

Senator PAYNTER. Were you connected with the committee in any way in West Virginia at that time?

Mr. EDWARDS. In no way whatever. I was chairman of the West Virginia delegation at Chicago.

Senator PAYNTER. That nominated President Taft?

Mr. EDWARDS. It nominated Mr. Taft, and I led the fight for Mr. Taft in West Virginia, and our people believed, and I believed, that he would express in his administration the Roosevelt policies of the square deal. When we found that not to be the case, we dropped the proposition.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all I want to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. Edwards was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF COLIN H. LIVINGSTONE, BANKER, OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Colin H. Livingstone was first duly sworn and testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Please give the official reporter your name in full, address, and business.

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. Colin H. Livingstone, banker; 1249 Kenyon Street, Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Livingstone, where were you in the fall of 1904?

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. At various places, I suppose, here and in West Virginia, and attending to a good many duties.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your business at that time?

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. I was at that time a banker as well as private secretary to the late Stephen B. Elkins, and clerk of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the Interstate Commerce Committee?

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. The Interstate Commerce Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. What, if anything, do you know concerning contributions to either the national or congressional campaigns in 1904?

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. I do not know anything, Senator, about those contributions. My place was in the State and not connected with the national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You know nothing of contributions?

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. I know nothing of campaign contributions for the national cause at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the contributions for the congressional campaign of 1904?

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. No, Senator; just the national congressional campaign there.

The CHAIRMAN. What, if anything, do you know of contributions in the presidential campaign of 1908?

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. I know nothing of 1908. I was then disconnected from the Senator, and was not in any way active in politics.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions to the congressional campaign of 1908?

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. The resolution under which we act covers the pre-convention presidential campaign of 1912 of the gentlemen who were seeking the nomination of both parties. Do you know anything, and if so, what, concerning the contributions to the pre-convention campaign of presidential candidates in 1912?

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. Nothing, Senator—nothing personally at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You made no contribution yourself?

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. None whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. And know of none that was made?

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. I know of none.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you know anything of the expenditures in the presidential campaign of 1904?

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. I do not; nothing personally.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you say "nothing personally."

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. Nothing more than I read from the newspapers, like other people get their information.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything concerning expenditures in the congressional campaign of 1904?

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Or the presidential campaign of 1908?

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. Yes, sir; the same—I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. And the congressional campaign of 1908?

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Livingstone, in addition to these matters that your attention has been called to, or to which you have testified, is there any fact or circumstance which you now recall bearing upon contributions or expenditures in the presidential and congressional campaigns of 1904 and 1908 and the pre-convention campaigns of 1912?

Mr. LIVINGSTONE. No, sir; there is nothing.

Mr. Livingstone was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF FRED. W. UPHAM, 332 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILL., WHOLESALE COAL.

Fred. W. Upham, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. State your name in full, address, and occupation.

Mr. UPHAM. Fred. W. Upham; 332 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.; wholesale coal.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Upham, what, if anything, do you know of contributions or expenditures in the presidential campaign of 1904?

Mr. UPHAM. Nothing whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. What, if anything, do you know of contributions or expenditures in the congressional campaign of 1904?

Mr. UPHAM. Nothing whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. What, if anything, do you know of contributions or expenditures in the presidential campaign of 1908?

Mr. UPHAM. In that campaign I was the assistant treasurer of the Republican Party and had charge of the finances West; collected the money.

The CHAIRMAN. With headquarters where?

Mr. UPHAM. With headquarters in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a statement covering the receipts and disbursements, within your knowledge?

Mr. UPHAM. I have [producing a paper]. I also have a copy of the subscription list which was filed. This is a copy of the statement filed with the secretary of state at Albany at the conclusion of the campaign showing contributions by States and individuals.

The CHAIRMAN. You may mark this paper "Exhibit Upham No. 1."

The paper referred to was accordingly marked "Exhibit Upham No. 1" and is as follows:

EXHIBIT UPHAM No. 1.

Republican national committee trial balance, June 3, 1912.

General income account.....		\$525, 404. 14
Sustaining fund		15, 307. 52
Bureau appropriations	\$7, 608. 93	
General fund.....		7, 608. 93
Salaries	44, 935. 90	
Expenses	46, 379. 13	
Furniture and fixtures.....	4, 924. 20	
Campaign output.....	241, 610. 23	
Miscellaneous	6, 250. 00	
States	196, 612. 20	
Total	548, 320. 59	548, 320. 59

	Salaries and wages.	Expenses.	Furniture and fixtures.	Campaign output.
Executive.....	\$21,312.43	\$21,671.16	\$1,189.20	\$14,624.79
Treasury and auditing.....	5,998.67	10,863.43	256.50	22.06
General office.....	5,552.44	11,497.83	3,432.75	391.57
Literary and press.....	4,261.64	288.72		139,381.42
Purchase, shipment, mail, and postage.....	2,708.22	1,029.20		20,020.90
Speakers.....	4,708.34	131.78	95.75	60,315.53
College league.....	160.00	851.31		1,512.00
First-voters' league.....	239.16	45.70		3,233.04
Traveling men and labor.....				2,108.93
Total.....	44,935.90	46,379.13	4,924.20	241,610.23

Totals.

Executive.....	\$58, 747. 58
Treasurer and auditing.....	17, 135. 65
General office.....	20, 874. 59
Literary and press.....	143, 931. 78
Purchase, shipment, mail, and postage.....	23, 758. 32
Speakers	65, 251. 40
College League.....	2, 523. 31
First Voters League.....	3, 517. 90
Traveling men and labor.....	2, 108. 93
Grand total	337, 849. 46

Senator PAYNTER. That is the Republican national committee?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Your testimony, then, relates to the western end?

Mr. UPHAM. Only to the western; I know nothing about the eastern.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Exhibit Upham No. 1?

Mr. UPHAM. That is the statement of receipts and expenditures of the national committee in the West for 1908, and up to the time that my successor was appointed.

The CHAIRMAN. This shows the total receipts of \$548,320.59?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much of that sum was sent you by the national committee?

Mr. UPHAM. None at all.

The CHAIRMAN. It was all collected under your supervision in the West?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir; for the first time; that is, in the previous campaign the Chicago headquarters had to draw on New York largely, but we took care of our own campaign four years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. This paper will be marked "Exhibit Upham No. 2."

Mr. UPHAM. May I ask if that will come back to me eventually?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; it will be sent back to you.

The paper referred to was accordingly marked "Exhibit Upham No. 2."

The CHAIRMAN (Upham Exhibit No. 2 shown to witness). Mr. Upham, what is Exhibit Upham No. 2?

Mr. UPHAM. The receipts in detail by States.

The CHAIRMAN. Do I understand you that a copy of this, or the original of it, was filed with the secretary of state at Albany?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir; at the conclusion of the campaign, and sworn to.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, by filed you mean included in the report General Hitchcock made?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir; included in the report that George R. Sheldon made as treasurer of the national committee. Under our Illinois law we were not obliged to do that, but under the direction of Mr. Taft it was done.

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibit No. 2 will be retained by the committee for a while and it will be subsequently returned to you.

Mr. UPHAM. I would like to have it back.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions made to the campaign of 1908 other than those which appear in Exhibit 2?

Mr. UPHAM. Only one.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that?

Mr. UPHAM. The contribution of \$50,000 by Charles P. Taft, which does not appear in that account.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that made directly to the western office?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And not to New York?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir; not to New York—made to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Made to you individually?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it in check or in currency?

Mr. UPHAM. Check.

The CHAIRMAN. At what time, as near as you can tell, was that made?

Mr. UPHAM (examining bank book). I deposited the check on October 26, 1908. I might say, in explanation, if I may——

The CHAIRMAN. I was going to ask you if you wanted to explain it?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes. Mr. Charles P. Taft sent three checks of \$50,000 each to me as assistant treasurer. At the time of the receipt of the checks our funds were coming in more liberally in the West and it occurred to me that possibly I would not need the whole \$150,000. My assistant treasurer's account was carried in the Central Trust Co. I made a special deposit of \$50,000 of this \$150,000 in the Western Trust Co. It was the only deposit that was made in that bank with the understanding that it was made by me as assistant treasurer. I hoped when I made the deposit that I would not be obliged to use it, and I found that I did not have to use it, and at the conclusion of the campaign—here is the check [indicating] for the \$50,000, returned to Charles P. Taft.

Senator OLIVER. That \$50,000 was not used?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir; but the question asked me was, Are all contributions in that statement? That \$50,000 is not in that statement.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you. You may mark that paper "Exhibit Upham No. 3."

The paper referred to, being a check on the Western Trust and Savings Bank, is accordingly marked "Exhibit Upham No. 3," and is as follows:

No. 1.

WESTERN TRUST AND SAVINGS BANK,
Chicago, Ill., November 7, 1908.

Pay to the order of Frank H. Hitchcock, \$50,000.

FRED W. UPHAM,
Assistant Treasurer.

(Indorsed on back:) Pay to the order of Charles P. Taft, Frank H. Hitchcock, chairman. Charles P. Taft.

(Stamp:) Paid through Chicago Clearing House to the First National Bank, mail, November 11, 1908.

(Stamp:) Pay First National Bank, Chicago, Ill., or order prior indorsements guaranteed. Citizens' National Bank, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. That was made to Mr. Hitchcock and by him transferred?

Mr. UPHAM. I made it to Mr. Hitchcock as chairman of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is there any other fact or circumstance bearing upon or relating to contributions and expenditures with reference to the campaigns mentioned which you have not testified to?

Mr. UPHAM. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. What, if anything, do you know about contributions to the preconvention campaign of 1912?

Mr. UPHAM. I only know in a general way, outside of my personal contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you contribute?

Mr. UPHAM. \$2,500.

The CHAIRMAN. And to whom did you make that payable?

Mr. UPHAM. To the Taft Club at Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the head of that club?

Mr. UPHAM. Mr. D. R. Forgan, president, and H. A. Wheeler, treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is the only contribution you know of?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, I could hardly say honestly that that was the only one I know of. In a general way I know about other contributions that were made to the amount of—I do not think the total exceeded \$20,000.

The CHAIRMAN. That was at Chicago?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir. It was made by members of the Taft Club.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is there any other fact or circumstance that you recall to which your attention has not been directed?

Mr. UPHAM. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Who, according to your information, had general charge—that is, if you have any information on the subject—of the Taft campaign in Illinois in 1912, the preconvention campaign?

Mr. UPHAM. Col. Frank Smith.

The CHAIRMAN. He lives at Dwight, I believe.

Mr. UPHAM. At Dwight. He is here to-day.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Upham, I wish to make clear the relation between \$548,000 that you collected in the West and the general fund in New York. As I understand, this amount collected by you, while it was expended at the western headquarters—collected and expended at the western headquarters—was reported to Mr. Sheldon in New York, was it?

Mr. UPHAM. Not until the final report went to him for filing—

Senator OLIVER. I know; I do not mean it was reported day by day, but it was finally reported and is included, as I understand, in the total of Mr. Sheldon's account.

Mr. UPHAM. I do not know that it was, but I would think naturally it would be.

Senator OLIVER. It was reported by him?

Mr. UPHAM. He was the treasurer and I was the assistant treasurer.

Senator OLIVER. And it was reported to Albany with his account?

Mr. UPHAM. With his account; yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. So, then, this \$548,000 is not in addition to the gross amount reported by Mr. Sheldon?

Mr. UPHAM. It would be included.

Senator OLIVER. It would be included?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Upham, do you know anything about the expenditures in the preconvention campaign of 1912? Can you give any information at all about the expenditures of others than the advocates of President Taft in Illinois?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, it was very evident to the men who were in the Taft fight that the enemy had very much more money than we had—the enemy being Roosevelt.

Senator OLIVER. You do not know anything about the details?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not know the details, but I know that large amounts of money were expended in Chicago.

Senator PAYNTER. You can tell that from the character of the fight that was being made?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. But you have no personal knowledge of any certain amount being given by any person in Chicago for that purpose, or which had been?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir; I have not.

Senator PAYNTER. Looking over this account of expenditures, I see one item you had of \$60,315.53 for speakers.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir. That was the speakers' bureau.

Senator PAYNTER. Was that used in paying the expenses of the speakers—the railroad fares and hotel bills?

Mr. UPHAM. Almost entirely; I think there were a few paid men, but very few.

Senator PAYNTER. So, in that national campaign at least, some of the speakers received compensation other than traveling expenses?

Mr. UPHAM. Very few; but the expenses of practically all of the speakers were paid by the committee.

Senator PAYNTER. But most of them did not receive any compensation for making speeches?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Just traveling expenses?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. Upham was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF FRANK L. SMITH, DWIGHT, ILL., BUYER AND SELLER OF FARM LAND AND INTERNAL-REVENUE COLLECTOR AT SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

Frank L. Smith, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. State your name in full, address, and occupation.

Mr. SMITH. Frank L. Smith; Dwight, Ill.; buyer and seller of farm land; internal-revenue collector at Springfield.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you, very generally, do you know anything about campaign expenditures or contributions in the congressional or presidential campaigns of 1904?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of 1908?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What connection, if any, had you with the pre-convention campaign of any of the candidates in 1912?

Mr. SMITH. I occupied the so-called position of manager of Mr. Taft's interests in the State of Illinois.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any statement with you showing receipts and expenditures, so far as they came under your observation?

Mr. SMITH. I have only that which I prepared on the train coming down. I received word to come here night before last, and I had to leave yesterday morning, and, in fact, left headquarters up there without any further knowledge than I had to give to this committee. I can tell where I got the money and about what we did with it.

The CHAIRMAN. How much money, to the best of your knowledge, was contributed to the pre-convention campaign of 1912, first, with reference to Illinois—contributions made in Illinois?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I want to say, so that there will be no further misunderstanding, that I know of no other contributions except those that went to Illinois.

The CHAIRMAN. I am speaking, first, of your knowledge of contributions made in Illinois, by people of Illinois.

Mr. SMITH. I received from the Taft Club of Illinois \$20,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the Chicago Club?

Mr. SMITH. Well, it was called the Taft Club of Illinois. It was formed by a membership of Republicans over the State of Illinois, with headquarters at Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was president or chairman of that club?

Mr. SMITH. David Forgan.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the same club?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You received from that club, you say——

Mr. SMITH. \$20,000. I thought I had received only \$17,500, but I went to Mr. Wheeler, after getting the telegram to come here, and he showed me by his books that I had received \$20,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive any money from any other source?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. From where?

Mr. SMITH. From Mr. McKinley.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you receive from him?

Mr. SMITH. To the best of my recollection, \$18,000; but I am not positive. It was given to me in dribs. I think that is what he gave me.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive any from any other source?

Mr. SMITH. I did not. I refused contributions from other sources.

The CHAIRMAN. What?

Mr. SMITH. I refused contributions from any other source.

The CHAIRMAN. From what did you refuse contributions?

Mr. SMITH. From some of the Federal employees.

The CHAIRMAN. From anyone else?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you testify that all you know of the contributions used in the preconvention campaign in Illinois were the two totals which you have given?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir. No one else gave me any money.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you know of any money having been expended in Illinois in the preconvention campaign of Mr. Taft or of any other candidate in 1912 other than what you have testified to?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I only know that every candidate for President, and every candidate for State office, spent more or less money, and, of course, like all political contests, the statement made by the opposition is that the other fellow's amount of money was enormous.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you imagine that any of the candidates in harmony and sympathy with Mr. Taft could have spent anything in their own behalf?

Mr. SMITH. Senator, I could not find many candidates for office in Illinois who were in harmony and sympathy with Mr. Taft.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I thought. Do you think that all the money that was spent in Illinois in behalf of Mr. Taft's candidacy, or to advance it, are the sums which you have named?

Mr. SMITH. I believe that that money, added to what the Taft Club spent before I went to Chicago, which was in existence before I went there, and from the statement Mr. Wheeler showed me, they

spent a few thousand dollars before I got there—I haven't any knowledge of anybody who spent any money for Mr. Taft.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have an organization in any of the counties?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; so far as we could get it.

The CHAIRMAN. You had men standing as candidates for the primaries, did you not? How were delegates elected in Illinois?

Mr. SMITH. You see, Senator, we started out in the campaign in Illinois under the old system of selecting delegates by congressional districts, without a primary law. About 12 or 14 days before the regular primary, state-wide primary, the governor called a special session of the legislature and passed a preferential presidential primary law, which was a sort of makeshift on a short ballot, in addition to the regular primary ballot, and the plan of fight of necessity was changed from one of having delegates stand for the candidate to one of publicity and getting out votes for a President, instead of getting out votes to help elect delegates.

Illinois, of course, is a big State. You have a city with 3,000,000 population, and 102 counties.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you want to be understood as expressing your opinion that no money was spent in the interest of President Taft's nomination except what the club spent before you took charge and what was spent after you took charge by the organization?

Mr. SMITH. I want to be understood as saying that that is the only money——

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking you if you do not know. A few moments ago you volunteered the suggestion that estimates were often given by the opposition——

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That would indicate that it was only the opposition that could have had others interested.

Mr. SMITH. I have not given any estimate of what the opposition spent, and I do not desire to.

The CHAIRMAN. But you really do not want to be understood as conveying the impression that there was no money spent in the effort to carry that State except what you have accounted for, do you?

Mr. SMITH. Well, you want me to tell what I believe and know, do you not, Senator? You do not want me to state something that I do not know or do not believe?

The CHAIRMAN. I ask you if it is not the fact, and do you not know it to be the fact, that there could not be a State-wide campaign, men running all over the State, men seeking all over the State to carry their localities, without these men spending money in excess and outside of what was expended by your club or organization?

Mr. SMITH. There may have been organizations, Senator, in different parts of the State that were running for either State senator, Congressman, Senator, governor, or something else, that spent money in behalf of their own candidacies, and also that redounded to the benefit of Mr. Taft's candidacy.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I thought.

Mr. SMITH. But I do not know about it.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Smith, your organization, connected up with the Taft Club of Illinois, was the only official representation that

President Taft's candidacy had in Illinois during the campaign, was it not?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; I think so.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Smith, you have answered so fully all these questions that I do not think I care to ask you any more.

The CHAIRMAN. You may be excused.

Mr. Smith was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Schwedtman, we will now hear you.

**TESTIMONY OF FERD C. SCHWEDTMAN, GENERAL MANAGER OF
THE RACINE-SATTLEY CO., SPRINGFIELD, ILL.**

Ferd C. Schwedtman, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name, address, and occupation to the reporter.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Ferd C. Schwedtman; general manager of the Racine-Sattley Co., Springfield, Ill.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Schwedtman, where do you say you reside?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. My legal residence is in St. Louis.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived there?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Twenty-eight years.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of an association known as the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. In a general way, of what is that association composed?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It is composed of approximately 4,000 manufacturers in various parts of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Limited to any particular lines of manufacture?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know when it was organized?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Approximately 13 years ago; I do not know definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. What, if any, connection do you sustain to that association at the present time?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I am vice president of the organization for the State of Missouri.

The CHAIRMAN. And how long have you held that position?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Three years.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to the holding of that position, what position, if any, did you hold with reference to the organization?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I was secretary to Mr. Van Cleave, the president of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you state now approximately the time during which Mr. Van Cleave was president?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Van Cleave was president about three years, dating back three and one-half years; consequently approximately 1905 to 1908, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe he is dead, is he not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is president now?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. John Kirby, jr., of Dayton, Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how long he has been president?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He has been president three and one-half years.

The CHAIRMAN. Since the death of Mr. Van Cleave?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Prior to Mr. Van Cleave's death; a year prior to Mr. Van Cleave's death.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Schwedtmann, the resolution under which we are holding these hearings directs us to investigate contributions and expenditures relating to the presidential and congressional campaigns of 1904, 1908, and the preconvention campaign of 1912. What, if anything, do you know of contributions made to any presidential campaign in 1908?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Nothing, except my own personal contribution of a few dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. You were at that time secretary to Mr. Van Cleave?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That covered a small part of my time. I was an efficiency engineer and manager of the Wagner Electric Manufacturing Co. I was for years a close and intimate friend of Mr. Van Cleave's, so that my association with him as secretary was more in the way of serving or trying to serve him than anything else.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions by repute among your associates to the campaign, the presidential or congressional campaign, of 1908?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any fact or circumstance bearing upon or relating to contributions to the campaign, either the presidential or the congressional campaign of 1908?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I know indirectly that most of my associates in the National Association of Manufacturers were strongly in favor of Mr. Taft's candidacy and that all of them personally contributed. I should say that from their statements, but I know nothing as to the facts and figures and as to the amounts.

The CHAIRMAN. But this information is from statements of men with whom you were more or less associated?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything in the same way, by repute, among your associates of contributions made to the congressional campaign of 1908?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. In a similar way, at various times, my associates expressed themselves as indorsing the candidates who were opposed to some of the planks which our organization opposed, such as the anti-injunction law and the repeal of the Sherman law, and in favor of a tariff commission, and matters of that kind; but I can not say which of our candidates those contributions were made for except that they were all candidates who favored our planks.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall—and I ask that so there will be no misunderstanding afterwards—if you recall any specific contribution that came to your knowledge relating to the congressional campaign of 1908?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not remember a specific contribution outside of Mr. Van Cleave's and mine. I believe we both contributed personally to the Republican congressional candidates in St. Louis; in fact, it has been my policy, and I am sure Mr. Van Cleave's, to contribute a mite to every Republican congressional candidate in 1906.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of contributions to the preconvention campaigns of 1912? Do you understand that question?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We have no jurisdiction of what is going on now, but only what contributions were made in the efforts to nominate candidates. Do you know of any contributions made in the preconvention campaigns of 1912 in reference to any candidates seeking the nomination for President?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. None but my own small mite in favor of Mr. Taft.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you say Mr. Van Cleave retired from the presidency? What I want to get at is, was it prior to or after the campaign of 1908.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. After the campaign. I believe it was in 1909 that he retired.

The CHAIRMAN. I simply want to be sure as to whether it was before or after the campaign.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. After the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. It was after the campaign?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did your relation to Mr. Van Cleave require that you travel over the country to any extent?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir; quite a little.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall whether you were in New England during the fall of 1908, preceding the election?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I am sure that I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any records that were kept while you were associated with Mr. Van Cleave, showing contributions?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The records of the association were kept at the New York office; and the record in St. Louis, I am sure they show no contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. You had sufficient familiarity with those records, I assume, then, so that you could state that they did not show anything?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. At St. Louis; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; of course.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. In New York, I could not say.

The CHAIRMAN. Who had charge, if you know, of the records in New York?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. A part of the time Mr. Marshall Cushing, and a part of the time Mr. George S. Boudinot, secretary of the association.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Schwedtmann, we would not want to leave in the record the deduction of campaign contributions without the details, unless, of course, they were quite small, and with your attention called to that, are there any contributions that were made to any of these campaigns to which your attention has been called that you can recall the names or the amounts of?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I can not, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Schwedtmann, before closing my inquiry, and in order that there may be no misunderstanding hereafter, I want to ask you whether there is any fact or circumstance connected with or bearing upon the question of campaign funds, either contribu-

tions or expenditures, in reference to the presidential and congressional elections of 1908 and the preconvention campaigns of 1912 to which your attention has not been called or of which you have not testified and which you now recall?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not recall anything that might bear upon it and which I have not so far stated, but, with your permission, Senator, I would like to qualify my statement as to being in New England. I traveled a great deal, and I do not believe I was in New England during the time I stated, but I said I was sure of it. I would like to qualify that and say I do not remember having visited New England during the campaign of 1908.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. You do not recall being there?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not recall being there.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I have asked you nothing with reference to 1904, but I will ask you whether you know anything of contributions to any congressional or presidential campaign fund in the year 1904?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not.

Senator OLIVER. You have testified, Mr. Schwedtman, that you made small contributions on your own account, and you know that Mr. Van Cleave did the same to a limited extent, in these different campaigns, and that you had heard from time to time of like contributions from some of your associates in this national association. I now want to ask you, in order to put it in explicit terms in the record, whether any action was ever taken by your association, as an association, looking toward the raising of funds for any political campaign?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No such action was taken; quite the contrary. At various times, when that matter was discussed, it was clearly brought out that we are not a political association and that we are not interested in politics, and it was out of the question, under our charter, to do anything of that kind.

Senator OLIVER. Was there informal action or concert of action amongst the members, outside of the formal action of the association, looking toward concerted action with regard to the raising of funds?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Never while I was closely associated; no.

Senator OLIVER. That is all.

Senator PAYNTER. How long were you connected with the association during the lifetime of Mr. Van Cleave?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Officially, I was a member a number of years; but as Mr. Van Cleave's secretary three years, the whole time of his presidency.

Senator PAYNTER. I believe you said you and Mr. Van Cleave and some of the members of the association always contributed to the support of the Republican candidates?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Those of the association who contributed, within your knowledge, made the contributions to aid the Republican candidates?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You said that you did quite a good deal of traveling while you were secretary of the association?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I did——

Senator PAYNTER. What was the purpose of your trips? Was it on account of the association?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; but I was not secretary. I was secretary to Mr. Van Cleave.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. And only in behalf of Mr. Van Cleave, to aid him. He went oftentimes to conventions, and it was to aid him in his work in the propaganda of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you ever, as secretary other than as secretary to Mr. Van Cleave solicit contributions for campaign purposes?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Never.

Senator PAYNTER. Did Mr. Van Cleave or you for him ever send out any letters to the association urging that it was to the best interest of the association that it should support any particular candidates for office?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is possible, although I do not recall such a specific letter, but Mr. Van Cleave was very outspoken in advocating the principles for which the association stood, and he time and again advocated that candidates supporting certain principles should be given the moral and other support of the members who felt so inclined.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, your association was in favor of a protective tariff?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We were in favor of a tariff commission.

Senator PAYNTER. That was to be the means of adjusting the tariff, but I am talking about the principle now. You said you were in favor of certain principles. Were you in favor of the protective principles?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. There was quite a division among the members of the association on this tariff question. I think that you are right that a majority would favor the protective tariff.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, you said in your examination in chief that you had no doubt that some members of the association had made contributions?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I am sure of it.

Senator PAYNTER. How does that knowledge come to you?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Senator, if you know men closely, and you sit around a table in councils and so, they will convey that idea to you without expressing it in specific terms, saying, "I have contributed so much to this man."

Senator PAYNTER. Now, in any of those councils that you have attended was the opinion expressed that the organization should support, or that the members of it should support, the Republican organization, the Republican candidates for Congress, and for the Presidency?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. There had been long controversies at various times, when the presidential candidate was in the field, and it has invariably taken the idea of supporting the platform and not the candidate.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; I see the distinction; but were they not usually Republican candidates upon the platforms which you supported? I will put it that way.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think you are quite correct. I think that at various times I have heard great regret spoken by a number of Demo-

crats in the council that they could not support the Democratic platform?

Senator PAYNTER. That they could not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. And the reason you did not do it was because the Republicans advocated protection, was it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir; that was a very small part. It was the anti-injunction; it was the repeal of the Sherman law, and matters of that kind, as well as judicial recall.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you want the Sherman law repealed?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir; we did not want it repealed.

Senator PAYNTER. You did not want the injunction law interfered with unless it was made more stringent?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We did not want that made more stringent, but we did not want judges interfered with in granting injunctions.

Senator PAYNTER. You wanted it to remain in its then condition?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. And, in addition to that, you say the tariff question was of less importance to you than these other questions?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I beg your pardon.

Senator PAYNTER. You say the tariff question was then of less importance to this manufacturing association than these other questions?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Decidedly less. There was greater division of opinion on the tariff question than on all the other questions.

Senator PAYNTER. A greater division?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir. You may remember that we worked very hard.

Senator PAYNTER. I asked you a moment ago, and I did not press it any further, as to whether or not the association had sent out any letters calling for contributions to campaign funds, and I again ask you the question that you may repeat your answer or give what information you have in relation to that. Did Mr. Van Cleave, personally, as president of the association, ever send anything out; any kind of letters or circular letters to the association urging that the association should sustain certain principles?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He may have sent out such letters.

Senator PAYNTER. What is your recollection about it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It has been years ago, Senator, and I am not sure of it.

Senator PAYNTER. You are not sure?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Well, if you were called on to express an opinion after the lapse of these years, what would you say? I understand it is not as clear in your mind as it may have been at that time, but what is the best impression you have?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I know that Mr. Van Cleave was very outspoken, and I feel certain that at various times he sent out letters giving his opinion as to what the attitude of the members ought to be.

Senator PAYNTER. Ought to be?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir; and he has never asked for—

Senator PAYNTER. That is, on these questions that you say you are interested in?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you ever know of him ever sending out any letter at any time asking the association to support a Democratic candidate?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No; I do not.

Senator PAYNTER. So you had certain principles that you advocated and that were supported generally by the Republican organization?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is, beginning 1896. Prior to 1896 Mr. Van Cleave was a very ardent Democrat, and so was I.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Bryan's candidacy, I suppose, had nothing to do with the change of your political views? But you need not answer that.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Not that; but the silver question did have something to do with it.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all I have to ask Mr. Schwedtman.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mr. Schwedtman, unless you now recall some other fact that you wish to put in the record.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You may be excused.

Mr. Schwedtman was thereupon excused.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will take a recess until Monday morning at 10 o'clock.

Thereupon, at 12 o'clock m., the committee took a recess until Monday, October 14, 1912, at 10 o'clock a. m.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1912.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

The committee reassembled at 10 o'clock a. m., pursuant to recess, for the purpose of resuming the consideration of Senate resolutions 79 and 386.

Present: Senators Clapp (chairman), Oliver, Paynter, and Pomereene.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Mr. McCombs, you may be sworn.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM F. McCOMBS, TEMPORARILY RESIDING IN NEW YORK; LAWYER.

The CHAIRMAN. Give the reporter, for the official record, your name in full, residence, and occupation.

Mr. McCOMBS. William F. McCombs; Hotel Plaza, for the present, New York City; occupation, lawyer.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McCombs, the resolutions under which we are acting—there are two of them—cover, first, the presidential and congressional campaigns of 1904 and 1908, and then the preconvention campaign of 1912, down to and including the nomination of the various candidates. I know nothing of your relation to this subject prior to this year, but I will begin with 1904, and ask you if you know anything concerning contributions to the presidential or congressional campaigns of 1904?

Mr. McCOMBS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1908?

Mr. McCOMBS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now you may state what, if anything, you know with regard to preconvention campaign contributions and disbursements in 1912.

Mr. McCOMBS. My secretary has omitted to give me the contributions; he will be in in a few minutes, but I will read the expenditures.

I began this campaign for Gov. Wilson about the 1st of June, or the latter part of May, 1911. It commenced in my own office, and for a period of a month or so I bore all of the expenses without having any subscribers whatever, and I paid such expenditures as arose, including publicity, the writing to the leaders in the various States, postage, and matters of that sort, out of my own pocket. I think about the middle of June I established a bureau at 42 Broadway, New York City, in which I had publicity men.

Senator PAYNTER. That was in 1911?
Mr. McCOMBS. 1911. I assume that in ruling as to the resolution—of course it is ambiguous—you may want to go back of 1912. I will ask the Senator for a ruling on that?

The CHAIRMAN. Undoubtedly; anything that relates to the efforts to secure the nomination of any candidate who was a candidate for nomination in 1912.

Mr. McCOMBS. I agree with you; but the Senator's question seemed to indicate——

The CHAIRMAN. You have stated that it was 1911.
Senator PAYNTER. I understood it to be 1911.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir; it is 1911 that I am testifying to. That was in May. In June, 1911, as I have said, about the middle—I carried these expenses myself up to, I think, about the 1st of June, and later on as the campaign needed funds—and it did very much at times—I would contribute. I underwrote the campaign to the extent of \$10,000 in the beginning myself. I will read now the list of contributions that has just been handed to me by my secretary:

Willard Saulsbury-----	\$250. 00
W. W. Smith-----	10. 00
Hugh McRae-----	150. 00
Joshua Hill-----	250. 00
Railroad refund, traveling-----	42. 06

not strictly a contribution, but it should appear——

Frederic C. Penfield-----	12, 000. 00
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There has been some mention in the public press as to Mr. Penfield, and if the committee will indulge me, I will make a statement as to that. I knew that Mr. Penfield was a Princeton man, and I was relying on my friends and the governor's friends among the Princeton men primarily to finance this campaign, and so they did. I met Mr. Penfield at the New York Yacht Club, I think, some time in November and had luncheon with him, and I found him to be a very enthusiastic Wilson man, Mr. Penfield having participated in a previous campaign—Mr. Cleveland's campaign—I asked him if he would not be of service to us in that capacity or with me. He said he would be delighted to do so, but that he was going abroad and that he would leave me enough money to get as good a man as he was to work in the cause of Gov. Wilson. Mr. Penfield returned some time in May from abroad, as I remember, and he came to work with me—work in the campaign. Mr. Penfield gave me a check some time in December, just before he went away—two checks, one of \$5,000, payable in December, and one of \$5,000, payable, as I recall it, in January. That is all the money he gave me at that time; that is, all the money that was ever received by me; and I am responsible for the contributions of the entire campaign, with the exception of a few thousand dollars which Mr. McAdoo will testify about. The campaign was in financial difficulties a number of times, and I remember along in May I wrote to Mr. Penfield, who was then on the Nile, and asked him if he could not send me some more, and he sent me \$2,000, and no other fund has been contributed by him, Mr. Penfield, but this, whatsoever.

E. J. Macquire-----	\$50. 00
B. P. M. Cunester-----	10. 00
Robert M. Heath-----	10. 00

William F. McCombs	\$10,000.00
William F. McCombs	1,000.00
John T. Collins	10.00
William Weiss	100.00
Charles M. Smith	1,000.00
Charles J. Miller	100.00
J. Spencer Smith	10.00
Democratic Publishing Co	20.00

that was a refund for printing—

Charles R. Crane	10,000.00
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I think Mr. Crane has already testified before this committee. He gave me \$5,000, I think it was in March, and \$5,000 later on—probably in April—I am not sure of those dates. Our campaign was at a low ebb financially at that time.

Fulton McMahon	\$10.00
H. J. Barrett	25.00
Refund, traveling	1.75
Louis Dean Speer	25.00
Clarence Snyder	5.00
Lawrence C. Wood	150.00
Walter D. Hines	150.00

that was sent to me through Mr. McAdoo—

George Foster Peabody	150.00
F. B. Robert	2,500.00

Senator OLIVER. Is that \$25 or \$2,500?

Mr. McCOMBS. George Foster Peabody \$150, and \$2,500 for Mr. Roberts.

B. P. McMaster	\$2,500.00
George M. Lamonte	100.00
John Martin	200.00
George F. Handel	2,500.00
R. Magill	2,500.00
James Sprunt	250.00
Hugh McRae	100.00
C. A. Snow	100.00

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McCombs, will you hand me that paper?

[The papers referred to were handed to the chairman.]

The CHAIRMAN. The reporter will mark this "Exhibit McCombs 1."

The paper was accordingly marked "Exhibit McCombs 1," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT McCOMBS No. 1.

Contributions to the prenomination campaign of Hon. Woodrow Wilson.

Willard Saulsbury	\$250.00
W. W. Smith	10.00
Hugh McRae	150.00
Josuah Hill	250.00
Railroad refund, traveling	42.06
Frederic C. Penfield	12,000.00
E. J. Macquire	50.00
B. P. M. Cunester	10.00
Robert M. Heath	10.00
Cook Conkling	10.00
Wm. F. McCombs	10,000.00
Do	1,000.00
John T. Collins	10.00

Wm. Weiss	\$100. 00
Chas. N. Smith	1, 000. 00
Chas. J. Miller	100. 00
J. Spencer Smith	10. 00
Democratic Publication Co	20. 00
Chas. R. Crane	10, 000. 00
Fulton McMahon	10. 00
H. J. Barrett	2, 500. 00
Railroad refund, traveling	1. 75
Louis Dean Speer	25. 00
Clarence Snyder	5. 00
Lawrence C. Wood	150. 00
Walker D. Hines	150. 00
Geo. Foster Peabody	150. 00
F. B. Robert	2, 500. 00
B. P. McMaster	25. 00
Geo. M. Lamonte	100. 00
John Martin	200. 00
Geo. F. Handel	2, 500. 00
R. Magill	2, 500. 00
James Sprunt	250. 00
Hugh McRae	100. 00
C. A. Snow	100. 00
Newell Pfeffer	2. 00
Abram I. Elkus	12, 500. 00
Leroy Springs	100. 00
Win. P. Coe	500. 00
A. F. Morton	500. 00
Frederick Parker	5. 00
James G. Muller	10. 00
Shaefer, Howell & Hinnis	5. 00
Gustave Wuerth	3. 00
W. T. Thom	5. 00
Rev. Bunyon McLeod	2. 00
Harvey Thomas	6, 000. 00
J. Albert Van Winkler	25. 00
Edwin Parker	10. 00
James Kerr	3. 00
James G. Wilson	50. 00
Geo. Foster Peabody	100. 00
Dr. Samuel E. Armstrong	10. 00
James D. Pheland	1, 000. 00
H. Palmer Hutchinson	5. 00
Nashville Y. M. C. A	100. 00
Daniel Fellows Platt	2, 500. 00
John S. Armstrong	100. 00
Frazer Curtis	5. 00
John R. Dunlap	100. 00
Mr. Outerbridge	500. 00
Walter Boswell	25. 00
E. M. Thompson	100. 00
Albert C. Boswell	50. 00
Henry Morgenthau	20, 000. 00
James Stewart	500. 00
A. R. Smith	25. 00
R. Mount	5. 00
W. S. Arbuthnot	100. 00
D. S. Ward	10. 00
H. Alexander	100. 00
A. W. Paul	25. 00
Nathan Strauss	250. 00
Cleveland H. Dodge and Princeton friends	85, 800. 00
F. M. Staton	5. 00
James Kerr	5. 00
John J. Durer	10. 00

John R. Burton.....	\$500. 00
W. M. Daniels.....	300. 00
Carl Monk.....	10. 00
A. S. Weston.....	5. 00
A. S. Norton.....	25. 00
F. H. Lionberger.....	250. 00
H. C. Peterson.....	5. 00
Frank L. Mayes.....	25. 00
E. A. Filene.....	250. 00
Irving T. Bush.....	1, 000. 00
T. N. Osborne.....	100. 00
John R. Dunlap.....	100. 00
Jos. F. Guffey, a Princeton friend of Wm. F. McCombs.....	1, 850. 00
Phillip H. Chruchman.....	2. 00
Pringle T. Yeomans.....	5. 00
Samuel Untermeyer.....	7, 000. 00
Collected through Wm. G. McAdoo.....	1, 000. 00
Collected through Wm. G. McAdoo.....	100. 00
Collected through Wm. G. McAdoo (Jacob H. Schiff).....	2, 500. 00
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	193, 565. 81

NOTE.—This campaign was commenced by me during May, 1911. I bore all of the expenses of the campaign, and ran most of the work from my personal offices and apartment for a period of two or three months.

During the first week in June, 1911, as I recall, I established a bureau for sending out literature about Woodrow Wilson, and commenced a very large correspondence all over the country with leaders with reference to him. My expenditures in this way covered about \$10,000, as shown by the expenditure sheet.

I received a number of checks after the Baltimore convention, which were turned over to the Democratic national committee as soon as a treasurer was appointed.

The CHAIRMAN (showing "Exhibit McCombs 1" to witness). Mr. McCombs, what is "Exhibit McCombs 1"?

Mr. McCOMBS. That is a statement of my receipts during this campaign. If during the day I find that there are some minor corrections, I reserve the right to make them.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly. At present, to your best recollection, this contains all the contributions to Mr. Wilson's pre-convention campaign that you received?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the total amount appears to be \$195,565.81?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir. You will find at the foot, I think, Senator, that I have added there \$10,000 in addition, that I spent out of my own pocket during the year. I paid my traveling expenses and telephone and telegraph expenses, and all that sort of thing, and much of the time was at my house. So those are expenditures at my household.

The CHAIRMAN. Except where it does not appear as a distinct item in Exhibit 1, it would only be by deduction that it is outside?

Mr. McCOMBS. I beg your pardon, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I say that except where it does not appear as a distinct item in Exhibit 1 it would only be by deduction that it would appear to be outside of the \$193,000; I understand that it is exclusive of the \$193,000.

Mr. McCOMBS. Oh, yes, sir. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a statement covering the expenditures?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir [producing a paper].

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Reporter, you may mark this "Exhibit McCombs 2."

The paper referred to was accordingly marked "Exhibit McCombs 2," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT McCOMBS No. 2.

W. W. V. expenditures Woodrow Wilson prenomination campaign, Wm. F. McCombs, manager.

General and office expenses.....	\$2, 858. 47
Car fares.....	36. 20
Newspapers.....	113. 27
Salaries, office force, etc.....	22, 058. 30
Postage.....	7, 589. 10
Expressage.....	1, 774. 19
Telephone and telegraph.....	5, 424. 11
Plate matter.....	7, 489. 33
Printing.....	17, 255. 96
Stationery.....	2, 170. 14
Traveling.....	17, 973. 04
Lists, reporting, etc.....	1, 084. 00
Addressing and mailing.....	2, 013. 88
Buttons and photographs.....	2, 338. 39
Advertising and publicity.....	12, 420. 23
Clippings.....	1, 171. 09
Furniture and fixtures.....	798. 05
Rentals.....	798. 77
Decorations.....	389. 25
Washington, D. C., Publicity Bureau.....	15, 000. 00
Organization in Maine.....	1, 000. 00
Expenses, traveling, hotels, etc., occasion Jackson Day dinner, Jan. 8, 1912, Washington, D. C., including New Jersey representation.....	1, 773. 62
Organization in Michigan.....	3, 600. 00
Organization in Georgia.....	1, 100. 00
Organization in North Carolina.....	3, 750. 00
Organization in Massachusetts.....	4, 100. 00
Organization in New Jersey and for use in national work by State organization.....	3, 000. 00
Organization in Minnesota.....	1, 500. 00
Organization in New York.....	2, 150. 00
Organization in Oklahoma.....	3, 541. 00
Organization in Kentucky.....	1, 200. 00
Organization in South Dakota (wedged).....	10, 000. 00
Organization in Wisconsin.....	10, 500. 00
Organization in Rhode Island.....	750. 00
Organization in Virginia.....	1, 725. 00
Organization in Nebraska.....	2, 250. 00
Organization in Colorado.....	1, 100. 00
Organization in Ohio.....	4, 500. 00
Organization in Maryland.....	1, 500. 00
Organization in Kansas.....	5, 000. 00
Organization in Washington.....	1, 200. 00
Organization in Chicago.....	250. 00
Organization in Iowa.....	2, 200. 00
Organization in Connecticut.....	575. 00
Organization in Illinois.....	3, 000. 00
General organization.....	1, 190. 00
Brought forward.....	193, 208. 39
Baltimore and convention expenses for period of from June 15 to July 3, inclusive.....	14, 974. 68
	208, 183. 05
Receipts as shown.....	193, 565. 81
Deficit and unpaid bills.....	14, 617. 24

NOTE.—In addition to the deficit I spent about \$10,000 on personal and other expenses, such as long-distance telephone calls, special work for my apartment, telephones, telegrams, and paying the expenses of people for whom I had sent.

The CHAIRMAN [showing Exhibit McCombs 2 to the witness]. Mr. McCombs, what is "Exhibit McCombs 2"?

Mr. McCOMBS. That is the expenditures of the Woodrow Wilson prenominating campaign of myself, as manager of that campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. And covers all the expenditures, so far as you know?

Mr. McCOMBS. From about June 1 to the middle of June, throughout, to the end; from the time the campaign began.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I know. I notice here a number of items, beginning with "Organization of Michigan," and then following a number of States, and the amount stated opposite each State. So far as you know, is that all the money that was expended in those States?

Mr. McCOMBS. I think it is all the money, because this campaign was not financed by any of the States at all. That statement represents the moneys expended in the entire United States—everything, so far as I know, and I think I am right; it carries with it the expenditures throughout the States and the Territories. The entire matter was managed from my headquarters. That makes about \$4,000 a State, or \$3,000 a State, or something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. For instance [reading]: "Organization of New Jersey, and for use in national work of the State organization, \$3,000."

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to be understood that it is your belief that this is the sum total of the expense incurred in behalf of Gov. Wilson's preconvention campaign in New Jersey?

Mr. McCOMBS. Not in New Jersey, entirely. The State committee over there did some work outside, in sending speakers, etc. That is why I added there "national organization." In other words, the State chairman would go to Kentucky, or the national committeeman would go to Maine, as he did.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I supposed.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That would apply to all those States, would it not?

Mr. McCOMBS. Well, no. I have given you accurately what I contributed to them.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; this states what you contributed. Now I am asking you, Mr. McCombs, as to whether, within your personal knowledge or repute among your associates, there was any money expended in these several States to advance the candidacy of Gov. Wilson, exclusive of what appears in Exhibit 2?

Mr. McCOMBS. I can only answer in this way: Of course, I can not say that nothing whatever was expended in those States, but the representatives whom we had there, the people who went in there, looked to us exclusively for money. They said they did.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it your opinion that Exhibit 2 covers the expenditures in the various States stated in Exhibit 2 in behalf of Gov. Wilson's preconvention campaign?

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not quite understand, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I ask you if it is your opinion—you had charge of this matter, had you not?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I ask you if it is your opinion that Exhibit 2 covers the expenditures in behalf of Gov. Wilson's preconvention campaign in the various States mentioned in Exhibit 2?

Mr. McCOMBS. So far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any contributions that were made—I am not speaking now of contributions that were made to you as manager, but if you know of contributions that were made to Mr. Wilson's preconvention campaign which do not appear in Exhibit 1?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes; only Mr. McAdoo's. He had a small amount contributed to him.

The CHAIRMAN. Who had charge of the campaign in Illinois; do you know?

Mr. McCOMBS. There was a committee there, composed of——

The CHAIRMAN. Who was at the head of the committee?

Mr. McCOMBS. He was running for Congressman at large. If you can tell me, or if anyone can tell me the Democrat who was running for Congressman at large, it was that gentleman. Lawrence B. Stringer, and Mr. Joseph E. Davies was there for part of the time, and also Mr. Irving Schumann was active in that campaign. I think he lives at Sullivan, Ill.

The CHAIRMAN. Who had charge of the campaign for Gov. Wilson in New Jersey?

Mr. McCOMBS. I think Mr. Grosscup. You mean for the State and national campaign together?

The CHAIRMAN. The effort that was being put forth by the friends of Gov. Wilson to secure the nomination.

Mr. McCOMBS. Mr. Grosscup, the State chairman, and Mr. Tumulty, and Judge Hudspeth, the national committeeman. They had their own State organization, which was working in the Wilson matter from New Jersey.

Senator POMERENE. Did you give Mr. Grosscup's first name?

Mr. McCOMBS. E. E.—Edward E.

The CHAIRMAN. I see the total amount for Illinois is \$3,000?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it your judgment that the preconvention effort in behalf of Gov. Wilson was made in Illinois for \$3,000?

Mr. McCOMBS. I am pretty sure of it; yes, I think that is all the money they had. I am pretty sure of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not think that the friends of Gov. Wilson in these different States contributed money locally to advance his campaign in excess of what you have put in Exhibit 2?

Mr. McCOMBS. That is all I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking you, of course, for your personal knowledge. But you were associated with this movement?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have your associates in these States?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. From that association I ask you whether, in your opinion, you believe that all the money that was expended in the various States are the amounts included in Exhibit 2?

Mr. McCOMBS. That was what was generally told to me by the men in the States themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. McCombs, simply a general question, so that hereafter it shall not be said that it was omitted. I ask you now whether there is any fact or circumstance bearing upon or relating to the subject of campaign contributions in behalf of Gov. Wilson in the effort to nominate him in 1912 to which your attention has not been called or to which you have not testified and which you now recall?

Mr. McCOMBS. Will you please repeat the question, so that I can answer you intelligently?

The reporter repeated the question, as follows:

Now, Mr. McCombs, simply a general question, so that hereafter it shall not be said that it was omitted. I ask you now whether there is any fact or circumstance bearing upon or relating to the subject of campaign contributions in behalf of Gov. Wilson in the effort to nominate him in 1912 to which your attention has not been called or to which you have not testified and which you now recall?

Mr. McCOMBS. Well, I do not see how I can answer your question, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Why, you come onto the stand——

Mr. McCOMBS. I came here to answer any questions you might ask me, and I am very glad to.

The CHAIRMAN. You come onto the stand and you are asked certain questions.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Matters that occurred some time ago.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, before I suggest that that is all, I simply ask you whether there is anything else at this time that you recall bearing upon the question of contributions to which you have not testified or to which your attention has not been called?

Mr. McCOMBS. Well, I can not answer that question without an examination from the committee. I do not recall anything at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is the question.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes; but if the committee desires to ask me any further questions pertinent to the examination I shall be very glad indeed to answer them.

The CHAIRMAN. I know; but you can say now whether you do recall anything else, can you not?

Mr. McCOMBS. If you want, Senator, I shall be very glad to answer anything.

The CHAIRMAN. You certainly do not understand the question, Mr. McCombs. I am asking you whether now, after the examination, and going back to these things, many of which occurred some time ago, if there is anything which you recall that you desire to state?

Mr. McCOMBS. No; there is nothing that I recall that I desire to state.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is there anything that you recall at this time concerning contributions to the preconvention campaign of any other candidate?

Mr. McCOMBS. I have had nothing to do with any other candidate.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you do not recall anything, do you?

Mr. McCOMBS. I have not been interested in the contributions to other candidates or in their campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. You might not be interested in a thing——

Mr. McCOMBS. I know nothing about them.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that answers the question.

Mr. McCOMBS. I know nothing about them.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. McCombs, I notice a contribution in this list of \$85,800 from "Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge and Princeton friends."

Senator POMERENE. \$800, is it not?

Senator OLIVER. \$85,800. Who is Mr. Dodge?

Mr. McCOMBS. Mr. Dodge is a resident of the city of New York, a classmate of Gov. Wilson; a man who stood with Gov. Wilson in the attempt to democratize Princeton; who has been his friend.

Senator OLIVER. You say "democratize." You do not have any allusion to the party of that name, do you?

Mr. McCOMBS. Not at all, sir. We are engaged in a little effort of that sort now. Mr. Dodge has stood with Gov. Wilson ever since he has been on the board there, and he is one of his closest and most intimate friends.

Senator OLIVER. Well, have you any knowledge as to who these other Princeton friends are that were associated with Mr. Dodge in this very liberal contribution?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes; I have some knowledge.

Senator OLIVER. Can you give us any information in regard to that?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. All right, go ahead.

Mr. McCOMBS. Mr. Dodge, I think, I went to early in July of 1911. I told him what I had attempted to do; I told him that I was going to start on a very large publicity campaign——

Senator OLIVER. Now, Mr. McCombs——

Mr. McCOMBS. I want to show my relations with Mr. Dodge, and I think your question goes to that point, does it not, Senator?

Senator OLIVER. No. I was asking you this: My question simply went to the point of ascertaining who the other friends named in this contribution were. It is credited to "Cleveland H. Dodge and Princeton friends."

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. I simply wanted to know who they were. I do not care to know the machinery by which they were approached.

Mr. McCOMBS. Can I not state the connection?

Senator OLIVER. I do not see what it has to do with my question; it may, although I do not see how.

Mr. McCOMBS. I want to state to the committee that, so far as I am concerned, what the position is. I have nothing to conceal whatever.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. McCombs, I want to free myself from any imputation of making any charge of that sort. I think you are loading up the record with a lot of matter that is somewhat irrelevant, especially as pertaining to my question, which was directed to the personnel of certain contributors.

Mr. McCOMBS. Precisely. But will I have the right——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McCombs, if you will just answer Senator Oliver's question, you may then make any explanation you desire.

Senator OLIVER. An opportunity will be given you to explain after you have answered.

Mr. McCOMBS. Not to explain, but to make a statement of fact. Will you repeat the question to me?

The reporter repeated the question, as follows:

Senator OLIVER. Well, have you any knowledge as to who these other Princeton friends are that were associated with Mr. Dodge in this very liberal contribution?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes; I have some knowledge.

Senator OLIVER. Can you give us any information in regard to that?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. McCOMBS. In the early part of September I asked Mr. Dodge whether, and if anyone had, who were the contributors. I wanted the direct information, so that I could present it to this committee. Mr. Dodge wrote me a letter, which I have here, saying that the list of contributors is as follows:

Edward W. Sheldon, \$1,000; Thomas D. Jones, \$10,500; Cyrus H. McCormick, \$12,500; Cleveland H. Dodge, \$51,300.

This letter is dated September 27.

Senator OLIVER. That is what I want to know.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Do you know anything about Mr. Dodge's business affiliations or interests?

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not, except I know that he is largely interested in copper, with the Phelps, Dodge Co., somewhere in the Southwest.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Dodge, I understand, is to be here himself, so that I will not trouble you further in that regard.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; he will be here.

Senator OLIVER. There is \$20,000 credited to—I am not sure whether it is Mr. Boswell or Mr. Morgenthau.

Mr. McCOMBS. Mr. Morgenthau.

Senator OLIVER. Who is Mr. Morgenthau?

Mr. McCOMBS. Mr. Morgenthau is in the real estate business in New York. He was called to my attention, I think, by Rabbi Wise, in New York, as being a man very much interested in Gov. Wilson, and he said that he wanted to contribute, and said, furthermore, he wanted nothing whatever but to advance the cause of Wilson. He contributed to me at a time when—let me see; in, I think, four checks; he gave me at times when I called on him for money four checks for \$5,000 each, making \$20,000.

Senator OLIVER. Newell Pfeffer contributed to the extent of \$12,000.

Mr. McCOMBS. I think you have misstated that.

Senator OLIVER. Abram I. Elkus, \$12,500.

Mr. McCOMBS. That is it.

Senator OLIVER. Who is Mr. Elkus?

Mr. McCOMBS. Mr. Elkus is a lawyer in New York and an intimate friend of Mr. Morgenthau.

Senator OLIVER. Harvey Thomas contributed \$6,000.

Mr. McCOMBS. He lives in Atlantic City.

Senator OLIVER. Do you know what his business is?

Mr. McCOMBS. I think his principal business is the Atlantic Review, a daily paper down there.

Senator OLIVER. In Atlantic City?

Mr. McCOMBS. The Atlantic City Review.

Senator OLIVER. I think the other large contributors have already been placed in connection with either their own testimony or the testimony of others, and I will not stop to ask you any further questions about them.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. McCombs, what is the business of Mr. Penfield?

Mr. McCOMBS. Mr. Penfield, so far as I know, is retired.

Senator PAYNTER. Senator Dixon on the stand stated——

Mr. McCOMBS. I think he has some properties in Pennsylvania which he manages.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes.

Senator Dixon on the stand stated that he had information that he had given a very large sum of money.

Mr. McCOMBS. He had not.

Senator PAYNTER. If he had given it to anybody else, you would know about it?

Mr. McCOMBS. I would know it.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Penfield is here.

Mr. McCOMBS. Mr. Penfield is here.

Senator PAYNTER. Oh, I did not know that. We generally ask what the business is of the large contributors who appear on these lists.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. What is the business of Mr. Morgenthau?

Mr. McCOMBS. Mr. Morgenthau?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes.

Mr. McCOMBS. The real estate business.

Senator PAYNTER. Real estate business.

Mr. McCOMBS. He is virtually retired. I think his son and another gentleman, whose name I forget, one of his partners, are running the remainder of the business.

Senator PAYNTER. You obtained the information through Rabbi Wise that he was a very strong supporter of Wilson?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. Is Mr. Dodge a lawyer?

Mr. McCOMBS. Mr. Cleveland Dodge?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; Mr. Cleveland Dodge.

Mr. McCOMBS. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. His name appears in some correspondence that was introduced here some time ago, and I got the impression that he was a lawyer.

Mr. McCOMBS. Oh, no. He is a son of William E. Dodge and a classmate of Gov. Wilson.

Senator PAYNTER. Let me have that letter which you received.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not in evidence.

Senator PAYNTER. Oh, I beg your pardon; I thought it was.

Mr. McCOMBS. It was a letter from Mr. Dodge. I will be glad to read it, if you want me to.

Senator PAYNTER. No; I do not care to have you do that. I simply wanted to look at the names.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Dodge is credited with how much in that list?

Mr. McCOMBS. I think \$51,000.

Senator PAYNTER. And Mr. Cyrus McCormick with how much?

Mr. McCOMBS. \$12,500.

Senator PAYNTER. Who is Cyrus McCormick; what business is he engaged in?

Mr. McCOMBS. He is in the Harvester Co.

Senator PAYNTER. Who else is mentioned in that letter?

Mr. McCOMBS. Thomas D. Jones.

Senator PAYNTER. How much is he credited with as having given?

Mr. McCOMBS. I forget—\$10,500.

Senator PAYNTER. What is his business?

Mr. McCOMBS. Zinc, I think. I do not know much about his business. He is also a trustee of Princeton.

Senator PAYNTER. And Mr. Untermeyer gave \$7,000?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. He is the lawyer in New York City?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. There seems to have been \$1,200 sent to Kentucky?

Mr. McCOMBS. Oh, no.

Senator PAYNTER. For organization expenses.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes; \$1,200. That is right.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all I care to ask Mr. McCombs.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. McCombs, I would like a little more specific information relative to these contributions to the fund raised by Mr. Cleveland Dodge.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. One you said was Mr. Cyrus McCormick?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. What relations, if any, has he sustained towards Gov. Wilson in the past?

Mr. McCOMBS. He has been a very close friend of Gov. Wilson, a trustee of Princeton University for many years, one of the largest supporters of that institution, and had been——

Senator POMERENE. Of the university, you mean?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes; and had been one of the men who had co-operated with Gov. Wilson in his effort to broaden the scope of the university. The same is true of the Messrs. Jones.

Senator PAYNTER. Now, who are they?

Mr. McCOMBS. They are Princeton men, and both of them, as I recall, were on the board—I am quite sure they were on the board—of trustees of Princeton University. They, Mr. Dodge, and Mr. McCormick had worked out a policy of changing certain lines of the university, and Mr. McCormick contributed this amount through Mr. Dodge. It seems that Mr. Dodge called on them for a certain amount of money. I did not raise any of it; not a cent of it. In the beginning, I think it was July, I went to Mr. Dodge and said that I figured that up to the 1st of December it would cost us \$35,000 to run this large bureau which I had established, and to send our men throughout the country, and the general expenses of this organization in conducting the campaign for Woodrow Wilson. Mr. Dodge said he would put up \$17,500 if I would raise \$17,500. That was \$35,000. Mr. Dodge raised his \$17,500 and I mine. I raised mine largely among my Princeton friends, as would appear. After we

got that far the scope of the campaign had enlarged very much, indeed. It had become serious business at that time; I mean it had broadened very much; so I went over to Mr. Dodge and asked him if he could not contribute some more money, and he said he could. I never stated any specific amount that he should get; in fact, there were three or four times in the campaign when we were in debt. There was once when I was \$42,000 personally in debt for the carrying of this campaign. That was in February or the 1st of March. After the Illinois primaries, in addition to what I had done, I was in debt again about \$14,000; so that Mr. Dodge would help with the money at times, when I was bankrupt, so to speak, so far as the campaign was concerned.

Mr. McCormick, as far as he is concerned, has been a lifelong friend, practically, of Woodrow Wilson. He has stated, not to me, but in accordance with what Mr. Dodge has said here, that he merely wanted to help Woodrow Wilson as Woodrow Wilson, ex-president of Princeton University—that, and in no other way.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether they were at Princeton at the same time?

Mr. McCOMBS. They were classmates.

Senator POMERENE. They were classmates?

Mr. McCOMBS. Mr. Dodge was a classmate.

Senator POMERENE. You speak of the Joneses. What are their first names?

Mr. McCOMBS. It appears in my report that I have marked in evidence—David B. Jones, \$10,500; Thomas D. Jones, \$10,500.

Senator POMERENE. And where do they live?

Mr. McCOMBS. They live in Chicago.

Senator POMERENE. What is their business?

Mr. McCOMBS. I said it was principally in zinc, as I understand it. I do not know. I do not know them very well, myself.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether they were at Princeton at the same time Gov. Wilson was a student there?

Mr. McCOMBS. A little later, but they cooperated with his policies at Princeton. They were part of the group that were trying to work out the expansion of the university upon different lines.

Senator POMERENE. Were they trustees of Princeton?

Mr. McCOMBS. They were trustees; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. This Mr. McCormick is one of the Chicago McCormicks, is he?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Engaged in the harvester business?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Were these gentlemen working together with Gov. Wilson at the time he was trying to "democratize" the university, as you have expressed it?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, of course they were. They were the principals of the board that was working along these lines.

Senator POMERENE. Now, who were the other names? I did not bear them in mind. What are the names of those who contributed to the Dodge fund?

Mr. McCOMBS. That is all.

Senator POMERENE. That would be four or five of them?

Mr. McCOMBS. I have a letter here from Mr. Dodge of September 27. He had been up in the mountains, and I knew that this inquiry was on, and I asked him to give me a list of who was responsible for this fund of his. He gave me this list: Edward W. Sheldon, Thomas D. Jones, David B. Jones, C. H. McCormick, and Cleveland Dodge, the latter in the sum of \$51,300.

Senator POMERENE. Now, this money that you gave here, and of which you have given a detailed statement, aggregated, as I remember, \$193,208.39.

Mr. McCOMBS. The exhibit speaks for itself. I do not recall.

Senator POMERENE. And, in addition to that, you say Baltimore and convention expenses for a period from June 15 to July 30, inclusive, \$14,974.66.

Mr. McCOMBS. That is included, I think.

Senator POMERENE. That is included?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Well, you add that to the \$193,000, making a total of \$208,183.05?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, this money was expended throughout the entire United States?

Mr. McCOMBS. You mean all the money I account for there?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. McCOMBS. Absolutely throughout the entire United States. You will see from my report there that the larger part of the expenses was in publicity work, in acquainting the American people with Woodrow Wilson, and in sending people throughout the country to acquaint them with him.

Senator POMERENE. You name here specifically, if I have counted this correctly, 23 States?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And then you have other items here referring—

Mr. McCOMBS. General organization expenses and traveling, etc.

Senator POMERENE. I was mistaken about that. Here is the State of Maine, 24 States specifically named—and then you have other items of general expense.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. For organization?

Mr. McCOMBS. And, as I say, they extended over the 48 States throughout.

Senator POMERENE. Except the McAdoo fund do you know of any other funds which were raised in behalf of the Wilson candidacy?

Mr. McCOMBS. No; I have given you the statements complete, as far as I know them.

Senator POMERENE. And in view of certain questions which were asked by other members of the committee if there were any other moneys raised in the local campaign you have no knowledge of it.

Mr. McCOMBS. Oh, no; I have no knowledge of it whatever. I know this about this campaign: Of course, Wilson did not have the advantage of a broad political acquaintance that other people had so that we had to build up this campaign by soliciting and acquainting them with Wilson—build it up gradually so that the leaders

would take an interest in it and that the people would take an interest in it. I think that, outside of what I have testified to, there has been very little money so far as I know because the money went through me. There is a deficit there now of about \$14,000 which I will have to meet.

Senator POMERENE. These funds, or the larger portion of them, were contributed by men who were either graduates of Princeton or otherwise affiliated with Princeton University and the work there?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes; you see I have a very large acquaintance among Princeton men. I have been in connection with the club in New York and with many of the Princeton movements and I sent to those men and got their contributions. Mr. Dodge turned in to me a sum of \$85,000 and I left that entirely to him. That is the way, in a large measure, that the Wilson campaign was financed.

Senator POMERENE. Now, is there anything else that you care to say with respect to these contributions or the method of campaigning?

Mr. McCOMBS. I wish to state this, that there is not a dollar upon that statement of contributions that reflects any promise, expressed or implied, upon my part. There has been no representation made except that this country needs the sort of man that Wilson is as President of the United States; and, fortunately, enough men agreed with me to carry along the campaign, although we were in pretty bad straits a number of times so far as funds were concerned. With reference to Mr. Dodge and Mr. Jones and Mr. McCormick and Mr. Sheldon they contributed money to Wilson in precisely the same way as they would contribute it to Princeton University when Wilson was at the head of it or even now.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. McCombs, you make one statement which perhaps might be susceptible of misconstruction. You say there is nothing in this statement which would reflect any promise——

Mr. McCOMBS. That statement is complete.

Senator POMERENE. Was any statement of any kind made to anyone, directly or indirectly, as to inducements to make any of these contributions?

Mr. McCOMBS. Positively not.

Senator POMERENE. No strings to any of these contributions of any kind?

Mr. McCOMBS. Not to one.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. McCombs, I want to ask you one or two more questions about this question of the expenditures. I notice here that you spent for organization \$10,000 in South Dakota——

Mr. McCOMBS. No; not in South Dakota—in Wisconsin.

Senator OLIVER. Then, did you spend \$10,500 in Rhode Island? As I read this, it is \$10,000 in South Dakota and \$10,500 in Wisconsin?

Mr. McCOMBS. I spent \$10,500 in Wisconsin. I have not spent \$10,000 in South Dakota, but I pledged myself for the primary expenses up to \$10,000 in South Dakota. I had no money to carry on the South Dakota campaign, and they carried it on themselves out there upon my own underwriting that I would refund it to them; and I am now bound by that.

Senator OLIVER. Well, I see you——

Mr. McCOMBS. But that does not figure among my expenditures. It is merely my personal pledge.

Senator OLIVER. It figures on this statement.

Mr. McCOMBS. Oh, no; not in the totals.

Senator OLIVER. Yes; it does.

Mr. McCOMBS. I am pledged to that, of course.

Senator OLIVER. Well, it is in your statement.

Mr. McCOMBS. It is put in as part of the deficit.

Senator OLIVER. No; it is put in as an expenditure.

Mr. McCOMBS. That is my personal pledge to South Dakota, which I will carry out.

Senator OLIVER. It is included in the \$208,000.

Mr. McCOMBS. Quite right.

Senator POMERENE. In other words, it is an obligation of the campaign?

Mr. McCOMBS. It is not an obligation upon the national committee; it is an obligation upon me, which I will see, of course, is carried out.

Senator OLIVER. Now, you have only contributed for organization in Chicago \$250?

Mr. McCOMBS. That was given to a small group of men there to pay for certain publicity which they were to circulate in Chicago—Mr. F. W. Brown and——

Senator OLIVER. And in the entire State of Connecticut, \$575.

Mr. McCOMBS. That is all.

Senator OLIVER. Does not that mean that inasmuch as it was necessary to spend in a comparatively small territory like South Dakota—I mean in population—or in the State of Wisconsin sums like \$10,000—does not that mean that in Chicago and in Connecticut, and in those other States where you have contests and where the contributions from you were small, that a very considerable amount of money must have been raised in those localities?

Mr. McCOMBS. No, sir; for this reason: I did a good deal in the States that I did not think we could carry, by way of publicity, etc., but where there were States that I thought we could carry, it was those States where I made the contributions. Now, you will recall that Connecticut did not have a primary, and you will find that most of those States into which I sent those large amounts were primary States, States where they had delegates.

Senator OLIVER. Illinois was a primary State.

Mr. McCOMBS. Illinois was a primary State, but I never believed we could carry it in the primary, and I did not think it was worth while spending any money on it, and as it did happen, Mr. Clark carried it by 150,000.

Senator PAYNTER. That shows that your judgment was about right?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Pennsylvania was a primary State, and you did not send any money there.

Mr. McCOMBS. I did not. They carried it themselves.

Senator OLIVER. That is what I was trying to get at.

Mr. McCOMBS. I will recall this to you, Mr. Oliver, that both factions had indorsed Gov. Wilson about a year before; therefore, it was not necessary—there was no other candidate in there, either—so

it was not necessary to spend any money in Pennsylvania. That was ours the year before.

Senator OLIVER. I just want to ask you another question, not at all apropos to this investigation, about this effort on the part of Gov. Wilson and his friends to democratize Princeton University. When did that campaign, or that effort, begin?

Mr. McCOMBS. Well, I see that you make a special emphasis on democratize——

Senator OLIVER. No; I am alluding——

Mr. McCOMBS. So I will withdraw that word.

Senator OLIVER. Well, popularize; I suppose that is nearer to what you mean?

Mr. McCOMBS. That began as soon as Gov. Wilson became president of the university—perhaps some one here can recall for me when he became president; I am informed it was 1902, and I think that is about right—that began as soon as Gov. Wilson became president. In other words, one of Gov. Wilson's first motives in the university was to bring about a more general contact between the students and the faculty by adding preceptors, etc., bringing it about so that the students should have more of a general contact with each other; and added to that was the idea of the preceptorial system, which meant that the boys would have assigned to them a preceptor who was a sort of companion and guide to them, who would have them at his house, and they would receive instructions from him, in addition to the general classroom instructions. In that way Gov. Wilson wanted to bring about a more complete education and a more human sort of education.

Now, that movement went on, and these gentlemen were behind Gov. Wilson—Mr. McCormick and others in that movement. That has been accomplished. Gov. Wilson also thought that the existence of the clubs, the exclusive cliques, if there were such—and I suspect that I was a member of one of them—that they should be broken up; that there should be a system, something what they call a squad system; that is, that boys would be compelled to dine with each other; whether there should be a club organization or not, but that they should be compelled to dine together in big groups, to be thrown in contact with each other. That is what I mean by the democratization of Princeton. I may be wrong about it, so I will withdraw that.

Now, Mr. McCormick, Mr. Dodge, Mr. Sheldon, the Jones brothers, and all of those men were heartily in accord with that movement because Woodrow Wilson stood for it. They believed in him, and those contributions were made upon precisely the same basis; and I know that those gentlemen who have not contributed anything to the present campaign, except Mr. Dodge, have no interest in the next President of the United States except a personal desire upon personal relations that Woodrow Wilson might be, although I do not know how any of them are going to be——

Senator OLIVER. It is something of the same nature as Mr. Charles P. Taft's contribution to the campaign of his own brother?

Mr. McCOMBS. I should think so, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Now, let me ask you, Mr. McCombs, for my memory as to dates is rather poor, was it during this period, running through 1902 until the termination of his presidency, in 1910 or 1911—was it during that period that Gov. Wilson wrote his historical

works in which he decried direct democracy and initiative and referendum?

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not think he ever did that, in the first place; I know he has not.

Senator OLIVER. I think the text of his books will show.

Mr. McCOMBS. We may agree or disagree before the committee, but he wrote a book before 1902.

Senator OLIVER. He has had plenty of time to repent.

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not think he has repented.

Senator OLIVER. I have no further questions.

Mr. McCOMBS. But I have nothing to do with that.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McCombs, I understand you had the general charge of the Wilson preconvention campaign?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you give the committee any information as to who in Michigan would be most likely to furnish information as to the expenses incurred in Michigan?

Mr. McCOMBS. You mean such money as I gave them?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, or such money as was spent. You have already testified——

Mr. McCOMBS. I know nothing about their expenditures there.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking you about their expenditures.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you, on behalf of the committee, in view of your having this general management of it, if you could give the committee the name of the man or the names of the men who would be most likely to furnish the committee information as to the expenditures in the State of Michigan?

Mr. McCOMBS. I should say Aldrich Blake.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he live?

Mr. McCOMBS. I think at Detroit. He is a young man—or. I should think, Judge Tucker. I do not know where he lives. I sent some money into the State, and I can tell you who can testify as to that——

The CHAIRMAN. Who is that?

Mr. McCOMBS. As far as I am concerned—Joseph E. Davies.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, can you give the committee any information as to who would be most likely to be in a position to give the committee information as to the expenses incurred in the State of Georgia?

Mr. McCOMBS. No, sir; I can not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who you sent the money to in Georgia?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that?

Mr. McCOMBS. Col. Gray, of the Atlanta Journal, as I understand; I think that is it, but I would not be sure about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall his initials?

Mr. McCOMBS. James R., I think, of the Atlanta Journal.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the same inquiry as to North Carolina?

Mr. McCOMBS. Col. W. H. Osborn. I think he lived at Greensboro, and there were other people in there whose names I can not recall, but Col. Osborn, generally speaking.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the same inquiry as to Massachusetts?

Mr. McCOMBS. In Massachusetts, I think Mr. Davies handled all the money that I put in there.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking you about the money.

Mr. McCOMBS. As to anybody else, I do not know that anything else was spent.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking you whether any other money was spent. You had the general management of this campaign?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have testified as to the money you sent into those States. Now, of course, the committee can only go, with your testimony, so far as you know.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee may desire to ascertain from the men in charge of the States what additional, if any, was spent, and I am asking you with reference to those States, as to the best of your knowledge, as to whom, in each of those States, as I proceed, would be most likely to be in a position to furnish the information to the committee?

Mr. McCOMBS. As to Massachusetts, I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no idea?

Mr. McCOMBS. No, sir; I have no idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Who did you send the money to in Massachusetts?

Mr. McCOMBS. Mr. Joseph E. Davies.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does Mr. Davies live?

Mr. McCOMBS. At Madison, Wis.

Senator OLIVER. You were asking about Massachusetts?

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but he sent it to Davies.

Senator PAYNTER. He is the national committeeman in Wisconsin.

Mr. McCOMBS. Davies went into Massachusetts and formed an organization there.

Senator OLIVER. I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you answered, I think—as to New Jersey, I think, before.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, as to Minnesota?

Mr. McCOMBS. Minnesota—will you tell me how much I put down for Minnesota?

The CHAIRMAN. You have down for Minnesota \$1,500.

Mr. McCOMBS. I think Mr. F. B. Schulz, of Milwaukee, Wis. He went in there. As to any other expenditures, I should say Mr. Lawrence Purdy. I think he lives in St. Paul.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, as to New York?

Mr. McCOMBS. As to New York, myself.

The CHAIRMAN. As to Oklahoma?

Mr. McCOMBS. Senator Gore.

The CHAIRMAN. As to Kentucky?

Mr. McCOMBS. Mr. H. S. Breckenridge.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he live?

Mr. McCOMBS. At Lexington.

The CHAIRMAN. As to South Dakota?

Mr. McCOMBS. National Committeeman E. S. Johnson.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where he lives?

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. As to Wisconsin?

Mr. McCOMBS. Mr. Joseph E. Davies.

The CHAIRMAN. As to Rhode Island?

Mr. McCOMBS. Rhode Island—I am giving you now the moneys that I expended——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McCombs, I have repeated three times now——

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not know of any of those three last States; I do not know anybody else that I could inquire of as to how much money was spent. I misunderstood your question, and I apologize.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I want to make this question clear; there is no effort to confuse anybody. You came here and testified to the money which you know was expended.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have already testified, I think, that as to Pennsylvania, whatever was expended there, was expended with your knowledge.

Mr. McCOMBS. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that the committee may know whom to inquire of, should the committee deem it advisable later to go beyond your personal knowledge on this, I am trying to ascertain from you, as the man most likely to know, being in charge of the campaign, who the committee might consult in these various States that you have mentioned as most likely to throw any light on this subject relative to the funds given.

Mr. McCOMBS. Will you read the list to me?

The CHAIRMAN. How far back do you desire to go?

Mr. McCOMBS. About three or four States.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I will start at the last State and when we get back over this that I have gone over, if you have some information as to those States, we can stop there—Illinois?

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. In Connecticut?

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not know. There was no campaign in Connecticut except my own.

The CHAIRMAN. In Iowa?

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. In Chicago?

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. In Washington?

Mr. McCOMBS. The State of Washington?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not know. The man I gave the money to was Charles G. Heffner. I do not know of anybody else.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he live?

Mr. McCOMBS. In Seattle.

The CHAIRMAN. In Kansas?

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not know, with the exception of my organization expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. In Maryland?

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not know of any other money.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McCombs, I am not asking you about other money. Was there no one, beginning again in Illinois, to whom you looked as being locally in charge—if that expression might be used—of the Wilson campaign in Illinois?

Mr. McCOMBS. I can tell you——

The CHAIRMAN. No one with whom you communicated, no one upon whom you relied there to locally look after matters?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the name of the man we are trying to get.

Mr. McCOMBS. I can give you the name of the man we sent the money to and to whom I looked. I can give you that.

The CHAIRMAN. With that understanding of the question let us begin again with Illinois.

Mr. McCOMBS. I looked, as I told you, to the Congressman at Large, Lawrence B. Stringer.

The CHAIRMAN. In Connecticut?

Mr. McCOMBS. I did not look to anyone.

The CHAIRMAN. In Iowa?

Mr. McCOMBS. Gerry Sullivan.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where he lives?

Mr. McCOMBS. In Des Moines.

The CHAIRMAN. You were about to name another man.

Mr. McCOMBS. And Mr. Murphy, who is an editor of a paper out there—Louis Murphy.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you happen to recall where he lives?

Mr. McCOMBS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In Chicago?

Mr. McCOMBS. I guess the gentleman first mentioned would know as much as anybody else.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Stringer?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes; Mr. Stringer.

The CHAIRMAN. In Washington?

Mr. McCOMBS. The State of Washington?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. McCOMBS. Mr. Heffner was our manager there.

The CHAIRMAN. In Kansas?

Mr. McCOMBS. Henderson Martin, who is at present State chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he live; do you know?

Mr. McCOMBS. I think in Marion, Kans.

The CHAIRMAN. The present State chairman lives in Topeka, does he not?

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. In Maryland?

Mr. McCOMBS. William L. Marbury, so far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. His address, if you recall it?

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. In Ohio?

Mr. McCOMBS. W. W. Durbin.

The CHAIRMAN. Give his address, if you recall it.

Senator POMERENE. Kenton, Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. In Colorado?

Mr. McCOMBS. Ex-Gov. Thomas. I do not know his address; I believe it is in Denver.

The CHAIRMAN. In Nebraska?

Mr. McCOMBS. F. W. Brown, of Lincoln.

The CHAIRMAN. In Virginia?

Mr. McCOMBS. In Virginia, Mr. Bird, the speaker of the house.

The CHAIRMAN. In Rhode Island?

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not know in Rhode Island.

The CHAIRMAN. We are back now to Wisconsin. That would be Davies?

Mr. McCOMBS. Davies and Schultz; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anyone in Texas looking after the Wilson interests?

Mr. McCOMBS. No. Texas was all for him. I guess Congressman Burleson and Mr. E. H. House—oh, everybody was for him down there.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anyone in Arkansas?

Mr. McCOMBS. No, sir. Wait a minute. We spent no money in Arkansas except for publicity. We gave nobody any money, and I do not think they spent anything; but Judge Harrod, of Little Rock, probably took the leading part there, and others. I want to say here there were others in these States who were interested in the campaign and working along. I am giving you what I considered to be the leaders in the various States.

The CHAIRMAN. What the committee desires is in case they deem it advisable to go beyond your testimony, to know from you, if they can, who you would naturally turn to in these States.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes; that is all right.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom did you so regard in Pennsylvania?

Mr. McCOMBS. A. Mitchell Palmer.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know his address?

Mr. McCOMBS. I think it is Stroudsburg. And there were a great many others. In Pennsylvania I did not do a thing. Mr. Ryan, of Philadelphia, was one of the Wilson leaders. In fact, the State was for Wilson, and we knew it.

The CHAIRMAN. What were Mr. Ryan's initials?

Mr. McCOMBS. This man is the city attorney there now—Michael J. Ryan.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make any effort in Indiana?

Mr. McCOMBS. No; except to send publicity in there.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no one in Indiana to whom you looked?

Mr. McCOMBS. Not at all. Gov. Marshall was mentioned as the candidate. The resolution came early, and we did not do a thing there.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McCombs, before you are excused, I ask you again if there is any further matter relating to the preconvention contributions for 1912 that you now recall or to which your attention has not been invited.

Mr. McCOMBS. I have nothing further that I care to state. I am subject to examination.

The CHAIRMAN. No; but I am asking you whether you think at this time of anything further.

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Or whether you recall anything to which your attention has not been directed?

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You may be excused then.

Mr. McCOMBS. That statement of mine I reserve the right to correct. It has been recently typewritten.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. McCombs thereupon was excused.

TESTIMONY OF HON. ALTON B. PARKER, LAWYER, NEW YORK.

Mr. Parker, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Judge Parker, you have heard stated the general scope of the resolutions under which the committee is acting, covering the campaign expenditures for the presidential and congressional campaigns of 1904 and 1908 and the preconvention campaign of 1912.

Mr. PARKER. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state what, if anything, you know, concerning campaign contributions in the year 1904 to either the presidential or congressional campaigns.

Mr. PARKER. Does your inquiry now refer to both parties?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; to both; anything you know bearing upon contributions to the campaigns of 1904.

Mr. PARKER. So far as the Democratic Party is concerned, I had no information whatever. I did give instructions, the date of which I can not now fix, although I have searched a little for memoranda, but I should say some time about the middle of August, I gave instructions to the chairman of our executive committee not to receive contributions from corporations or combinations.

Aside from that I had no information whatever. I made no inquiries.

The CHAIRMAN. You were the Democratic presidential candidate in 1904?

Mr. PARKER. I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was your chairman of the national committee?

Mr. PARKER. The chairman of the national committee was Thomas Taggart, of Indianapolis, Ind.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you happen to recall who was the treasurer?

Mr. PARKER. The treasurer was George Foster Peabody. I am not sure that he was to the end, and yet I think he was; but I am not positive.

The CHAIRMAN. During the campaign you made no inquiry as to whom the contributions were from or the amounts of them. You simply left that to the committee?

Mr. PARKER. I did not; either before or afterward.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything concerning the contributions in 1904 to other campaigns than your own?

Mr. PARKER. I had some hearsay evidence which led to a speech which I made, if that is what you have in mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. PARKER. As to direct evidence, of course, I have none. I had hearsay evidence upon which I founded a speech on October 24, 1904.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any information bearing upon the preconvention campaigns in the year 1912?

Mr. PARKER. None.

The CHAIRMAN. None whatever?

Mr. PARKER. None whatever; nor of the preconvention campaigns of either party in 1904, 1908, and 1912.

The CHAIRMAN. Our resolution would not cover that.

Mr. PARKER. Oh, I beg pardon.

Senator PAYNTER. Only for 1912.

The CHAIRMAN. And also, in 1912 it covers only the preconvention campaigns, and not the campaigns for election.

Mr. PARKER. I have no information whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any statement you desire to make that has not been covered by your testimony or to which your attention has not been directed?

Mr. PARKER. Senator, I noted that when the late President Roosevelt was here he had introduced in evidence, or read in evidence, as I understood it, a letter directed to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. PARKER. A letter in which he seemed to me to characterize the speeches that I have made. I have had copied and brought them with me, and I desire to have them go into the record, in order that the subject may be completely treated from that point of view.

The CHAIRMAN. Copies of your speeches?

Mr. PARKER. Copies of my speeches; all except one which they did not quite complete this morning. The girl was going to have it completed this morning. That is the speech of November 5, Saturday night before election—the speech in response——

Senator PAYNTER. That antedated Mr. Roosevelt's statement.

Mr. PARKER. No. His statement was Friday night, November 4, and I made a speech in reply to that on Saturday night, November 5. If I can send that up, I would like to have the previous speeches and that one read into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. You can now offer the previous speeches, and when the other is prepared have it sent to the committee and it will be made a part of the record.

You may mark this "Exhibit Parker 1."

The paper referred to was marked "Exhibit Parker 1," handed to the witness, and is as follows:

[The speech of Alton B. Parker made at Esopus, Oct. 24, 1904, as reported in the New York Herald of Oct. 25, 1904.]

Appreciating the responsibility put upon me by the Democratic Party and the duty which acceptance imposed upon me, I have carefully considered the utterance I am about to make, and am persuaded that, had a situation calling for its consideration been at the time presented, it would have met the full approval of the convention, as it will now meet the approval of every thoughtful, right-minded citizen of the United States, without regard to party creed or party prejudice.

Many years have passed since my active participation in politics. In the meantime a startling change has taken place in the methods of conducting campaigns—a change not for the better, but for the worse; a change that has introduced debasing and corrupt methods, which threaten the integrity of our Government, leaving it perhaps a republic in form, but not a republic in substance—no longer a Government of the people, by the people, for the people, but a Government whose officers are practically chosen by a handful of corporate managers, who levy upon the assets of the stockholders whom they represent such sums of money as they deem requisite to place the conduct of the Government in such hands as they consider best for their private interests.

I make no complaint, nor should complaint be made of any individual who contributes toward the many legitimate expenses of a great campaign. The capitalist, as an individual, has as much right to contribute to such purposes and in proportion to his means as his less wealthy fellow citizen. Whatever he may do, based upon a patriotic desire to help elect the candidates of that party which it seems to him will best serve the interests of the country, should be encouraged.

BARGAIN FOR OFFICIAL FAVORITISM.

Equally it is true that all right thinking men favor the encouragement of thrift, the accumulation of property and its due and just protection, and they are equally opposed to either the saying or the doing of anything that will array one class against the other. All classes are mutually dependent upon and mutually helpful to each other, and no word or act of mine shall cause a gulf to be opened between them.

But there is a wide difference between an individual employing his wealth in the manner authorized by law and individuals or corporations who operate in defiance of law. The first is independent of, the latter dependent upon, Government favoritism.

Some of the enterprises which have unduly thrived through favoritism, and which have been permitted by statute to indirectly levy tribute upon the people, have in the course of time become so rich and strong that they can and do contribute vast sums when it is made clear that it will advantage them, and they contribute upon the promise, direct or implied, that they shall be permitted to continue to tax the people for their own benefit.

Under such promises contributions have been made not infrequently in such large measure as to induce and procure colonization, repeating, and bribery in doubtful States.

This has built up a class of voters known to local leaders as "floaters," a class so numerous that party canvassers allot to them, in their canvass books, a separate column, headed with that name. This condition is recognized by party workers—local, State, and national. They are no longer shocked by it. It has become so prevalent that they are becoming hardened to it. They sometimes wonder where it is to end, but under the stress of a campaign they postpone consideration until the next election.

I am persuaded the time to begin the fight against those who would control the results of election contests for their private corporate interests, as distinguished from the public interest, should begin now, and whatever the result of the election may be, it should be continued until the evil is checked.

TRUST PLAN TO ELECT ROOSEVELT.

The excessively protected interests, which formerly poured out their treasure in order to continue existing and procure the passage of new laws permitting further accumulation, have been joined by the combinations popularly called trusts. Their plan is to perpetuate the present administration.

Such of the combinations or trusts as do not profit by the aid of the tariff secure their profits by the exercise of the monopolies. Hence their officers are opposed to the enforcement of law as against them.

When such forces unite to furnish the money which they are promised will control the election, their purpose is as clear as noonday. It is to buy protection; to purchase four years more of profit by tariff taxation or four years more of extortion from the public by means of monopoly.

Political contributions by corporations and trusts mean corruption. They can not be honest. Merely business interests are moved by merely business considerations. A corporation will subscribe to a political party only because the corporation expects that party, through its control of public officers—executive or legislative—to do something for the benefit of the corporation or to refrain from doing something to its injury. No other motive can be imagined. In the nature of things, no other motive can exist.

The relations established mean the expectation, if not agreement—actual or implied, that governmental action is to be influenced by and for corporation interests. No sophistry can give any other aspect to the transaction in the minds of reasonable men.

Let the defenders of the practice, if it has defenders, answer these questions:

Why do corporations and trusts subscribe to political campaigns?

What would a trust think of a party which, after accepting from the trust a campaign contribution of \$500,000, should permit the party's representatives in office to take action inimical to the trust?

Would the public interests be safe in the hands of a party the greater part of whose campaign funds had been contributed by corporations and trusts?

If the public welfare and the interests of a subscribing corporation or trust should conflict, which would likely be protected?

NURSES GREAT FORTUNES.

The scheme of our Government opposes favoritism, but in its administration there has been much of it. Indeed it has been growing with such rapidity in recent years that those few who have enjoyed favors, contributed either directly by statute or indirectly by the nonprosecution of violations of law, represent, control, and are possessed of many hundreds of millions of dollars.

These interests have decided to attempt to continue the present administration in power.

Their representatives scolded about the President for some months and thus contributed their part toward the effort which was assiduously made to satisfy the country that the trusts were opposed to the present administration. Whether there were real difficulties between these great powers and the administration, difficulties which have since been settled to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, or whether there are no difficulties to be compromised and adjusted, their action being but a play to deceive the voters, the fact remains that the trusts are not now opposed to the continuance of the present administration.

On the contrary, it is common knowledge that they have determined to furnish such a sum of money to the Republican national committee as, it is hoped, will secure the "floaters" in the doubtful States for the Republican ticket. Such an attempt constitutes both a menace and a challenge to every patriotic and law-abiding person in this country, a challenge which ought to be accepted. The question ought to be settled now whether the "floaters" and illegal combinations can together control an election in this country. Such a contest means on one side vast sums of money and every man with an itching palm. It ought to array every honest, independent, and patriotic citizen on the other side.

[Extract from the speech of Alton B. Parker, made at Esopus on Oct. 28, 1904, as reported in the New York Herald on Oct. 29, 1904.]

No more satisfactory evidence of the widespread public interest in the attempt to control the election by corporate and trust funds need be looked for than that furnished by the President and his late Attorney General. Mr. Knox was bidden to the presence of the President for a consultation. About what? About the iniquity of the large contributions? Contributions being made by gigantic corporations and trusts? Not at all; but rather to devise means by which the force of the statement of this commonly accepted fact could be parried. The outcome was an interview by Senator Knox.

Care was taken to preface the interview with the statement that it met the approval of the President. It may be treated, therefore, as an administrative statement. There are many of them these days. To two or three of them I shall make reference to-day.

Now, this long statement of Senator Knox has nothing whatever to do with the question uppermost in the public mind.

Shall the creations of government, many of which pursue illegal methods, control our elections—control them by moneys belonging to their stockholders; moneys not given in the open, and charged upon the books as moneys paid for political purposes, but hidden away by false bookkeeping?

CHARGES NOT DENIED ARE ADMITTED.

Senator Knox has been at some pains hitherto to prove that, with all his learning, he does not know all about the common law. It hardly seems possible, however, that he does not know the rule that allegations of the complaint not denied by the answer are thereby admitted. He does not deny—nor could he—that these contributions were made. If he could have done so, of course he would. If he can do so now, he is invited to.

This interview was intended to create a cloud of dust behind which he hoped to hide the charge he did not answer and could not answer.

That charge is that vast sums of money have been contributed for the control of the election in aid of the administration by corporations and trusts.

TRUSTS ALL FOR ROOSEVELT.

What the few, plain, unambiguous sentences uttered by me on the subject of illegal combinations mean, and what they are understood to mean by those who

control the combinations is evidenced in part by the great activity of their leading officers in favor of the election of my opponent.

That activity may perhaps account in no small measure for the ability of both the Populist and Socialist Parties to prosecute expensive campaigns—campaigns that appear to be prosecuted largely in aid of the Republican Party.

[Extract from a speech by Alton B. Parker, made at Madison Square Garden, on Oct. 31, 1904, as reported in the Washington Post of Nov. 1, 1904.]

In an earlier utterance I have referred in detail to what is notoriously going on in the matter of the collection of funds by the Republican Party for the campaign. Now, I know, as you know, that money is required in order to defray the expenses of a campaign. Under right conditions its collection and expenditure are equally legitimate. But the spectacle of demanding campaign funds now presented to this country is, when rightly regarded, of a character to shock the moral sense.

We shall do well to pause for a moment to ask whether we are drifting in our indifferences to right standards, and to our old-fashioned sense of propriety in such matters.

CORTELYOU'S COLLECTION A SCANDAL.

Congress creates a new Department of Commerce and Labor. Of that department the President of the United States appoints a Secretary. That Secretary was his private secretary. Within the department provision is made for the collection from large corporations, including the so-called trusts, of information, which, it is to be borne in mind, is to be submitted to the President for public or private use, as he may direct. By grace of the same Executive, this secretary, through whose department this information is collected, becomes the chairman of the Republican national committee. His chief duty it has been, and still is, to collect funds for the purpose of securing the election of the President. And it is now notorious that there has resulted from this organized importunity—whatever may be the precise way in which it is made effective—an overflowing treasury to the committee of which boast is openly made and continually made. Although this may be satisfactory to the conscience of Republican leaders, it must, I firmly believe, be condemned as nothing short of scandal, not alone by myself or the Democratic Party, but by the American people as well.

It is said by Mr. Hay that the character of Mr. Lincoln furnishes the standard for Mr. Roosevelt in his conduct as President. I do not have to pause to hear you thundering "no" when I ask, "Would Lincoln have done or permitted this to be done?" The whole performance is a shameless exhibition of a willingness to make compromise with decency in order that sums of money may be gathered together sufficiently vast to justify the insolent boast, even now, that there is no question as to the success which, by such a course, the Republican managers so confidently predict. The performance is entitled only to the credit that it in no sense partakes of hypocrisy. It is as bold as it is improper and indefensible.

[Extract from the speech of Alton B. Parker, made at Carnegie Hall on Nov. 2, 1904, as reported in the ——— of Nov. 3, 1904.]

There is still an uglier page to the general story. An example is before us of how the effort of the people to free themselves from a burden can be seized upon by the unscrupulous and itself made the agency whereby the burden is bound more firmly upon their backs. The clamor of the people against the trusts rose to the point where recognition was necessary. A new department of the Government was created—the Department of Commerce. To that department was intrusted inquisitorial power over the great corporations. Its head, the Secretary of Commerce, was made a Cabinet officer. But, lest honest business interests should suffer, lest unscrupulous competitors should take unfair advantage, it was provided that the results of the department's investigations into the affairs of any corporation should be confidential. They were and are to be placed in the first instance at the disposition of the President, and in his discretion only are they to be made public and become the common knowledge of the people.

Extraordinary powers these, and marking an extraordinary faith of a people in its elected Chief Executive. And how has this administration responded to this trust? It places at the head of this new department, as the first Secretary

of the Department of Commerce and Labor of the United States, the private secretary of the President. What the department's researches were we know not. Of the results attained by such resources we are not informed.

When, however, the present campaign opened the Secretary of Commerce resigned his office, and at the request and as the personal representative of the President became the chairman of the Republican national committee to bring about, if it might be so, the election of his patron to the Presidency. And lest any should err, it was at the time of his resignation authoritatively announced that at the termination of the campaign he would be summoned again to the Cabinet to fill another cabinet office. I leave it to you to say whether or not, in your estimation, the vicious circle is complete.

[Extract from the speech of Alton B. Parker, made at Meriden, Conn., on Nov. 3, 1904, as reported in the Washington Post of Nov. 4, 1904.]

TRUSTS MUST NOT RULE.

We met the gauge of battle which they threw down, and from one end of the country to the other men are saying to each other what you and I are saying. "This country shall not pass into the hands of the trusts."

We have had a very remarkable situation presented. After the recommendation six or eight years ago that action should be taken toward curbing the trusts, the Republican Party has passed a statute to that end; but when we examine the statute closely we find that it authorizes the President to appoint a Cabinet officer to investigate the trusts. The information he receives may be given to the people or kept private, as the President may direct.

The man he put at the head of that bureau was his private secretary. After this campaign opened he became chairman of the Republican national committee, and whatever information he had, if he had any, was perfectly well understood by the heads of the organizations. They knew what secrets they had that they did not care to have made public.

I do not know that he had any information, but his position was one that entitled him to get it. From that time on there has been a gradual movement in that direction, until it is believed that every trust in this country, including the Standard Oil Trust, is doing what it can to elect that ticket.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Exhibit Parker 1?

Senator PAYNTER. How long would it take you to read that speech which you have there?

Mr. PARKER. I do not know; I should say 20 minutes.

Senator PAYNTER. I do not know whether the committee would care to wait to have it read or not, but I would be perfectly willing.

Mr. PARKER. I will answer the question first, Senator, and then you can do what you choose about it later. I am still proud of this speech. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. State what it is first.

Mr. PARKER. Perhaps the Senator might say that is a weakness many of us have.

This is a speech delivered by me on the 24th day of October, 1904, which was reported in the New York Herald on October 25, 1904.

The next time that I made any reference to campaign expenses—and I may say that speech I regarded as covering the subject pretty fully and carefully, it was not an extemporaneous speech, but it was one I prepared at my home at Esopus—

Senator PAYNTER. That seems to be a short speech. Suppose you read the first one.

The CHAIRMAN. Let him get through with identifying the papers in the exhibit first.

Mr. PARKER. The next is an extract from a speech made by me at Esopus on October 28, 1904, and which was reported in the Herald of October 29.

The next is a speech made by me at Madison Square Garden on October 31, 1904, and that is reported in the Washington Post of November 1, 1904.

The next is an extract from a speech made by me at Carnegie Hall on November 2, 1904, and reported November 3, 1904.

The next is an extract from a speech made by me at Meriden, Conn., November 3, 1904, reported in the Washington Post of November 4, 1904.

The speech that I have asked——

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment. I desire to complete the identification first.

All these to which you have referred are included in and constitute Exhibit Parker 1?

Mr. PARKER. Yes. Now, I want to add, with your permission, a speech, copy of which I have had partly made, which was made at Brooklyn, on Saturday night, November 5. The copy which I have was reported in the Philadelphia Record of November 6. I will send that, with the committee's kind permission.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; and with your permission that will appear as a part of your evidence, marked "Exhibit Parker 2."

Mr. PARKER. Thank you.

The address referred to is accordingly marked "Exhibit Parker 2," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT, PARKER 2.

[Address of Alton B. Parker in Brooklyn, Saturday, Nov. 5, and published in the Philadelphia Record Nov. 6.]

The purpose of my address to-night is to call attention to the fact that in his strangely belated reply to my speech of 12 days ago the President has not met the issue created since the platforms were adopted, namely: Can the trusts purchase the election? Whatever results may follow from his address the campaign fund can not be interfered with. It has been raised.

My first utterance on the subject is to be found in an address delivered on the 24th of October, in which I said:

"Many years have passed since my active participation in politics. In the meantime a startling change has taken place in the method of conducting campaigns, a change not for the better but for the worse; a change that has introduced debasing and corrupt methods which threaten the integrity of our Government, leaving it, perhaps, a republic in form, but not a republic in substance; no longer a government of the people, by the people, for the people, but a government whose officers are practically chosen by a handful of corporate managers who levy upon the assets of the stockholders they represent such sums of money as they deem requisite to place the conduct of the Government in such hands as they consider best for their private interests."

LEGITIMATE CONTRIBUTIONS.

I make no complaint, nor should complaint be made, of an individual who contributes toward the many legitimate expenses of a great campaign. The capitalist as an individual has as much right to contribute to such purposes and in proportion to his means as has his less wealthy fellow-citizen. Whatever he may do, based on a patriotic desire to help elect the candidates of that party which it seems to him will best serve the interests of the country, should be encouraged.

It is but a little while since the body of the people at large provided the legitimate expenses of a campaign. Then farmer and lawyer, doctor and mechanic, day laborer and banker, each contributed something toward the erection of banners, the circulation of literature and the expenses of public meetings, and each contributor was a better citizen for it. It stimulated his patriotism, and the contributions were devoted to the legitimate advancement of the cause, not made for the deliberate corruption of masses of electors.

GROWTH OF TRUST CONTROL.

Gradually and effectively, but surely not permanently, has all this been changed. Some of the enterprises which have unduly thrived through favoritism, and which have been permitted by statute to indirectly levy tribute upon the people, have in the course of time become so rich and strong that they can and do contribute vast sums when it is made clear that it will be an advantage to them, and they contribute upon the promise, direct or implied, that they shall be permitted to continue the tax for the people for their own benefit. Upon such promise contributions have been not infrequently made in such large measure as to induce and procure colonization, repeating, and bribery in doubtful States.

This has built up a class of voters known to local leaders as "floaters," a class so numerous that party canvassers allot to them in their canvas books a separate column headed with that name. This condition is recognized by party workers, local, State, and national. They are no longer shocked by it. It has become so prevalent that they are becoming hardened to it. They sometimes wonder where it is to end, but under the stress of a campaign they postpone consideration until the next election. I am persuaded the time to begin the fight against those who would control the results of election contests for their private corporate interest as distinguished from the public interest should begin now, and whatever the result of the election may be it should be continued until the evil is checked.

PURPOSE TO BUY PROTECTION.

The excessively protected interests, which formerly poured out their treasure in order to continue existing, and procure the passage of new laws permitting its further accumulation, have been joined by the combinations popularly called trusts. Their plan is to perpetuate the present administration. Such of the combinations or trusts as do not profit by the aid of the tariff secure their profits by the exercise of monopolies. Hence their officers are opposed to the enforcement of law as against them.

When such forces unite to furnish the money which they are promised will control the election their purpose is as clear as noonday. It is to buy protection to purchase four more years of profit by tariff taxation and four years more of extortion from the public by means of monopoly.

Political contributions by corporations and trusts mean corruption. They can not be honest. Merely business interests are moved by merely business considerations. A corporation will subscribe to a political party only because the corporation expects that party through its control of public officers, legislative, or executive, to do something for the benefit of the corporations, or to refrain from doing something to its injury. No other motive can be imagined. In the nature of things no other motive can exist. The relations established mean the expectation, if not an agreement, actual or implied, that governmental action is to be influenced by and for corporation interests. No sophistry can give any other aspect to the transaction in the minds of reasonable men. Let the defenders of the practice, if it has defenders, answer these questions:

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED.

Why do corporations and trusts subscribe to political campaigns?

What would a trust think of a party which after accepting from the trust a campaign contribution of \$500,000, should permit the party's representatives in office to take action inimical to the trust?

Would the public interests be safe in the hands of a party, the greater part of whose campaign funds have been contributed by corporations and trusts?

If the public welfare and the interests of subscribing corporation or trust should conflict, which would likely be protected?

The scheme of our Government opposes favoritism, but in its administration there has been much of it. Indeed, it has been growing with such rapidity in recent years that these few that have enjoyed favors, contributed either directly by statute or indirectly by the nonprosecution of violations of law, represent, control, and are possessed of many hundreds of millions of dollars. These interests have decided to attempt to continue the present administration in power. Their representatives scolded about the President for some months,

and thus contributed their part toward the effort which was assiduously made to satisfy the country that the trusts were opposed to the present administration.

PLAY TO DECEIVE VOTERS.

Whether there were real difficulties between these great powers and the administration, difficulties which have since been settled to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, or whether there were no difficulties to be compromised and adjusted, their action being but a play to deceive the voters, the fact remains that the trusts are not now opposed to the continuance of the present administration. On the contrary, it is the common knowledge that they have determined to furnish such a sum of money to the Republican national committee, as it is hoped will secure the "floaters" in the doubtful States for the Republican ticket.

Such an attempt constitutes both a menace and a challenge to every patriotic and law-abiding person in this country—a challenge which ought to be accepted. The question ought to be settled now whether the "floaters" and illegal combinations can together control an election in this country. Such a contest means on one side vast sums of money and every man with an itching. It ought to array every honest, independent, and patriotic citizen on the other side.

IF ROOSEVELT HAD AGREED.

You have learned, from its reading, that the purpose of that address was to warn the people against the corrupting of the electorate by tariff-bred trusts and other monopolies. It contained no criticism of the President. It simply called attention to a notorious and offensive situation—a situation which presented to my mind the greatest of the moral issues of the campaign, yes, of many campaigns.

If he had said, on the day after the delivery of my address after the consultation about it which he and Senator Knox had, "Yes, I never thought of it before, but Parker is right. Why would a trust take money out of its treasury—money belonging to its stockholders, consisting of women and children, as well as men of both parties, unless its purpose is to get something in return, something which its officers regard as more than an equivalent for the moneys taken out of the treasury? Now, he is right, and I am going to stop it. Perhaps the national committee can not pay back the moneys contributed in this way that they have already expended, but there shall be no more such contributions. I will join Parker in an effort to protect the ballot of the honest citizen from being overridden by merchandise ballots."

If he had said that, it would have sounded like Roosevelt we once knew. And if he had followed it by acts in execution of his words, it would have been of far less consequence to the people which one of us should be elected than it is now.

WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID.

But he did not do it. He shut his eyes as to what was going on, and since that time there has been the frequent meeting of the trust magnates, and the moneys have been pouring into the treasury all the more freely and all the more plentifully because of the attitude taken by me, and which it is true I have enforced from day to day. The President does not deny these contributions now. This is what he says: "That contributions have been made to the Republican committee as contributions have been made to the Democratic committee is not the question at issue. Mr. Parker's assertion is in effect that such contributions have been made for improper motives, either in consequence of the act or in consequence of improper promises, direct or indirect, on the part of the recipient."

THE PRESIDENT'S CONFESSION.

That is the only paragraph in President Roosevelt's statement which touches either directly or indirectly on the question as to whether the trusts have made contributions to the Republican campaign fund. It is almost, in terms, an admission that the trusts have contributed to the campaign fund. In coupling the Democratic campaign fund with the Republican campaign fund the President attempted to associate the two—that a denial of his assertion could not be made without implicating the Democratic committee. He is in a position to know what contributions have been made to the Republican national committee

by the trusts; if there had been no trust contributions he could easily have said so. He did not say so. He can not say so. He has waited until the closing hour of the campaign to make easier the pretense of an answer. But it is not an answer. It is a confession with a plea in avoidance addressed to a kindly and generous people.

FRANKLY ADMITTED BY ROOT.

If there was any doubt of the source of this great campaign fund it is no longer a matter of suspicion, for Mr. Elihu Root, the former Secretary of War, frankly admitted last night that trusts and corporations were heavy contributors. He denied only that the total amount thus required or utilized was as large as in previous years. Moreover, the Republican candidate himself denies only that definite immunity from prosecution has been promised trusts for their assistance. He declares that he is merely to give them a "square deal," as the terms may be interpreted, not by the laws of the land but by himself. It is plain that when the time shall come to determine what a "square deal" between the Government of the United States and the contributing trusts really is, the beneficiary of the generosity of the latter must either recognize their service or confess himself guilty of base ingratitude.

REFUSED AID FROM TRUSTS.

The President's argument and his position seem to justify trust contribution, and the inference he would have the public draw from his utterance is, of course, that contributions have been made by the trusts to the Democratic national committee. At this time, therefore, I am justified in making a statement which I had not intended to make.

I requested the Democratic national campaign managers, Mr. President, that they should not receive, directly or indirectly, from any trust money for campaign purposes. I notified them that I proposed, if elected, to enter upon the discharge of the duties of that great office unhampered by any obligation to interests or to man.

I said to them that I would rather be defeated than to be fettered in the effort to accomplish reforms that are sorely needed, and I am advised by them that my request has been scrupulously respected.

THE ATTACK BY KNOX.

Instead of cooperating with me in checking this monstrous evil, which seriously threatens the liberties of our people, you called into consultation your late Attorney General, and from that consultation he came out to make an attack upon me for venturing to criticize the attempt of the trusts to control the election. He did not answer the charges or attempt to. He did attempt to divert public attention. I regret to say to you that it then seemed apparent to me, Mr. President, that you regarded the election of more importance than the checking of this evil.

Later I called attention to events which have been presented and frequently discussed by leading newspapers in this city and this country following the enactment of a statute authorizing the creation of the Bureau of Labor and Commerce, a discussion which began so long ago as the 1st day of October.

AN ARRAY OF FACTS.

Now, let me recite them here as I have recited them before.

A new department of the Government was created, a Department of Commerce. To that department was intrusted inquisitorial power over the great trusts and corporations of the country. Its head, the Secretary of Commerce, was made a Cabinet officer. A half a million dollars was appropriated for its work, of which sum very little has been expended.

The President placed at the head of this great department, empowered to probe the secrets of all the trusts and corporations engaged in interstate commerce, his private secretary, who held that position for some months, when he resigned and was made chairman of the national committee. Now, these facts are not challenged in the statement of the President, nor can they be. The statute was passed and money was appropriated to probe the trusts; Cor-

telyou was appointed at the head of it. He was without experience in national politics, and yet the President says in his statement: "I chose Mr. Cortelyou as chairman of the national committee."

PEOPLE MUST REBUKE IT.

Now that this intended crime against the franchise has been exposed in time, now that the contributions of this money by these great monopolies looking for the continuance of old favors or seeking new ones stands admitted, now that these contributions have been made in such sums as to induce and permit the most lavish expenditures ever made, we, as a people, will fail in our duty if we shall not rebuke at the polls this latest and most flagrant attempt to control the election—not for legitimate business conducted for proper ends, but in order that the few may still further strengthen their hold upon our industries. We shall rue it if, as a people, we do not make this rebuke so emphatic that the offense will never again be repeated.

SHOULD FORBID THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS.

But this is not enough. We should take every possible precaution to secure both Congress and the Presidency in order to assure legislation which will remove this illegal business from politics. All along the line of our official life the purpose should be avowed, and it should be pursued with unrelenting fidelity, to procure legislation which shall make it a crime for the officers of a trust or corporation to contribute money for the control of an election of any kind, and, if it should do so, to provide for their punishment in the most effective way.

This is not the time to consider the details of such a remedy, but one is needed which shall be so far-reaching and so drastic as to dissolve all partnerships between corrupt business interests and the Government, and to make their renewal forever impossible.

THE GREATEST OF THE ISSUES.

As this is a Government of laws and not of men, it does not seriously matter whether one man or another holds the great office of President of the United States, but the opportunities in that place for doing a great good are so apparent that they should be employed for the highest purposes.

Great as are the problems before us in the near future, political, industrial, and social, in my judgment none is so pressing as this, the greatest of moral questions. It includes all other issues, lies at the foundation of all other problems, and its settlement by the absolute and final exclusion of bribery, or the threat of bribery, or of the raising of money for this foul purpose, is, to my mind, the most important question that can come from a free and moral people.

If my countrymen shall call me to take up this work, I will, God helping me, use every faculty of my mind and will employ every power that legally and constitutionally inheres to that great office to accomplish this most beneficent result.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any further statement, Judge, that you desire to make at this time relating to contributions in the campaign of 1904?

Mr. PARKER. None; unless the committee should be interested in knowing how I came to make the speech; otherwise how I came to do it, I do not suppose is a matter of much importance. I might have difficulty in pressing its materiality upon the committee.

Senator PAYNTER. I think it is important to show——

The CHAIRMAN. If you have any statement to make bearing upon the statements in the speeches referred to, of course the committee would be glad to hear you.

Mr. PARKER. There is nothing.

Senator OLIVER. If you will allow me, Judge?

Mr. PARKER. Certainly.

Senator OLIVER. I would suggest that Judge Parker give us a statement with regard to the controversy between himself and the then President Roosevelt, and in connection with that give us the substance of the speeches, sources of his information, and his side of the case.

Mr. PARKER. If that is agreeable to the committee, I will be glad to do it.

Senator OLIVER. In narrative form.

Mr. PARKER. I will be glad, if the committee desires me to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly. The committee desires anything from you that, from your viewpoint, throws light upon this subject. That was the scope of my inquiry.

Mr. PARKER. I am quite willing to answer, Senator; but, like yourself, I am a lawyer and sometimes stop to consider whether certain things are material to the real inquiry. But I am very glad to state what there is of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. PARKER. This first speech of October 24, 1904, I may say at the beginning, contained no reference whatever to President Roosevelt. It was borne in upon me from time to time, in the way that such information does come to people, as gentlemen of your experience know, that there was a movement on the part of what is sometimes, perhaps inaccurately, called "interests," but a movement in behalf of the election of President Roosevelt. I remember, for instance, some articles on the subject by Joseph Pulitzer, most of them, I think, signed by himself; one appearing late in July, one in August, and another in September.

I received information from Mr. George F. Parker from time to time, and yet I had not had much to do—I hadn't had anything to do with politics in 19 years. Before that I thought I knew something about them, like other men. And this information indicated to my mind a very decided change in the method of conducting political campaigns and the method of securing votes. The thought never occurred to me of making personal mention of it as a candidate until about the 23d day of October. On the 23d day of October—in the morning or afternoon of the day before; I have not been able to fix that quite definitely—an old friend of mine, born in the same town in the same year, for whom I always had great affection—and he seemed to appreciate it—came in to see me, and as we stood up shaking hands he said, "Well, old fellow, they have got you licked, but I want you to go on and keep a stiff upper lip and make your fight, and I do not want it to break your heart." I said, "What do you mean by that?" He said, "It is all underwritten, and there is no show for you." I said, "I am not going to break my heart." He said, "Others have said that, but I notice that men become so set in their ambition that they go to pieces, and I do not want you to do it. You will have to change your course of life and take up your work, and I want you to do it with a heart uninjured."

I commenced to chat with him a little about it, but he was not disposed to give me much information, because he said he had received it from one of his dearest friends, and I said, "Well, Colonel, is the Standard Oil Co. one of those that are interested in this campaign as a contributor?" He said, "Yes." He did not tell me the amount.

I made that inquiry because it had been stated in a public print at about that time that the Standard Oil Co. was financing my campaign. In the course of this conversation he had told me of a meeting which had taken place—if he gave me any idea about the time I am not able to recall it—but some time prior thereto there had been a meeting of several gentlemen who represented very large interests in the city of New York. These gentlemen, I remember, among them were Mr. Edward H. Harriman, Mr. James Stillman, who was the president of the City National Bank, and supposed to represent the Standard Oil Co. interests; Mr. Henry C. Frick, Mr. George W. Perkins; Mr. Robert Bacon, then a member of the firm of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co.; Mr. Brooker, the vice president of the New York & New Haven Railroad Co. I had forgotten one; I am reminded of Mr. Daniel G. Reed, of the Rock Island Railroad.

He said that these people had met and had concluded that the best interests which they represented and the best interests of the country demanded the election of Col. Roosevelt, and that they had decided to finance his campaign.

Without consulting anybody, I went up to Esopus on the afternoon of Friday, October 23.

Senator OLIVER. Where?

Mr. PARKER. To my home, at Esopus. I was to address a steamboat load or two of people that were to sail up the river to my farm that day, and on the road up I had plenty of time to think about this matter, and it seemed to me—at least, it was borne in upon me—that if I was not to be elected President there was at least one public service that I could render in this matter of corporate contributions, which seemed to me, as I expressed it in that speech, “corporations do not contribute unless they expect to get something back.” I also stated in that speech that individuals should contribute as much or as little as they choose. Men’s hearts are interested in those things, and there is no reason why a man who can afford to give a large sum of money why he should not give it; but that a corporation can not have any heart in it, and that when its moneys are contributed they are contributed in the hope that something will come back.

I will not stop to take the time of the committee to go over—I could not if I wished—all the matters I thought of on the road up. But I made up my mind that if I waited until after the campaign was over before introducing this subject the people would say, “He is wounded,” and laugh at me; but that if I was to render any public service in the matter I should do it now.

And so when I reached Esopus I took my stenographer and went into the library and dictated this speech of October 24, which the next day I read, precisely as it appears here and as it is published; and that represented my views then and now. But I may say that in the course of that speech I did not make any personal reference to Col. Roosevelt, nor did I have any evidence whatever; nothing had been said to me to indicate or to convey to my mind the idea that he had contributed in any way toward securing the raising of those funds.

This speech was made October 24, and from that time on I made several references to the subject, but those references are, all of them,

contained in the extracts from speeches which are attached to Exhibit No. 1, except the one the chairman has kindly consented for me to supply later.

It was 10 days afterwards when President Roosevelt made what is referred to, or what has come to be referred to, as a reply, and I attempted a reply, which is to be in the record, on the following night.

This came on Friday night late; it was brought to my attention something like 11 or 12 o'clock at night, and, of course, the first chance I could answer it would be the Saturday night following, and then, of course, it could not reach very far.

On Saturday morning I asked Mr. George F. Parker to go to the friend who had given this information in a confidential way and ask of him permission that I might be permitted to use in my speech of Saturday night at least that portion of his statement to me which gave the names of the men who met for the purpose of deciding whether all the people whom they represented should take an interest in the campaign; but he refused his consent, and refusing it, of course no reference was made to it.

I think I have covered the ground.

The CHAIRMAN. Judge, the committee is not as well acquainted in New York as are some people. Do you mind stating how many of those people you have referred to are among the living?

Mr. PARKER. I guess all of them.

The CHAIRMAN. All of them?

Mr. PARKER. All of them.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Harriman is dead.

Mr. PARKER. Except Edward Harriman; all the others are living.

The CHAIRMAN. As it is very evident that we can not conclude before lunch, we will take a recess until half past 1.

Mr. Parker was thereupon temporarily excused.

Thereupon, at 12 o'clock meridian, the committee took a recess until 1.30 o'clock p. m.

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled at the expiration of the recess, at 1.30 o'clock p. m.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Judge Parker, will you resume the stand?

TESTIMONY OF HON. ALTON B. PARKER—Resumed.

The CHAIRMAN. Judge, have you concluded your statement in regard to Exhibits 1 and 2?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there at this time, Judge, any matter which you recall to which your attention has not been called, or of which you have not testified, relative to or bearing upon contributions in the campaign of 1904?

Mr. PARKER. No.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Parker, I understood that you took the position in the campaign of 1904, as a presidential campaign, similar to that which Col. Roosevelt has stated that he took——

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me just a moment for one formal question, and that is the name of your informant that you have referred to in your statement.

Mr. PARKER. Col. Daniel S. Lamont.

Senator OLIVER. He is not now living?

Mr. PARKER. He is not now living; no; but I called your attention to the fact, and I repeat it now, that on Saturday before the election, Saturday, November 5, I sent to him Mr. George F. Parker to get permission to publish the list of names and meetings, and which was refused. Mr. George F. Parker is here now.

Senator PAYNTER. Is he a relative of yours?

Mr. PARKER. No; no relative of mine, I am sorry to say. I have grown to be fond of him. He is not related to me.

Senator OLIVER. Judge Parker, I will now repeat my question to you. As I understand, it was your position as the candidate of the Democratic Party for the Presidency that you did not want any money accepted by your campaign from what since that time has been stigmatized as the interests?

Mr. PARKER. The language I employed at the time was "corporations" and "trusts."

Senator OLIVER. Yes. Directly or indirectly?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Now, I assume that you knew generally—you have stated that you had no particular knowledge of contributions, and, of course, I take that statement as being absolutely true. Generally you knew, did you not, that Mr. Belmont was a large contributor?

Mr. PARKER. I assumed that Mr. Belmont was contributing in a liberal way. I assumed that; I never had any knowledge of it.

Senator OLIVER. No.

Mr. PARKER. And no suggestion at the time was ever made to me by him or anybody else; but I should say, if you do not mind, Senator, in this connection——

Senator OLIVER. Certainly.

Mr. PARKER. That until several months before my nomination I had never met Mr. Belmont. Mr. Belmont came with a friend of his, whom I know, to the Hotel Ten Eyck, where I was then stopping, I then being the chief judge of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York. I knew he had been taking an interest toward my nomination, and when I was presented to Mr. Belmont, having some old-fashioned notions, I said to Mr. Belmont:

I have never heard of you in politics; I know your brother Perry has been active in Democratic politics, and I knew your father was before you; but I never heard of your being in politics. Would you mind telling me why you are interested?

He said:

That is a very proper question for you to put, Judge Parker. Let me say, in the first place, that if you should happen to be nominated and should happen to be elected, there is no office in the gift of the people which you can give me, none I would take; and I am not interested in any matter that is regulated by Government; I am not interested in the Interstate Commerce Commission, and

there are no favors that you could render me, or have rendered for me; but I have this interest, Judge. My father I have seen preside over Democratic State conventions; I have seen him call the national convention together as chairman, and he was the only banker of prominence during the war that supported the Democratic party, and I am keeping the old stock farm and the farm at Long Island. I am interested specially, if I can, to be helpful to the Democratic party, and if, at some time in the future, I should have rendered such service as the party would like to honor me for, as they did my father, that is the only ambition I have now.

Senator OLIVER. Well, did it occur to you about that time that Mr. Belmont rubbed up pretty close against the corporate interests in his affiliations?

Mr. PARKER. It did not; no, sir. I understood him to be a banker in New York, and that the only matter that he had been interested in of any importance was the building of the Interborough Railroad; that when no other financiers in New York had courage enough to back the building of the Interborough, he did it. That was my general understanding. There may have been more, but I did not know it.

Senator OLIVER. Was he not largely in control of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad?

Mr. PARKER. I understood he was not, that he had once represented certain German banking interests, that his house in New York represented them, and had acted for them, but that it had passed away, and that he had no longer any connection with the railroads.

Senator OLIVER. Well, Judge Parker, you have stated that you were not closely in touch with contributions, and I will not ask you any further questions with regard to them, because I feel certain that your statement is just exactly as you have put it.

Mr. PARKER. Thank you, Senator.

Senator PAYNTER. How long has Mr. Lamont been dead?

Mr. PARKER. It was sometime during the year following 1904, about August.

Senator PAYNTER. He was the same Mr. Lamont who was in President Cleveland's Cabinet?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; Secretary of War.

Senator PAYNTER. He had been Secretary of War?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. So he gave you this information that you have related about these gentlemen having meetings in New York for underwriting—

Mr. PARKER. He did; yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You say that the Mr. Parker who is in the room here is familiar with the facts about which you have testified.

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. About the interview with Mr. Lamont?

Mr. PARKER. He is familiar with that, but he had even more interviews with Mr. Lamont, both before and afterwards, as I understand from him; but he is the man that I requested to go to him and get permission, if he could possibly get it, that I might publish the information about the meetings.

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; but you did not get Mr. Lamont's consent to that.

Mr. PARKER. He did not. He reported that he could not consent.

Senator PAYNTER. You wanted permission to state the source of your information?

Mr. PARKER. That is what I wanted a chance to do.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all.

Senator POMERENE. Judge, there was placed in the record here a copy of Col. Roosevelt's answer to the statements you had made in your several speeches, to which you referred just before luncheon. You, I believe, made some reply to Col. Roosevelt's answer.

Mr. PARKER. I did, on the next night.

Senator POMERENE. Yes. Have you a copy of that reply here?

Mr. PARKER. I have a copy in a scrapbook here.

Senator POMERENE. Could you read it into the record here?

Mr. PARKER. I have promised to furnish a copy of that, you know, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; I understand so, but I wanted to have it now. It is not very long, I take it.

Mr. PARKER. Do you want me to read it?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. PARKER. I should think it would take 15 minutes.

Senator POMERENE. Well, if it will take so long as that, you may place it in the record. Can you give use the substance of that reply?

Mr. PARKER. I could read, perhaps, a portion of it which is more the direct reply, if that is what you want.

Senator POMERENE. Very well.

Mr. PARKER. Of course, while this address is not long at all, I started back at the beginning.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. PARKER. And went through it. I will read a little to you of it, if you wish.

Senator POMERENE. Read the paragraphs that you had in mind.

Mr. PARKER. Referring now to the address which I first delivered, which was of October 24, I say:

You have learned from its reading that the purpose of that address was to warn the people against the corrupting of the electorate by tariff-bred trusts and other monopolies. It contained no criticism of the President. It simply called attention to a notorious and offensive situation—a situation which presented to my mind the greatest of the moral issues of the campaign; yes, of many campaigns.

If he had said on the day after the delivery of my address, after the consultation about it which he and Senator Knox had, "Yes; I never thought of it before, but Parker is right. Why would a trust take money out of its treasury, money belonging to its stockholders, consisting of women and children, as well as men of both parties, unless its purpose is to get something in return, something which its officers regard as more than an equivalent for the moneys taken out of the treasury? Now, he is right, and I am going to stop it. Perhaps the national committee can not pay back the moneys contributed in this way that they have already expended, but there shall be no more such contributions. I will join Parker in an effort to protect the ballot of the honest citizen from being overridden by merchandise ballots."

If he had said that, it would have sounded like the Roosevelt we once knew. And if he had followed it by acts in execution of his words it would have been of far less consequence to the people which one of us should be elected than it is now.

But he did not do it. He shut his eyes to what was going on, and since that time there has been the frequent meeting of the trust magnates, and the moneys have been pouring into the treasury all the more freely and all the more plentifully, because of the attitude taken by me, and which, it is true, I have enforced from day to day.

The President does not deny these contributions now. This is what he said:

"That contributions have been made to the Republican committee, as contributions have been made to the Democratic committee, is not the question at issue. Mr. Parker's assertion is in effect that such contributions have been made for improper motives either in consequence of the act or in consequence of improper promises, direct or indirect, on the part of the recipients."

That is the only paragraph in President Roosevelt's statement which touches either directly or indirectly on the question as to whether the trusts have made contributions to the Republican campaign fund. It is almost in terms an admission that the trusts have contributed to the Republican fund. In coupling the Democratic campaign fund with the Republican campaign fund the President attempted to associate the two, that a denial of his assertion could not be made without implicating the Democratic committee. He is in a position to know what contributions have been made to the Republican national committee by the trusts; if there had been no trust's contributions he could easily have said so. He did not say so. He can not say so. He has waited until the closing hour of the campaign to make easier the pretense of an answer. But it is not an answer. It is a confession with a plea in avoidance addressed to a kindly and generous people.

Then I took up after that a discussion by Mr. Root, in the speech he had made, and another one, and then I stated in my speech that I had directed the committee not to accept aid from the trusts.

Senator POMERENE. Just read that paragraph.

Mr. PARKER (reading):

The President's argument and his position seem to justify trust contributions, and the inference he would have the public draw from his utterance is, of course that contributions have been made by the trusts to the Democratic national committee. At this time, therefore, I am justified in making a statement which I had not intended to make. I requested the Democratic national campaign managers, Mr. President, that they should not receive, directly or indirectly, from any trust, money for campaign purposes. I notified them that I proposed, if elected, to enter upon the discharge of the duties of that great office unhampered by any obligation to interests or to man. I said to them that I would rather be defeated than to be fettered in the effort to accomplish reforms that are so sorely needed. And I am advised by them that my request has been scrupulously respected.

Senator POMERENE. Now, Judge, it has appeared in evidence here that there was a very substantial portion of the fund contributed toward the Republican campaign fund which was given by these so-called interests and trusts and corporations. Are you able to state briefly what the effect of those contributions were upon the result of the campaign?

Mr. PARKER. Well, I would not like to do that. I think that can be pretty readily inferred by anybody. Gov. Odell testified, for instance, according to the report here, to \$500,000 contributed to the national committee and \$200,000 he raised himself, which you may recall. I do not suppose any statement I could make would be helpful to you gentlemen here as to what effect would be produced.

Senator POMERENE. I shall not insist on your going into details, owing to the shortness of time, but you stated before luncheon that you were constrained to make the criticism that you did make because you felt it would be a distinct public service. Can you state what you did after that, if anything, looking to the adoption of a corrupt practices act in New York?

Mr. PARKER. A number of things, but of course, as I understand it, the New York act is the first act of moment in this country. Immediately after the campaign was over, and I had gone to New York to practice law, I began to look around to see where I could find somebody who would take up this work, and I realized it would have

to be taken up outside of parties; it would have to be taken up by men of prominence, men who have been prominent as Democrats or Republicans but belonged to the independent class, no longer active, and I realized I could not do anything with it, as the campaign had closed in such bitterness that any move that I might make would be misunderstood. So, after thinking it over, I sent for Mr. William Church Osborn, who is a well-to-do citizen, and one of the most public-spirited men I knew of, and whose sacrifices for public good I knew quite a little of before that date, although my acquaintance with him was not very extended—I sent for him and submitted the situation to him and the need for action and expressed the belief that his social position and professional position, and all, would make him an ideal man to take up the work. He did not give me an answer right away, but subsequently, after the vote on this, came and asked me if I would meet some gentlemen at dinner at his house, which I did—he had 12 or 14 men there and we went over it, and then he went out and built up an organization there which has now Seth Low at its head, and after a little time it resulted in a corrupt practices act there which we think is quite as good as any to be found anywhere in the country.

That is one of the things that I thought might be accomplished by a general understanding of the people of the country of what must follow contributions by corporations. I felt too, that it had grown up without appreciation on the part of even those who were employing those agencies—and appreciation of what it would come to in the end, and although quite a number of years have passed away, I think a great deal has been accomplished, and quite largely had its beginning, as I think, in the speech of October 24. Does that answer your question?

Senator POMERENE. And as I understand you did not give the public the detailed information which was imparted to you by Col. Lamont because he did not give his consent?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; that is true.

Senator POMERENE. And that later you asked Mr. George F. Parker to take this up with a view to getting his consent?

Mr. PARKER. I did, on the Saturday—on the next day after Mr. Roosevelt made his speech, or President Roosevelt made or delivered his speech; I guess it was in the form of a letter—the next day I asked Mr. Parker to go to Col. Lamont, which he did, and came back with a refusal and then the speech, a part of which I have read, was prepared. Mr. Parker is here, and I will be grateful if you will call him.

The CHAIRMAN. The book from which the witness has been reading will be numbered "Exhibit Parker No. 2."

The book was accordingly marked.

Senator POMERENE. I believe that is all.

Senator OLIVER. Judge Parker, you referred to the New York corrupt practices act as being one of the first of the kind that was passed. Do you remember the date?

Mr. PARKER. It was passed in 1906. One winter intervened, the winter of 1905, it was not passed. The next winter it was passed. As far as I know it was the first act prohibiting corporations making contributions.

Judge Parker was thereupon excused.

WILLIAM F. McCOMBS—Recalled for further examination.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McCombs, have you recently been in the hospital?

Mr. McCOMBS. I have been ill for five or six weeks; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And your presence here was postponed on account of your illness, was it not?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir; I was not certain that I could be here at all, and I sent word to someone at 200 Fifth Avenue—I think Mr. Pence—that I would come to the hearings at the earliest available moment.

The CHAIRMAN. It has passed out of my mind, but who was Thomas Ryan for at the Baltimore convention?

Mr. McCOMBS. I really do not know; he was against us.

The CHAIRMAN. Against you?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir. His delegation was against us.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he against you early in the campaign?

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not know. I have no knowledge of Mr. Ryan's taking one position or the other. We had no relations with Mr. Ryan at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You took this campaign up for Mr. Wilson, as I remember it, in 1911?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir. Mr. Ryan had nothing whatever to do with our campaign, and I never knew who he was for or against. I do not know now, but he gave us no aid or assistance, and I did not know what his position was. My assumption was that he was against Gov. Wilson, and I believe that is true before the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the man whom you named in Michigan as one that might have some information?

Mr. McCOMBS. I think Mr. Blake—Aldrich Blake—and Mr. Joseph E. Davies.

Senator POMERENE. And Judge Tucker?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of Mr. Knight at Grand Rapids, who was active in the campaign?

Mr. McCOMBS. Mr. McKnight; yes, sir. He was active in the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you still want to be understood as testifying now that you have no knowledge of the money that was spent in Mr. Wilson's behalf in the preconvention campaign outside of your exhibits?

Mr. McCOMBS. That was spent by others?

The CHAIRMAN. Spent in Mr. Wilson's preconvention campaign.

Mr. McCOMBS. Why, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Other than that you include in your Exhibit 1?

Mr. McCOMBS. Precisely. I have no knowledge of it. I have no knowledge of any more money being spent in Gov. Wilson's campaign other than what I have reported to you, with the exception of something that Mr. McAdoo has.

The CHAIRMAN. That is included in your statement?

Mr. McCOMBS. No, sir; Mr. McAdoo, I think, has a few thousand dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. I know you have referred in your statement already to the fact that Mr. McAdoo has something.

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir; I do not recall any other matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Outside of that?

Mr. McCOMBS. I have no recollection of any other money that was spent; no, sir. I do not say that there was not, but my opinion is that this covers 95 per cent of the money that was spent for Wilson. That is my guess, and I do not recall anything that was spent outside of what I did myself or Mr. McAdoo.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you discussed with anyone, except your secretary—which, of course, would be natural—the line of your testimony, anticipating your coming here?

Mr. McCOMBS. No, sir; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. You are sure about that?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. McCOMBS. I might have. I looked over the record and I might have discussed—I did discuss with several people what you gentlemen expected of me down here, and I read your testimony in the record that had already been made up, and discussed that feature of it with a number of people as to how much you wanted, and I went through your record here.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you discuss with anyone the subject of whether or not you would raise a point against our going into 1911 with reference to the preconvention campaign of 1912?

Mr. McCOMBS. Yes, sir; I did. Congressman Murray. I asked him, having read the act myself, and seeing that it was susceptible of two interpretations, and being only just able to get to the work, I said, "What do you think is the policy of that committee?" No other campaign, so far as I know, has started prior to 1912, and your resolution is certainly susceptible of that meaning, and I asked him, in view of the convenience of the matter, what the ruling was down here, and he did not know.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not the question I asked you. I asked you if you did not discuss with some one the question of your raising a point of order against any inquiries going into 1911?

Mr. McCOMBS. I do not recall. I asked a number of people about that point, but you have all of my testimony here on these points.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. McCombs thereupon was excused.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM G. McADOO, LAWYER, NEW YORK CITY.

William G. McAdoo, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name in full, please; address, and business.

Mr. McADOO. William Gibbs McAdoo; residence, New York City; business, lawyer, and the president of the company operating the Hudson River tunnels; age, 48.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in New York?

Mr. McADOO. Twenty years.

The CHAIRMAN. You were in here this morning and heard the general statement of the scope of the resolutions under which we are acting?

Mr. McADOO. I was.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state whether you know or recall anything relating to contributions to presidential or congressional campaigns of 1904?

Mr. McADOO. I have absolutely no knowledge of them.

The CHAIRMAN. As to 1908?

Mr. McADOO. The same answer.

The CHAIRMAN. As to the preconvention campaigns of 1912, what, if anything, do you know of them?

Mr. McADOO. I had a small part to do with the financing of Gov. Wilson's campaign. With your permission, I will submit this an exhibit to my testimony [referring to paper].

The CHAIRMAN. Mark this "Exhibit, McAdoo 1."

[The paper referred to was marked "Exhibit, McAdoo 1," and handed to the witness.]

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McAdoo, what is Exhibit, McAdoo 1?

Mr. McADOO. This statement shows—

The CHAIRMAN. What is the exhibit, first?

Mr. McADOO. A statement of the amounts collected by me, contributions received for the prenomination fund of Gov. Wilson, also the amount I contributed, and its disbursement. It shows a total raised of \$6,575, of which \$468 is still on hand, leaving unexpended \$6,107.

The names of the contributors are as follows:

The following contributions I received and sent to Mr. McCombs: From myself, \$400; from J. S. Schiff, \$2,500; from Mr. Nathan Straus, \$250; Mr. Nathan Straus is a brother of Hon. Oscar Straus the present nominee of the Progressive Party for governor of New York; W. D. Hines, \$150; George F. Peabody, \$25; Thomas M. Osborne, \$100. That makes a total of \$3,425, which I sent to Mr. McCombs. That is item 1.

Item 2 is contributions received and disbursed by me personally, I myself contributed \$2,700, which is in addition to the previous \$400. From O. F. Crosby, \$100; J. S. Williams, \$100; from L. P. Clark, \$100; from D. M. Riordan, \$50; from W. J. Brietenbach, \$100. This makes a total of \$3,150 and a grand total of \$6,575.

That was disbursed by me as follows—the \$3,150 to which I have just referred: To J. S. Stern, for publicity, \$1,000; to W. H. Osborn, North Carolina, \$500.

Expended by me personally, covering a period of about one year, in traveling and speaking in the interest of Gov. Wilson, including hotel bills up to and inclusive also of the Baltimore convention, \$1,650, making a total of \$3,150.

The \$468 which I still have in hand was returned to me by Mr. Osborn, of North Carolina, marking one of the exceptional things in politics—that he did not spend all the money sent to him. Mr. McCombs tells me that the \$400 referred to in Item 1, which I sent to him, was treated by his then secretary, Mr. Stockbridge, as a loan, and Mr. Stockbridge told him the amount was subsequently returned to me, which is an error; but Mr. McCombs for that reason does not show it in his own statement.

May I, Mr. Chairman, say in this connection that my interest in Gov. Wilson resulted from the fact that my eldest son is a graduate of Princeton University and that I came to know the governor very well as the president of Princeton. After he was elected governor of New Jersey, and even before his candidacy, I felt a great interest

in him, and I have done everything I could to bring him before the people of this country. When I found that Mr. McCombs, who has long been one of my warm personal friends, was interested in making the country better acquainted with Gov. Wilson, I became interested with him in that work. While I have not raised much money, because most of the people I happened to know were against Gov. Wilson, nevertheless I have expended a great deal of time and effort in that connection.

I became interested with Mr. McCombs about July, 1911, and have been since that time. I may add also that this is the total amount of money that I received and contributed myself, and that I know of no contributions being made by anyone else, or of any other expenditures being made in Gov. Wilson's behalf except those to which Mr. McCombs testified, and which, as a matter of fact, I did not know much about until I heard his statement to-day.

The paper above referred to, marked "Exhibit McAdoo 1," is as follows:

EXHIBIT McADOO 1.

Contributions sent to Mr. McCombs:

From W. G. McAdoo	\$400
From F. H. Schiff	2,500
From Nathan Straus	250
From W. D. Hines	150
From George F. Peabody	25
From Thomas M. Osborne	100
Total	3,425

Contributions received and disbursed by W. G. McAdoo:

From W. G. McAdoo	2,700
From O. F. Crosby	100
From J. S. Williams	100
From L. L. Clarke	100
From D. M. Riordan	50
From W. J. Brietenbach	100
Total	3,150
	6,575

Disbursements of W. G. McAdoo (covers a period of one year):

J. B. Stern, for publicity	\$1,000
W. H. Osborn, North Carolina	500
W. G. McAdoo, expenses in traveling and speaking in the interest of Gov. Wilson, including hotel bills up to and including Baltimore convention	1,650
	3,150

Cash on hand, returned by W. H. Osborn 468

Total disbursements W. G. M. **2,682**

Total contributions by W. G. McAdoo:

See item 1	\$400
See item 2	2,700
	3,100

Total contributions from other sources, see items 1 and 2 **3,475**

Total **6,575**

Total contributions all sources **6,575**
Less cash on hand **468**

6,107

The CHAIRMAN. This first statement is "Contributions sent to Mr. McCombs, \$3,425." Is that right?

Mr. McADOO. That is correct, with the exception of the \$400 as I have just explained it, which I sent to Mr. McCombs, through his then secretary, Mr. Stockbridge, and which Mr. McCombs reports to me was not reported to him. For that reason it does not appear in Mr. McCombs's statement, but, so far as I am concerned, the money was expended.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the next statement is, "Contributions received and disbursed by you, \$3,150."

Mr. McADOO. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have a city or State or county Wilson organization in New York?

Mr. McADOO. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They had no organization so far as you know?

Mr. McADOO. None that I am aware of. I had nothing to do with any of these field efforts at all. I had no part in them.

The CHAIRMAN. You know of no one then who acted in New York aside from Mr. McCombs in the character of a manager for Mr. Wilson?

Mr. McADOO. I do not, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you travel over the State much?

Mr. McADOO. I did not. I traveled west and in the South. I made a number of speeches for Gov. Wilson. I went as far as Arizona. I did not think I did him much good. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Were you over in New Jersey much of that time?

Mr. McADOO. No, sir. I had nothing to do with the New Jersey situation.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that you know nothing of any fact or circumstance bearing upon or relating to the contributions for Gov. Wilson's preconvention campaign further than what you have testified to?

Mr. McADOO. I do; unqualifiedly so. That is all I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know any fact or circumstance bearing upon any preconvention contributions in the year 1912 or relating to the candidates of 1912?

Mr. McADOO. I do not, outside of what I have testified.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, I mean outside of that.

Senator OLIVER. As I understand, you collected about \$6,500, part of which you handed over to Mr. McCombs and part of which you expended directly yourself in the interest of Gov. Wilson?

Mr. McADOO. That is correct.

Senator OLIVER. Do you know of anybody else? You were working, then, practically along parallel lines with Mr. McCombs, but to a certain extent independent of him?

Mr. McADOO. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. Do you know of anybody else who was doing the same thing?

Mr. McADOO. I do not.

Senator PAYNTER. You expressed the opinion that you do not think you did the governor any good. It may be that you tickled the soil and that the harvest will come later.

Mr. McAdoo. I hope so. My previous observation was due to the fact that in nearly every State I went the delegates were instructed against the governor, and truth impels me to make the confession.

Senator POMERENE. Is there any further information you can give us touching the receipts and expenditures in behalf of Gov. Wilson?

Mr. McAdoo. I know of no other, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. Or in behalf of any of the other candidates, Republican or Democratic?

Mr. McAdoo. I regret to say that none of them took me in their confidence. I know nothing.

Mr. McAdoo was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF FREDERICK C. PENFIELD, A WRITER, OF GERMANTOWN, PHILADELPHIA, PA., AND NEW YORK CITY.

Frederick C. Penfield, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Penfield, give your name, address, and business to the reporter.

Mr. PENFIELD. Frederick C. Penfield; I live in Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa., and in New York City; I am a literary man.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in Pennsylvania?

Mr. PENFIELD. Four years.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to living there, where did you reside?

Mr. PENFIELD. I lived in New York for a few years, and I was abroad, in the service of my country, for a good many years. I was born in Hartford, Conn.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of form, for I have no information that you know anything of the two or three campaigns; however, I will ask you whether you know anything of contributions to either the presidential or congressional campaign of 1904?

Mr. PENFIELD. I know of nothing whatever of contributions. In a small way I have been a contributor to all campaigns through political clubs of which I am a member—the Manhattan Club, of New York, chiefly. Beyond that, no connection.

The CHAIRMAN. As to the presidential or congressional campaign of 1908?

Mr. PENFIELD. I know nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state what, if anything, you know in regard to contributions to preconvention campaigns of candidates who were seeking the nomination for President in 1912.

Mr. PENFIELD. For several years I have been a friend of, or rather President Wilson and I have been friends. I have a remote connection with Princeton University. I am not a graduate of it. I had a very deep friendship for Woodrow Wilson, beginning five years ago. I thought it would be very good for the country if he might become its President; and when he was made governor of New Jersey I saw that he was planning for a political career. I kept watch of his work in New Jersey, liked it, thought it would be good to transfer him from the State to the Nation. I am a man in private life, no political influence, but I conceived the idea that I would like to see Woodrow Wilson President of the United States.

A year ago I was brought into connection with Mr. McCombs, whom I found was exploiting the Wilson propaganda; made his ac-

quaintance; we were in accord upon many matters, and after two or three interviews with Mr. McCombs—these interviews were of an informal nature—he paid me the compliment of asking me to join him in exploiting the chances of Wilson. I told him I was getting along in years, I had lost my touch of public affairs, and that I had rather elaborate arrangements for spending the winter in Africa—arrangements that could not be done away with without some loss. So I made this proposal to Mr. McCombs a year ago: That, as I was going to spend the winter in the Soudan, I would provide the finances for him to secure a more efficient man than I could be. We talked it over. It was our conclusion that \$10,000 would employ the services and defray the expenses of such a man for the preconvention campaign. I gave him \$10,000, went abroad, was very much interested all the winter long in getting the home papers to find how the campaign, how the incipency of the preconvention campaign, was going; read of glowing prospects for Wilson; more than once read that Wilson was out of it. I still did not believe he was out of it.

I think it was in April of last year I got a communication from Mr. McCombs saying that the treasury was absolutely empty. The same mail brought me private advices saying that Mr. Wilson could not be nominated, but still there was Mr. McCombs's letter saying the treasury was empty and I should send him another check. I sent a check for \$2,000. I wish now it had been for a bigger sum. The \$10,000 that I gave before I went away, the \$2,000 I sent from Europe, making \$12,000; that is all, every penny of what I provided to the preconvention campaign.

And I may say that no member of my family has given anything. That is my story in full.

The CHAIRMAN. By no member of your family; how far do you intend that to reach?

Mr. PENFIELD. My family is very small. I mean that my wife has given nothing.

I am a master of arts of Princeton; Mr. McCombs reminds me of that.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason I asked that question, and probably the reason you offered the broader answer was with reference to some evidence that had appeared here.

Mr. PENFIELD. I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you have heard Mr. McCombs's testimony, I take it?

Mr. PENFIELD. Yes, sir; in full.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. McAdoo's testimony?

Mr. PENFIELD. In full.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, either of your own knowledge or by repute among your associates, of any contributions that were made to Mr. Wilson's preconvention campaign other than those which appear in the testimony, either of Mr. McCombs, of Mr. McAdoo, or of your own?

Mr. PENFIELD. I learned the names of the contributors in this room for the first time.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you know of no others?

Mr. PENFIELD. I know of no others.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any fact or circumstance bearing upon or relating to contributions—I will ask you first with reference to Gov. Wilson—to Gov. Wilson's preconvention campaign to which your attention has not been called, or to which you have not testified, which you now think of?

Mr. PENFIELD. There is nothing whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there as to the preconvention campaign of any other candidate?

Mr. PENFIELD. None whatever. I was only interested in Wilson.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but you might have known of things.

Mr. PENFIELD. I heard other candidates discussed, but I was pro-Wilson all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. I know; but I do not think you mean it as evasive, and still the record would show that you have not answered the question, whether you know now or recall now of any fact or circumstance bearing upon or relating to preconvention campaigns of other candidates?

Mr. PENFIELD. No; I know of nothing whatsoever; nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mr. Penfield.

Mr. Penfield was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF JOSIAH QUINCY, LAWYER AND MEMBER OF THE BOSTON TRANSIT COMMISSION, OF BOSTON, MASS.

Josiah Quincy, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Please give your name, address, and occupation for the record.

Mr. QUINCY. Josiah Quincy; Boston, Mass.; lawyer and member of the Boston Transit Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Quincy, do you know anything concerning campaign contributions in the presidential or congressional campaigns of 1904?

Mr. QUINCY. Nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. Of 1908?

Mr. QUINCY. I know nothing directly. I was a member of the advisory committee of the Democratic national committee in 1908, and was at their headquarters sometimes, but I knew nothing directly about contributions at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Our resolutions cover these matters, but so long as the witness is here—I understand you are here on a later matter—you may state what, if anything, you know concerning contributions to the preconvention campaigns of the gentlemen who were candidates for the presidential nomination in 1912.

Mr. QUINCY. I know something about the campaign in the interest of Gov. Wilson before the primaries in Massachusetts.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a statement covering your knowledge?

Mr. QUINCY. I will be glad to tell the committee of my own knowledge of that matter, and I would like to explain in regard to this statement how far my own knowledge extends.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be identified first. Mr. Reporter, you may mark this, "Exhibit, Quincy No. 1."

The paper referred to was marked "Exhibit, Quincy No. 1" and handed to the witness, and is as follows:

EXHIBIT, QUINCY No. 1.

Summary made up from books of E. M. Mitchell, treasurer.

Receipts, Apr. 19 to June 6, 1912-----	\$4, 036. 60
Payments, Apr. 19 to June 6, 1912-----	4, 036. 11

Expenditures classified as follows:

1. Printing -----	615. 35
2. Stamps and stamped envelopes-----	617. 99
3. Newspaper advertising-----	589. 95
4. Clerical salaries at headquarters-----	389. 89
5. Miscellaneous expenses of meetings, traveling, distribution of handbills, etc.-----	330. 25
6. Addressing and mailing circulars-----	302. 33
7. Telegraph service-----	291. 90
8. Rent of halls-----	258. 00
9. Taxis and autos-----	220. 20
10. Bill posting and signs-----	167. 00
11. Stenographic reports of meetings-----	148. 57
12. Express, stationery, and other miscellaneous expenses-----	104. 68

Total-----	4, 036. 11
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The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Quincy, what is Exhibit No. 1?

Mr. QUINCY. Exhibit No. 1 is described by the heading which I put over it "Summary made up from books of E. M. Mitchell, treasurer."

Senator POMERENE. Of whom?

Mr. QUINCY. Made up from the books of E. M. Mitchell, treasurer.

I shall have to explain to the committee how that was made up. I was not the treasurer or the manager of the Wilson campaign in Massachusetts. I was interested in that campaign, and was doing all that I could to promote Gov. Wilson's interests before the primary, having been an advocate of his nomination since the spring of 1911.

Former Congressman William F. McNary, of Boston, was selected as the manager in charge of the Wilson preconvention campaign before the Massachusetts primaries. Mr. McNary had full charge of the headquarters. I was more or less in conference with him during the campaign outside of the headquarters. Mr. McNary appointed Miss E. M. Mitchell, an expert stenographer, to have charge of the receipts and disbursements of headquarters. Miss Mitchell kept the books which were kept, and when I was asked to come before this committee I thought that it would save time and accomplish the object which, perhaps, the committee had in view, without simply coming here and giving the names of Miss Mitchell and Mr. McNary, by obtaining Miss Mitchell's books and preparing a summary from those books of the receipts, of the classified receipts and expenditures, as shown by her books, which are not under my control, which is the explanation of this statement which I have here prepared.

My further connection with the matter was this: Mr. Joseph E. Davies represented Mr. McCombs or the movement under his charge in the interest of Gov. Wilson in the Massachusetts primary, and Mr. Davies came to Massachusetts to look after those interests, and

practically assumed charge of the movement. Mr. Davies found that there was little, if any, money to be obtained in Massachusetts for the defraying of expenses in connection with that primary election, and he arranged to secure money from New York, doubtless through Mr. McCombs. Mr. Davies was back and forth. I was in conference with him, and he asked me for him to supervise to some extent the financial end of the campaign and, in order to make the money go as far as possible, to supply it only as needed. A bank account was therefore opened in the name of E. M. Mitchell at the Shawmut National Bank, and I deposited from time to time to the credit of E. M. Mitchell, treasurer, such amounts, in my discretion, as came within the sums handed me from time to time for that purpose by Mr. Davies.

Sometimes checks and sometimes cash, or I got checks cashed for him sometimes. I have a statement here which, perhaps, I should present.

The CHAIRMAN. First, let us take the other and give the total.

Mr. QUINCY. Yes; the total on that statement is \$4,036.11, which is classified by me. I am responsible for the classification under 12 different headings.

The CHAIRMAN. It appears, then, from Exhibit No. 1 that the total receipts accounted for herein were \$4,036.60 and the total payments referred to herein were \$4,036.11.

Mr. QUINCY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. QUINCY. Outside of the amounts covered by Miss Mitchell's books, appearing from that statement, I should add that I also secured a personal contribution from Col. William A. Gaston of \$500, and I paid certain expenses myself, which did not pass through the books of Miss Mitchell. I paid for the rental and expense of a meeting for Gov. Wilson in Tremont Temple at Boston, \$235, and I paid through my own office various expenses, like traveling expenses, meals, telephone charges, addressing circulars, and miscellaneous expenses, accounting for the remainder, \$265, making the total collected and disbursed by me, outside of the statement of the chairman of the campaign committee, \$500. I shall present that if you desire it.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, it should be added to Exhibit 1, \$500.

Mr. QUINCY. To get the total, Senator; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. For the simplification of the record I will make an exhibit of this and have it marked "Quincy, No. 2."

The paper referred to was marked "Quincy, No. 2," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT, QUINCY 2.

Received and disbursed by Josiah Quincy otherwise than through Wilson campaign committee.

Contribution of W. A. Gaston.....	\$500
Paid rental and expense of meeting of Gov. Wilson in Tremont Temple, Boston	235
Paid through my office various expenses for traveling expenses, hotel bills, meals, telephone charges, addressing circulars, and miscellaneous expenses	265
Total.....	500

The CHAIRMAN [showing Exhibit No. 2 to the witness]. Mr. Quincy, what is Exhibit No. 2? Just state what it is.

Mr. QUINCY. It is a statement of the amounts collected and disbursed by me outside of the accounts kept for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, outside of Exhibit No. 1?

Mr. QUINCY. Outside of Exhibit No. 1; yes. May I add a word in explanation?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. QUINCY. As to Col. Gaston's contribution. He gave that privately to me at the time, rather than making it more openly to the committee, for the reason that while he was in sympathy with having Massachusetts carried for Gov. Wilson rather than for Speaker Clark, at that time he had not committed himself to favor the nomination of Gov. Wilson against the field; and, as a matter of fact, I think that his sympathies subsequently were rather in favor of Congressman Underwood. But there was no issue presented to the voters of Massachusetts on the ballot. Gov. Foss had retired, and the bare issue presented to the Democratic voters was whether they preferred Speaker Clark or Gov. Wilson, and between those two gentlemen Col. Gaston felt decided in his preference for Gov. Wilson, and therefore made that contribution at my personal solicitation.

The CHAIRMAN. This committee was located at Boston?

Mr. QUINCY. This committee was located in Boston.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any subcommittees throughout the State?

Mr. QUINCY. I do not. I should like to add, to make my statement as full as my knowledge extends, even though some of it is indirect, that the movement in Massachusetts to place Gov. Wilson's name on the primary ballot and have him enter the contest there originated through the organization of a club of which Mr. Robert Treat Paine was the President. That club started a movement and carried it up to a certain point—up to the point of engaging headquarters and circulating petitions to place Gov. Wilson's name upon the ballot; and in that effort that committee, independent of this statement, presented in the name of E. M. Mitchell, treasurer, made certain collections and certain disbursements, as to which I have no personal knowledge. They were made before Mr. William S. McNary became the manager. I only know that I was informed that they did not find it possible to raise more than \$600 or \$700. As I understand, that is the total they received and they disbursed.

The CHAIRMAN. Who informed you of that?

Mr. QUINCY. Mr. Paine himself.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be sufficient. Now, do you at this time recall any fact or circumstance bearing on the contributions to the preconvention campaign of Mr. Wilson other than what you have testified to and to which your attention has not been called?

Mr. QUINCY. Contributions within my personal knowledge, Senator?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, within your personal knowledge or by repute among your associates. In other words, is there anything that you feel now, bearing upon this question, that you should tell the committee to which your attention has not been previously called? That is the object and purpose of the question.

Mr. QUINCY. I have no knowledge of any other contribution in Massachusetts. I think I have stated everything I know in regard to contributions in Massachusetts. My knowledge outside of any contributions to the Massachusetts campaign only extends to the fact that Mr. Penfield, whom I have known as a friend for a great many years, informed me of his contribution that he had made, and what the amount of it was.

The CHAIRMAN. And that corresponds to the statement he made?

Mr. QUINCY. It corresponds absolutely to the statement he has made.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in regard to Gov. Wilson's candidacy, do you have in mind any fact or circumstance to which your attention has not been called relating to or bearing upon the question of contributions to the preconvention campaigns of other gentlemen who were candidates for the nomination in 1912?

Mr. QUINCY. I know nothing about them, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Witness was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF ROGER C. SULLIVAN, CHICAGO, ILL.

Roger C. Sullivan, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your name in full for the record, together with your occupation and residence.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Roger C. Sullivan, Chicago, Ill. I am interested in the gas business, manufacturing business, and one or two other things.

The CHAIRMAN. What gas business?

Mr. SULLIVAN. The Ogden Gas Co. in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Any other business?

The CHAIRMAN. Any other gas company?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I have stock in other companies, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What manufacturing business?

Mr. SULLIVAN. The Sawyer Basket Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sullivan, I understand you were asked to come here with reference to the 1912 preconvention campaigns, but while you are here, I will ask you with reference to the full scope of the resolutions. Do you know anything of any contributions to any presidential or congressional campaign of 1904?

Mr. SULLIVAN. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You made none yourself?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Well, I may have. I rather think I did make a little donation in 1904.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any that were made besides that made by yourself?

Mr. SULLIVAN. The management of that in our State was in the hands of another gentleman. I know of funds raised at that time; yes, but I could not say now what the amount was, and had no personal connection with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whom the contributors were?

Mr. SULLIVAN. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. In the campaign of 1908, either the presidential or congressional campaign of that year, do you know anything of contributions of funds?

Mr. SULLIVAN. In a general way; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make any yourself?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. To both presidential and congressional campaigns?

Mr. SULLIVAN. To the presidential. I am trying to think about the congressional—except so far as the county committee helped the congressional along, no specific congressional election.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a member of the county committee in 1908?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you may state what, if anything, you know in regard to contributions to the preconvention campaigns beginning with Gov. Wilson for 1912.

Mr. SULLIVAN. I don't know anything about it—not a word.

The CHAIRMAN. You had nothing to do with it?

Mr. SULLIVAN. So far as I know, there was no money given in the campaign out our way.

The CHAIRMAN. What relation, if any, did you occupy toward any Democratic organization during 1911?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I was very active. I was on the county committee and was very active in the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. What relation, if any, do you occupy now toward any committee?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I am not a member of any of the political committees just now. At that time I was on the national, State, county, and every other kind of committee. This year I am not on any of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make any contributions yourself to the candidacy of any man for the nomination of President who was a candidate for the nomination in 1912?

Mr. SULLIVAN. The candidacy of any man?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SULLIVAN. No. I spent some money in that campaign, in the organization of the State, personally. I was not allied with the candidacy of any man prior to the Baltimore convention, specifically. The organization of the State of Illinois was looking after the affairs of the party, the organization of the State and county, and incidentally with that we elected delegates to the national convention, which I was a part and parcel of, and I spent some money in the general organization of our county and of the State, but no contributions of any kind from anybody or from any candidate, or from anybody representing any candidate.

The CHAIRMAN. And you made none for any candidate?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I made none for any candidate, although I want it understood that I had spent some money.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I understand.

Mr. SULLIVAN. In the organization and the carrying out of the organization of the State.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SULLIVAN. I am recognized as being somewhat active in the State and county organizations, but we were not committed to a presidential candidate at that time.

Senator POMERENE. What time was that that you referred to?

Mr. SULLIVAN. The preconvention time.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to the Baltimore convention, he said.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Prior to that State convention, speaking specifically. We instructed for the State convention in accordance with the popular vote; instructed for Mr. Clark at the State convention. That was the first time any of us took that position.

The CHAIRMAN. You know of no contributions that were made?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Personally; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, by common repute among your political associates?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Well, I do not believe that there were contributions of any kind, to amount to anything, by any of the candidates or aspirants for the Democratic nomination in Illinois?

The CHAIRMAN. You mean for any of them?

Mr. SULLIVAN. For any of them.

The CHAIRMAN. You said by any of them.

Mr. SULLIVAN. I think it was very limited in our State, and yet there may be some money spent by individuals, fellows like that, but there was no issue up; all were fighting in Illinois. It was not a presidential fight, it was an organization fight.

The CHAIRMAN. During the time you have testified to, how much was your contribution to the general organization purposes?

Mr. SULLIVAN. What do you mean by that?

The CHAIRMAN. You have stated that while you made no contribution for any candidate, you did put some money into the cause generally there in Illinois.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Well, you said "during the time you testified to."

The CHAIRMAN. During the preconvention time, using the expression that you have used—the time. Of course, I mean prior to and including the Baltimore convention.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Well, I could not just say how much it was.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, approximately—to the best of your recollection and impression?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that that was not in any one candidate's interest?

Mr. SULLIVAN. It was in no candidate's interest. It was an organization proposition entirely.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Sullivan, as to this sum of between \$40,000 and \$50,000, is that all of the money that was spent by your organization throughout the State?

Mr. SULLIVAN. All that I know of.

Senator OLIVER. Was that all contributed by you, or did you collect part of it from somebody else?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I did not collect a cent from anybody else, nor get a cent from anybody.

Senator OLIVER. In the campaign of 1908, the national campaign, what position did you occupy with relation to it?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I was a member of the national committee, representing Illinois; a member of the State committee, I believe, at that time.

Senator OLIVER. You were generally recognized as the Democratic—

Mr. SULLIVAN. I do not know that I was a member of the State committee. I think I was not for that year.

Senator OLIVER. You were generally recognized as the Democratic leader in Illinois?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Sometimes classified as that. I do not know that I was the leader.

Senator OLIVER. Sometimes they call them bosses, I believe.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir; those unfriendly to you do.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Sullivan, how much did the Democratic Party spend in that campaign in Illinois?

Mr. SULLIVAN. How much did the Democratic Party spend?

Senator OLIVER. Yes.

Mr. SULLIVAN. What do you mean, nationally?

Senator OLIVER. In the national election; yes.

Mr. SULLIVAN. You mean for the national ticket?

Senator PAYNTER. You mean the primary?

Senator OLIVER. No; in the general election of 1908?

Senator PAYNTER. I beg your pardon.

Senator OLIVER. There was an electoral ticket and a long line of State officers to be elected also.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Of course, I could not tell you what they spent. The State organization spent about \$45,000 to \$47,000 in the 1908 campaign.

Senator OLIVER. Then the general election in 1908 cost the party less than the primary election in 1912?

Mr. SULLIVAN. No, sir; I do not think so. For instance, in 1908, in the county of Cook, the county committee, I think, spent about \$70,000 or \$75,000 and then at the national election I do not know just what they did spend—the national committee—how much they spent.

Senator OLIVER. I am not speaking of the national committee; I am speaking of the expenses of the party for conducting the campaign of 1908.

Mr. SULLIVAN. I understand. Well, they spent in 1908, I know, approximately about \$47,000—the State committee spent. The county of Cook—that is the city I live in; I do not know what they did outside—they spent about \$70,000 or \$75,000 on our side. I should judge the Republicans spent several times that in that same election.

Senator OLIVER. That is what they all say.

Mr. SULLIVAN. I think that is true.

Senator OLIVER. The other side is the one that always spends the money. I hardly understand your position when you say that you contributed yourself between \$40,000 and \$50,000 for the primary campaign this year, in 1912, and that the entire expenditures of the State committee in 1908 were only \$47,000. I can hardly understand your position that the primary campaign did not cost as much as the general campaign of 1908.

Mr. SULLIVAN. You can not understand what?

Senator OLIVER. You say that the primary campaign did not cost as much as the general campaign in 1908 and still the amounts contributed—the amounts expended—according to your statement are substantially the same; in one case, \$47,000 and in the other, as you stated, between \$40,000 and \$50,000.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Well, this was a very bitter fight that we had in Illinois this year for the control of the organization, and we would have about 6,000 precincts in the State, and while there was no money put into those precincts in the county of Cook, it was a very bitter fight. We had many things to contend with.

Senator OLIVER. Then, for the purpose of maintaining your organization, you spent between \$40,000 and \$50,000?

Mr. SULLIVAN. We did whatever we thought was necessary. Some of that was spent for advertising and some for legal services. We had to go to the supreme court in two cases to maintain our position.

Senator OLIVER. Now, how much did the people who were opposed to you spend?

Mr. SULLIVAN. That I do not know.

Senator OLIVER. Well, they did not get off for nothing, I suppose?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I do not suppose they did; no, sir; I do not think they did.

Senator OLIVER. So that the primary expenditure in Illinois——

Mr. SULLIVAN. Is very extensive.

Senator OLIVER. Your expenditures represented only one side of a hard-fought fight?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. How many Democratic votes are cast in Chicago usually?

Mr. SULLIVAN. In the presidential year?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes; the presidential year, that is the better test.

Mr. SULLIVAN. One hundred and sixty to one hundred seventy-five thousand, I should judge, along there.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Sullivan, you say you are not a member of any of those committees now?

Mr. SULLIVAN. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I presume that is a matter of choice, is it not?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Well, I presume somewhat. I have been trying to get away from the honor of the game.

Senator PAYNTER. So the fight, as I understand, was over the organization there, and your organization triumphed and followed the mandate of the primary election and voted for the candidate having the majority in that primary?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. So the money was not really spent in a presidential election or for presidential candidates?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Not at all.

Senator PAYNTER. To promote their interests?

Mr. SULLIVAN. They were not considered in the contest at all.

Senator POMERENE. You mean to say that while there was a primary preference vote, at the same time that did not figure materially in the contest?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Not at all.

Senator POMERENE. And in reality it was simply a contest to get control as between your friends and another faction?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You were at the head of the one faction, if you call it such; who was at the head of the other?

Mr. SULLIVAN. The Hearst-Harrison people.

Senator POMERENE. And then when you went to the convention your delegates supported Speaker Clark up until about the close of the convention?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And then swung to Gov. Wilson?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you have spoken of the contributions by yourself as between \$40,000 and \$50,000. Do I get that correctly?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Approximately, along there. That took in a lot of things, you know, for what you might say six or seven months prior to that time, leading up to that fight.

Senator POMERENE. For what purpose was that money expended?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Some of it was put in to man the precincts in the wards, you know, where there were contests, different conditions. You see, we have fourteen hundred and sixty-odd precincts in—

Senator POMERENE. How many?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Fourteen hundred and sixty-odd in the county of Cook, and some was for halls. You have to carry on the same kind of a campaign that we do on election day, for primaries, and it costs just as much for the primary contest as on election day. Answering the Senator's question, it was more fierce than the general election day would be, because on general election days the parties line up and the partisans that belong to the different parties go and vote, with the possible exception somewhat in this campaign—that you have a large army of people back of you then that are classified; you know where they are. But in the stiff primary fights, as we have under the laws of Illinois, you have to make a fight in every precinct in the State of Illinois to get the organization in that State, because the precinct committeemen elect all delegates and have the whole entire management of the Democratic Party for the ensuing two years. So you have got to make a fight in every precinct—not in the counties or States, but in every precinct.

Senator POMERENE. You spoke of some of this money being expended to man the polls in certain of the precincts where there were contests. Do you mean contests for committeemen?

Mr. SULLIVAN. For committeemen. Every precinct committeeman is elected by the popular vote of the people.

Senator POMERENE. And was this contest over the election of delegates to the State convention?

Mr. SULLIVAN. No, sir; it was the election of precinct committeemen.

Senator POMERENE. Now, another matter—if I am not rightly informed you will correct me—do I understand this presidential preference there was in obedience to a statute which was just passed a few days before the primary was, in fact, held?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Four or five days before the primary was held. That incidentally came in. It cut no figure in the fight at all. It just blew in at the last minute. The people who were backing the candidacy of Mr. Roosevelt on the Republican side had conceived a great emergency, about 10 days before our primaries, to have a popular vote on the presidential proposition. The fight that we were carrying on had been going on for six months prior to that.

time. So that preferential primary proposition was just merely a little incident in the contest in Illinois.

Senator POMERENE. You mean by your statement that whatever moneys you expended were not in fact expended with relation to the election of delegates to the national convention or with relation to the presidential primary choice.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir; they were only incidental. Of course, the electing of these precinct committeemen—they subsequently elected the delegates to all conventions for two years. You see, under the Illinois State law they elect the delegates to the city, county, State, and everything else.

Senator POMERENE. The committeemen do?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir. They manage all the affairs of the party for two years.

Senator POMERENE. Even to the selection of all delegates?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I did not understand it.

Mr. SULLIVAN. That is why we had a fight in every precinct in Illinois, and there are 6,000 of them there.

Senator POMERENE. You have given the amount expended by you. Do you mean this \$40,000 or \$50,000 covers the amount which was expended by yourself and your friends and your faction of the party?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir; that is all that was spent.

Senator POMERENE. Who could inform us as to the expenditures of the other faction?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Well, there are plenty of them, I guess, out there that are on that side. They are quite noted. We had the mayor of Chicago against us, the Hearst papers against us; all those fellows. You know how they fight. You have heard of them, anyway.

Senator POMERENE. Who had control of the campaign? Who was at the head of their campaign; the mayor, you mean?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes. He was the potent influence of it, he and Mr. Lawrence, of the Hearst papers. I had not any interest in the result of the thing, because I was going to try and get out of politics, anyway. But when we were in a fight, we were in it.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Sullivan, if I understand you correctly, I can not see just how the spending of this money had any relation whatever to the primary for choice for President.

Mr. SULLIVAN. It did not with us.

Senator PAYNTER. Let me ask you a question or two in that connection. For instance, you had a candidate for a committeeman in each district?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You did not ask whether he was a Wilson man, a Clark man, or an Underwood man?

Mr. SULLIVAN. No, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. There was no condition of that kind in the selection?

Mr. SULLIVAN. I will explain that for you. We had Clark men on the delegation; we had Wilson men on the delegation; we had Harmon men on the delegation; I don't know, but there were a great many people who admired Mr. Underwood. We did not attempt to influence them at all. We put them on the delegation without reference to who they were with.

Senator PAYNTER. As to their presidential preferences, you mean?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes.

Senator PAYNTER. So that the money that was expended was purely and simply——

Mr. SULLIVAN. It was an organization proposition.

Senator PAYNTER. For organization purposes?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. You say you had the Hearst papers and Mayor Harrison against you. Did that mean the administration of the city, too?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Absolutely.

Senator PAYNTER. How many papers did you have supporting your cause in Chicago?

Mr. SULLIVAN. We do not usually have any papers supporting our cause, except so far as I am satisfied as to some of the papers we will get because of some of the enemies we made.

Senator PAYNTER. Were there any Democratic papers supporting your organization?

Mr. SULLIVAN. There are not any Democratic papers in Chicago, except so far as you could classify the Hearst papers as Democratic.

Senator PAYNTER. If there were Democratic papers, the Democratic papers were against you in the fight?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. Did you carry the city?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Yes, sir; we carried the county and we carried the State.

Senator POMERENE. How were your delegates to the National Democratic convention selected?

Mr. SULLIVAN. We held a county convention of these precinct committeemen after they were elected, and elected delegates to the State convention, then the State convention elected delegates to the national convention.

Mr. Sullivan was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE F. PARKER, NEWSPAPER MAN, NEW YORK CITY.

George F. Parker, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. State your name, residence, and occupation, for the record.

Mr. PARKER. George F. Parker, New York City, newspaper man.

The CHAIRMAN. You are acquainted with Judge Parker?

Mr. PARKER. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard his testimony to-day?

Mr. PARKER. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. In which he referred to a conversation between Daniel Lamont and himself?

Mr. PARKER. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you present at that conversation?

Mr. PARKER. I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. He also referred to having asked you to go and see Mr. Lamont and get his permission to use the names of the men whom he stated Mr. Lamont had referred to to him.

Mr. PARKER. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. You saw Mr. Lamont on that occasion?

Mr. PARKER. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state what, if any, conversation you had with him.

Mr. PARKER. The judge asked me to see the colonel and to ask him whether he would consent to the use in his speech, to be delivered in Brooklyn on that night, of the names of the men as he had originally given them to me and as I had communicated them to the judge originally, and as they had been given to the judge by him in person later.

He was still very active in business—still very deeply interested in politics, and this information had been obtained by him in such a way that he said he could not permit it to be used in a public way.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, as I understand the history of the matter, Mr. Lamont first made the statement to you, and subsequently made the statement to the judge, and then the judge asked you to see Mr. Lamont and get permission to use the names?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you ever present at any conversation between Mr. Lamont and the judge?

Mr. PARKER. I may have been present, but not on a conversation in connection with this.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean in reference to this.

Mr. PARKER. If I might be permitted to explain a little, I could perhaps give an idea of the events that led up to this.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. PARKER. After the nomination of Judge Parker I was notified, or was requested by Col. Lamont and some of my friends, representing Judge Parker, who was to me then a stranger, to take a position at the head of the literary department of the Democratic national committee of 1904, a position which I had held in 1888 and 1892. I had agreed to accept this position and was to begin work on the 1st of August.

I saw Col. Lamont a great deal, and he was very deeply interested in the campaign. He was continually saying to me:

Parker, this is going to be an unusually interesting campaign from the point of view of political contributions.

As we went on a little further, after the selection of Mr. Cortelyou as chairman of the national committee, which was about the last week in July, he became more and more emphatic in this. I saw the colonel perhaps every day or so.

As it still further went on he impressed this upon me so strongly that he desired I should mention it first to the New York World and second to Judge Parker. I communicated first with the New York World, the committee not then having been organized and Judge Parker not having been notified formally of his nomination.

I went to see Mr. Merrill, who was then the working editor of the New York World, and I gave him what information Col. Lamont had given. That was to the effect that men representing large business concerns had concluded that they would support the Republican candidate. The colonel told me from time to time, with considerable particularity, that these people were holding meetings, sometimes almost daily, sometimes almost weekly; and occasionally when

I would go in he would say, "Well, Parker, they had another meeting yesterday." I would say, "What did they do?" He said, "They resolved, all of them, to go right to work and raise all the money they could for the Republican campaign fund." I communicated this to Mr. Merrill first, and Mr. Merrill put all the facilities of the New York World to work in order to verify, so far as he could, the information which had been given to me by Col. Lamont.

That resulted in the publication in the New York World of July 30 of what is known as the first open letter, I think, to the President. That letter was written by Joseph Pulitzer, although not signed by him. I have not the letter in its entirety with me, but I have certain quotations from it:

Appointment of Cortelyou has all appearance of a deliberate preparation for partisan blackmail.

That is one quotation. Another quotation:

Convert your confidential secretary into a campaign fat fryer.

This letter was not signed.

But at this time the New York World put forward what it called its 10 issues. This was followed later, after it had gathered its information and after the colonel had from time to time told me of the meetings of these gentlemen, whom he alleged were a committee, by the second open letter of August 23, signed by Joseph Pulitzer, dated at Bar Harbor, August 21, 1904. It was a letter covering two pages, and the title of it was "President Roosevelt's records, in his own words."

That was more a political pronunciamento than it was against the President in the matter of campaign contributions.

The campaign proceeded on the part of the New York World, and on October 1 there appeared in its columns a third open letter of six columns on the editorial page and three columns on the following page. It was signed by Joseph Pulitzer, Bar Harbor, September 29, 1904. A quotation from this letter is:

Suppose, Mr. President, even at this late day, you were to give the country a little of the real publicity you once favored, by telling it: How much has the Beef Trust contributed to Mr. Cortelyou, etc., the Paper, Coal, Sugar, Oil, Tobacco, and Steel Trusts; insurance companies, national banks, and the six great railroads?

That was the direct result of the colonel's interposition in this, though not directly, but through myself in giving this information, what we call in newspaper language a tip; and the New York World apparently, so far as I remember, worked it for pretty nearly all it was worth.

As we went on I asked the colonel to give me the list of the names of the gentlemen who, as he said, composed this private committee of the national committee. I have here a copy of the original list I made, which has been verified, of the names given me by Col. Lamont, of which, of course, I had no personal knowledge: James Stillman, of the National City Bank; Edward H. Harriman, of the Southern Pacific Railroad; Daniel G. Reid, of the Rock Island Railroad; Charles F. Brooker, vice president of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, and vice chairman of the Republican national committee; George W. Perkins, of the New York Life Insurance Co.;

Robert Bacon, then partner of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co.; and Henry C. Frick, of the United States Steel Corporation.

A little later, as the campaign developed, I insisted that the colonel ought to permit me to give this information to Judge Parker. By this time I was at work at the national headquarters and had become acquainted with Judge Parker. The colonel was rather loath to have the matter still further taken up, but he finally consented, and I arranged with Judge Parker for Col. Lamont to come and see him. That is the interview of which Judge Parker has spoken, and which I have confirmed in my earlier testimony.

I think that is my story.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Parker, those gentlemen whose names you have read were all well known as Republicans, were they not?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, Senator.

Senator OLIVER. Was there any doubt as to whether they would support the Republican nominee in that campaign?

Mr. PARKER. I believe not.

Senator OLIVER. Is not the allegation that they held a formal meeting and after consultation with each other decided that they would support the nominee—is that not what Judge Parker said?

Mr. PARKER. No. Judge Parker said, or I should say, at least, that there never was any question about their support of the Republican candidate; but the question was throwing the power of their corporations into that support in addition to their own.

Senator OLIVER. Have you any information as to who constituted them into a committee or syndicate or whatever you term it?

Mr. PARKER. No; I have not.

Senator OLIVER. Col. Lamont did not say?

Mr. PARKER. Col. Lamont did not say. He thought it was just a natural coming together of people who would make up their minds to throw whatever support they could, both personal and corporate, to the candidate of their choice.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Harriman's secretary, Mr. Tegethoff, testified before us a few days since that practically—I think he produced a letter from Mr. Cortelyou, chairman of the national committee, notifying Mr. Harriman of his appointment as a member of the—is it the advisory committee?

Senator PAYNTER. The auxiliary committee.

Senator OLIVER. Of the auxiliary committee of the Republican national committee. There is no other mention of the matter. Is it not probable that these other gentlemen were simply members of this committee and acting as auxiliaries?

Mr. PARKER. That is entirely probable. I had no personal knowledge of this at all. I have been repeating what a friend of mine had said, a friend then alive and who was active in politics. I am merely repeating what he told me time after time. Of course, I must say that I have no personal knowledge; I could not have.

Senator OLIVER. There is nothing at all to show that they were acting in any way in a representative capacity, but simply, if they gathered together at all, as members of the auxiliary committee and as individual members of the Republican Party?

Mr. PARKER. I do not think Col. Lamont made any point of that in any way. He did not know how they had been chosen; he simply had advices by reason of his relations with the Street, by his long con-

nection with politics, and by a genius which is perhaps the most extraordinary that this country has produced for getting information. And gentlemen who have come into contact with Col. Lamont know that he perhaps had that genius in a more highly developed way than almost any other man that they have ever known. His relations were very close with people in every political party.

Senator OLIVER. Sometimes those geniuses develop a talent for guessing.

Mr. PARKER. Col. Lamont was not much of a guesser.

Senator PAYNTER. Mr. Parker, Senator Oliver calls your attention, or refers in his examination, to a letter written by George B. Cortelyou to Mr. Harriman, dated July 26, 1904, in which he asks Mr. Harriman to serve on the auxiliary committee of the Republican national committee. That is the language there. He concludes this way:

Please consider this communication as entirely personal, as the committee is not to be publicly announced.

If those gentlemen composed that auxiliary, there had not been any public announcement of the fact?

Mr. PARKER. There never was any announcement, to my knowledge, in this campaign of a committee of which these gentlemen were members.

Senator PAYNTER. So that if these gentlemen were members of that auxiliary committee the statement of the chairman, Mr. Cortelyou, seems to have been observed; his wishes seem to have been observed, because, so far as you know, it was not publicly announced?

Mr. PARKER. I do not recall it, Senator.

Senator PAYNTER. So Col. Lamont got this information owing to his business associations in New York, you think?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. And he was, therefore, loath to tell the public or to tell this auxiliary committee that he had that information and had imparted it to Judge Parker through you?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You say you are at the head of the publicity bureau?

Mr. PARKER. Of the literary department, as it is known, I think, of the national committee of 1904, as I was in 1888 and 1892.

Senator POMERENE. Being in that position, if there had been any publicity to this so-called auxiliary committee of the national Republican committee, you probably would have had some knowledge of it?

Mr. PARKER. I think so. I kept very closely in touch, I thought.

Senator POMERENE. And you had, in fact, no knowledge?

Mr. PARKER. I had no knowledge. I never heard of the appointment of anyone of these gentlemen upon an auxiliary committee until I read it the other day in a report of the testimony before your committee.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any knowledge that there was an auxiliary committee at that time?

Mr. PARKER. I did not.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any knowledge that any of these gentlemen whom you have named had been politically active in years before—that is, in the councils of the party?

Mr. PARKER. I think Mr. Brooker had. Mr. Brooker was a member of the national committee from Connecticut, and I think he had been active for some years. That is my impression.

Senator POMERENE. They were very prominent men in the financial and business world?

Mr. PARKER. They were men of very high business standing and character. They were supposed to have taken this interest because they felt that interest.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. Parker was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF HUGH L. NICHOLS, LAWYER, OF BATAVIA, OHIO.

Hugh L. Nichols, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Give your full name, residence, and occupation to the reporter for the record.

Mr. NICHOLS. Hugh L. Nichols, Batavia, Ohio; my business is that of practicing law.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the committee understands that you were called for later matters, but I will cover the scope of the resolution. Do you know anything of political contributions to the presidential or congressional campaigns of 1904; and, if so, what?

Mr. NICHOLS. Absolutely nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. As to 1908?

Mr. NICHOLS. In 1908 I know nothing whatever regarding the presidential campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Or the congressional campaign?

Mr. NICHOLS. I do know something, since the matter was mentioned this morning in connection with Mr. Denver. He was a candidate for the sixth district, and I think I was on the county ticket in some capacity, but I have no recollection of the details of it now.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am inquiring about is contributions.

Mr. NICHOLS. Nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state what, if anything, you know as to contributions made in behalf of the candidacy of anybody for nomination in the year 1912.

Mr. NICHOLS. Well, I had better say that my answer would cover 1911, too.

The CHAIRMAN. I am speaking of those who contributed in 1912. Of course, it goes back as far as they were candidates.

Mr. NICHOLS. In the month of February, 1911, I was selected by Gov. Harmon as campaign manager. I had been previous to that the State campaign manager in the year 1910, when Gov. Harmon was reelected, and I presume it was from that fact that I was selected. I had no political experience whatever. I had been a country lawyer and had no experience outside of the State of Ohio. I imagine that was the reason I was selected, and I continued in that capacity up until the end of the convention at Baltimore.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any statement relating to receipts and disbursements?

Mr. NICHOLS. I have [producing papers]. They are the best I could get together. I might say that I kept no formal books, but I think I have been able to gather together a pretty accurate and

complete statement of both expenditures and receipts. That is in duplicate, I think, you will find.

I would like to have one copy to keep.

The CHAIRMAN. Hand that to the reporter and let it be marked "Exhibit, Nichols No. 1."

The paper referred to was accordingly marked "Exhibit, Nichols No. 1," and is as follows:

EXHIBIT, NICHOLS No. 1.

Receipts of Gov. Harmon's presidential campaign.

R. M. Thompson	\$3,000
Francis Burton Harrison	5,000
E. C. Wheeler	8,500
Joseph T. Fanning	5,000
William Dudley	2,500
James M. Cox	200
John J. Whitacre	200
Atlee Pomerene	250
J. D. Post	100
M. R. Denver	100
T. T. Ansberry	50
Alfred Allen	100
W. A. Julien	500
Thomas F. Ryan	77,000
James J. Hill	15,000
Miscellaneous sources	4,500
Total	122,000

EXPENSES OF GOV. HARMON'S CAMPAIGN.

Nebraska	\$23,000
Tennessee	4,750
Kentucky	2,700
Maryland	2,000
Idaho	2,200
Washington	300
Oregon	363
Colorado	1,300
Florida	500
Washington headquarters (R. C. Gordon, chairman)	16,505
Wisconsin	2,800
New Mexico	400
Michigan	5,500
New York headquarters	1,675
Georgia	900
Oklahoma	750
North Dakota	500
Montana	400
Connecticut	1,380
Arkansas	2,150
Iowa	3,500
F. J. Heer Printing Co	10,475
American Press Association	2,040
Western Newspaper Union	1,150
Foreign Press Bureau	4,550
Ohio Press Bureau	3,554
Expenses Baltimore Convention	12,250
Expenses Batavia headquarters (stationery, stamps, and clerks)	8,575
Cincinnati headquarters (stationery, stamps, and clerks)	10,985
Columbus headquarters	5,785
Charitable institutions, picnics, advertisements, and labor organizations	3,250
Traveling expenses of representative and publicity	9,413
Total	146,000

Exhibit Nichols No. 1 was shown to the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nichols, what is "Exhibit Nichols No. 1"?

Mr. NICHOLS. Exhibit No. 1 is the receipts and contributions made to the preconvention presidential campaign of Gov. Judson Harmon.

The CHAIRMAN. And also the disbursements?

Mr. NICHOLS. Yes; and also the disbursements.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nichols, the contributions which I assume you put under the heading of "Receipts"—

Mr. NICHOLS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Amount to \$122,000.

Mr. NICHOLS. They do.

The CHAIRMAN. And the disbursements \$146,000.

Mr. NICHOLS. I will say in connection with that, however, that Gov. Harmon personally financed his campaign, and the difference between the two represents payments made to me by Gov. Harmon personally, whatever the difference may be. I think it approximates \$25,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Were all these contributions appearing in Exhibit No. 1 made directly to you or did they come to you?

Mr. NICHOLS. They were not made directly to me, but they came to me. I disbursed them and I knew of them and knew the sources.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were your headquarters during this time?

Mr. NICHOLS. They were originally at Cincinnati. I opened headquarters in the Provident Bank Building at Cincinnati on the 1st day of February, 1911, I think, and on the 1st of March I was appointed by Gov. Harmon the lieutenant governor to succeed Senator Pomerene, who had been elected for the Senatorship, and my duties kept me at Columbus, but I was in touch with the business of the campaign right along during the session of the legislature until May. I think the legislature adjourned and I commenced traveling, and I traveled, I think, in almost every State in the Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you know, either of your own knowledge or by repute among your associates, of contributions that were made to Gov. Harmon's campaign other than those which appear in Exhibit No. 1?

Mr. NICHOLS. I do. I will furnish the committee a certified copy of the record made by the treasurer of the Ohio Harmon campaign committee. I have no personal connection with the committee and have no personal knowledge of it.

The CHAIRMAN. No; but let us get them identified. You may mark this "Nichols, Exhibit No. 2."

The paper referred to was marked "Nichols, Exhibit No. 2." and is as follows:

EXHIBIT, NICHOLS No. 2.

Statement of John W. Devanney, treasurer Harmon campaign committee of Ohio.

The undersigned respectfully states that he was treasurer of the Judson Harmon campaign committee in charge of the candidacy of Judson Harmon as a candidate for the presidency at the presidential preference primary election held on the 21st day of May, 1912, and that the following statement contains the name and addresses of each candidate, person, committee, or association who contributed, promised, received, or expended any money or thing of value or incurred, di-

rectly or indirectly, any liability, the specific nature of such item, the purpose for which, the place where and the date when it was contributed, promised, received, expended, or incurred in connection with the candidacy of Judson Harmon to the office of President of the United States at the presidential preference primary election held on the 21st day of May, 1912, and the balance in the hands of said Judson Harmon campaign committee and the disposition to be made thereof.

Date.	Statement of receipts and expenditures.	Amount.	Date.	Statement of receipts and expenditures.	Amount.
RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURES—continued.		
1912.			1912.		
Jan. 10	John Sullivan.....	\$100.00	Apr. 16	Thos. Finn, clerk.....	\$18.00
12	E. H. Moore.....	50.00	16	H. W. Krumm, postage.....	75.00
15	O. H. Hughes.....	100.00	16	Chas. Justice, clerk.....	25.00
15	D. H. Sullivan.....	5.00	19	Expense in sending out and distributing blank petitions.....	25.00
Feb. 19	W. G. Sharpe.....	250.00	20	Frank Garrish, clerk.....	12.00
Mar. 2	C. Pabst.....	100.00	20	M. Scatterday, clerk.....	15.00
7	Wallace Yaple.....	50.00	20	Don Porter, clerk.....	6.00
12	Thos. Duffy.....	50.00	20	H. Friedenbergl, clerk.....	15.00
12	Chas. Randall.....	25.00	20	S. A. Murray, clerk.....	12.00
19	James Mulroy.....	30.00	20	Chas. Justice, clerk.....	25.00
29	T. S. Hogan.....	50.00	20	Thos. Finn, clerk.....	18.00
Apr. 4	R. M. Ditty.....	50.00	22	W. R. Diehl, printing and stationery.....	185.12
4	F. M. Miller.....	50.00	22	James Mercer, lithographs.....	189.00
4	Judson Harmon.....	1,000.00	22	W. J. Dolan, clerk.....	50.00
30	Geo. S. Long.....	50.00	25	The Week Co., 5,100 copies of paper.....	153.00
2	Judson Harmon.....	400.00	26	Tom Anderson, extra elevator service.....	10.00
May 2	Wm. Shaffer.....	100.00	29	Central Union Telephone Co., phone service.....	19.70
11	Judson Harmon.....	312.00	May 3	H. Friedenbergl, clerk.....	30.00
15	A. P. Sandles.....	100.00	3	Thos. Finn, clerk.....	18.00
15	J. W. Devanney.....	60.00	3	.....do.....	20.00
15	James Ross.....	60.00	3	United States Express Co., express charges.....	2.35
15	John Brennan.....	25.00	3	F. Garrish, clerk.....	24.00
15	Robert White.....	5.00	3	E. Scatterday, clerk.....	30.00
16	S. E. Strode.....	50.00	3	Don Porter, clerk.....	12.00
27	Judson Harmon.....	1,874.46	3	S. A. Murray, clerk.....	24.00
		4,946.46	3	H. W. Krumm, postage.....	60.00
EXPENDITURES.			3	Chas. Justice, clerk.....	50.00
Mar. 8	Chas. Justice, clerk.....	15.00	6	Geo. T. Spahr, rent.....	100.00
12	E. A. Alton, rugs.....	44.25	10	H. W. Krumm, postage.....	75.00
13	Chas. Justice, clerk.....	25.00	10	Thos. Finn, clerk.....	18.00
15	Citizens Telephone Co.....	6.25	10	Ohio Badge Co., buttons.....	91.15
20	Geo. T. Spahr, rent.....	35.00	10	M. Schlessinger, clerk.....	5.00
21	Central Union Telephone Co., phone.....	9.11	12	Helen Feene, clerk.....	15.00
21	Lester Service Co.....	43.20	11	N. Slatzer, clerk.....	5.00
23	Don Porter, clerk.....	8.40	11	H. Friedenbergl, clerk.....	15.00
25	H. W. Krumm, postage.....	94.00	11	Chas. Justice, clerk.....	25.00
25	Chas. Justice, clerk.....	25.00	11	B. B. Wiggins, clerk.....	12.00
26	H. W. Krumm, postage.....	40.00	11	E. R. Scatterday, clerk.....	15.00
25	Central Union Telephone Co., long distance calls.....	9.15	11	L. Goodyear, clerk.....	12.00
22	Columbus Dispatch, 3,000 copies of paper.....	30.00	11	C. A. Fowler, clerk.....	15.00
28	H. W. Krumm, postage.....	80.00	11	W. W. Hoffline, clerk.....	6.00
Apr. 1	H. Friedenbergl, clerk.....	15.00	11	Frank Garrish, clerk.....	12.00
1	S. A. Murray, clerk.....	15.50	11	S. A. Murray, clerk.....	12.00
1	John Porter, clerk.....	6.00	11	Don Porter, clerk.....	6.00
1	W. R. Diehl, stationery and furniture.....	200.00	11	W. J. Dolan, clerk (3 weeks).....	75.00
4	H. W. Krumm, postage.....	25.00	13	H. W. Krumm, postage.....	75.45
5	Chas. Justice, clerk.....	85.00	14	United States Express Co., express charges.....	15.15
6	Don Porter, clerk.....	6.00	14	Liberal Advocate, 1,500 copies of paper.....	60.00
6	Thos. Finn, clerk.....	10.50	14	Adams Express Co., express charges.....	1.60
6	H. Friedenbergl, clerk.....	15.00	15	H. W. Krumm, postage.....	105.00
16	E. Scatterday, clerk.....	15.00	17	.....do.....	50.36
16	Don Porter, clerk.....	11.00	31	Adams Express Co., express charges.....	1.83
16	H. Friedenbergl, clerk.....	16.00	15	Ohio News Bureau, clipping service.....	5.41
16	Thos. Murray, clerk.....	21.25	17	Perfecto Co., paper.....	3.00
16	Central Union Telephone Co., phone service.....	28.05	18	Krumm, postage.....	25.12
16	Shannon Furniture Co.....	9.25	20	Adams Express Co., expressage.....	49.95
16	Columbus Citizen Telephone Co., phone service.....	20.40	21	Krumm, postage.....	60.00
16	Postal Telegraph Co., telegraph service.....	6.59	21	James Welch, clerk.....	5.00
16	C. H. Spahr, rent.....	100.00	22	Hutchison, delivery.....	3.00
16	Hist Stamp Works, rubber stamps.....	3.50	22	Otis Bolder, clerk.....	2.75
16	Columbus Blank Book Co., blank petitions.....	18.75			

Date.	Statement of receipts and expenditures.	Amount.	Date.	Statement of receipts and expenditures.	Amount.
1912.	EXPENDITURES—continued.		1912.	EXPENDITURES—continued.	
May 22	Perfecto Co., cigars for headquarters.....	\$4.00	May 28	Whitehead Hoag Co., buttons.....	\$167.50
24	Royal Typewriter Co., ribbon.....	1.00	28	Western Union Telegraph Co., services.....	37.75
20	F. F. W. Ziegfeld, service.....	2.50	28	Crystal Ice Co., ice.....	3.50
25	Helen Feeny, clerk.....	15.00	28	Central Union Telephone Co., services.....	43.14
25	Nell Slatzer, clerk.....	5.00	28	do.....	45.65
28	Bratton Circular Co., printing.....	6.00	28	United States Telephone Co., services.....	39.30
28	Bucher Engraving Co., etchings.....	3.52	28	Postal Telegraph Co., services.....	122.00
28	Adams Express Co., expressage.....	11.12	28	W. R. Diehl Co., printing and stationery.....	962.00
28	Nitschke Bros., stationery.....	22.00			4,946.46
28	American Press Association, plate service.....	217.70			
28	Ohio Badge Co., buttons.....	6.00			
28	Knights of St. John, advertisement in program.....	40.00			

Dated this 31st day of May, 1912.
Respectfully submitted.

JOHN W. DEVANNEY, *Treasurer.*

THE STATE OF OHIO, *Franklin County, ss:*

I, John W. Devanney, being duly sworn, say the foregoing is a full and true statement or account of all contributions made or received by me and of the disposition thereof made and all liabilities incurred by me, to my knowledge.

JOHN W. DEVANNEY.

Sworn to before me and signed in my presence this 31st day of May, 1912.

[NOTARIAL SEAL.]

JOSEPH A. KLUNK,

Notary Public, Franklin County, Ohio.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, STATE OF OHIO,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

I, Charles H. Graves, secretary of state of the State of Ohio, do hereby certify that the foregoing is an exemplified copy, carefully compared by me with the original now in my official custody as secretary of state, and found it to be true and correct, of the statement of John W. Devanney, treasurer of the Judson Harmon campaign committee of Ohio, filed in this office on the 31st day of May, A. D. 1912.

Witness my hand and official seal, at Columbus, Ohio, this 11th day of October, A. D. 1912.

[SEAL.]

CHAS. H. GRAVES, *Secretary of State.*

The CHAIRMAN (showing witness Nichols's Exhibit No. 2). Mr. Nichols, what is Exhibit No. 2?

Mr. NICHOLS. Exhibit No. 2 is a certified copy of the report of the treasurer of the Ohio Harmon campaign committee, Mr. John W. Devanney. The law of Ohio requires that treasurers of all political committees shall file with the secretary of state immediately at the close of any campaign a complete statement of the expenditures. That is what I now hand you. I think the amount is something under \$5,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Exhibit No. 2 is a certified copy of the account on file?

Mr. NICHOLS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And shows the total contribution of \$4,946.45, which would be in excess of that shown in Exhibit No. 1?

Mr. NICHOLS. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any other contributions that were made to Gov. Harmon's campaign than those appearing in Exhibits 1 and 2?

Mr. NICHOLS. None, with the exception of what I mentioned a little while ago, that the difference between the receipts and disbursements Gov. Harmon personally contributed. There were none from any outside sources that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have in the various States that appear in Exhibit No. 1 men who occupied the position of manager for the States?

Mr. NICHOLS. I did, where the amount of contributions was anything considerable. For instance, we did in the State of Nebraska.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was your manager in the State of Nebraska?

Mr. NICHOLS. C. M. Gruenther.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he live?

Mr. NICHOLS. Columbus, Nebr. That was the only State in the Union where there was any money spent in any considerable amount.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any reason to believe that the governor's friends in these States, mentioned in Exhibit No. 1, raised money locally which does not appear in your statement of receipts in Exhibit No. 1?

Mr. NICHOLS. I have no reason to believe it. On the contrary, I am firmly of the opinion that they did not, with the possible exception of the State of Texas. I know we practically sent no money there, but after you lose the fight you are not very much interested in it, but I have some recollection of hearing that there was some money expended in Texas, maybe in the neighborhood of \$5,000, but I have no personal knowledge whatever about that. That is the only State in the Union where I think you will find any money was raised locally.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Nichols, I will ask you the general question whether there is any fact or circumstance bearing upon the question of campaign contributions to the preconvention campaign of Gov. Harmon to which your attention has not been called, or of which you have not testified, and which you now recall?

Mr. NICHOLS. None that I recall. I claim to have given the committee the very best information. I think that is complete information on the subject. It is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. I simply wanted to know if there is anything that occurs to you?

Mr. NICHOLS. There is nothing that occurs to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I will ask you the same question with reference to any candidate for the presidential nomination.

Mr. NICHOLS. I have no information other than regarding Gov. Harmon's campaign, and naturally would not have.

Senator OLIVER. I want to ask you about the identity of some of these contributors.

Mr. NICHOLS. Very well.

Senator OLIVER. R. M. Thompson, is that Col. Thompson?

Mr. NICHOLS. I would like to say in reference to that contribution that it was not a political one. It was made in the month of March, 1911. Col. Thompson was an intimate friend of a dead brother of Gov. Harmon. They were fellow cadets at Annapolis, and the form of your resolution would require his name to be submitted here, and I should say in connection with that that I understand Col. Thompson is a Republican. He is the only contributor of the list that is a Republican, so far as I know, but that contribution was not political.

Senator OLIVER. Francis Burton Harrison is a Democratic Member of Congress?

Mr. NICHOLS. Yes, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Who is Mr. E. C. Wheeler?

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Wheeler is an attorney at law of St. Louis, Mo. He was secretary to the commission that was appointed by President Roosevelt to investigate the question of the Paul Morton rebates of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway, and Frederick Judson and Gov. Harmon were the two members of the committee. Mr. Wheeler was secretary of that committee and became acquainted with Gov. Harmon at that time.

Senator OLIVER. Who is Mr. Fanning?

Mr. NICHOLS. Joseph E. Fanning is an Indianapolis man and is now situated in New York.

Senator OLIVER. And Mr. Dudley?

Mr. NICHOLS. A Kentucky gentleman.

Senator PAYNTER. What are his initials?

Mr. NICHOLS. William S.

Senator OLIVER. William W. it is here. Mr. Thomas F. Ryan?

Mr. NICHOLS. Of New York.

Senator OLIVER. Of New York and Virginia?

Mr. NICHOLS. Yes.

Senator OLIVER. He contributed \$77,000?

Mr. NICHOLS. He did, sir.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. James J. Hill—was he the president of the Great Northern Railway?

Mr. NICHOLS. I think so. I want to state in connection with Mr. Hill's contribution that it was made at the close of the fight. It was not, strictly speaking, a campaign contribution. It was made, if I am not mistaken, at the time the convention was actually in session, when everybody knew—I know we knew—that Gov. Harmon was hardly a possibility.

Senator PAYNTER. Governor, it seems like it was charged in the papers, or by somebody in public addresses, that J. P. Morgan & Co. were making contributions to the campaign of Gov. Harmon?

Mr. NICHOLS. That was thrown up to me in every State of the Union. I am prepared to say that it was absolutely false. Not one dollar was contributed by Mr. Morgan, or any member of the Morgan, firm or family, to the campaign of Gov. Harmon. Will you permit me to make this statement?

Senator PAYNTER. Yes.

Mr. NICHOLS. The total amount of the contributions from all sources for the whole United States was less than the contributions of Mr. Dan R. Hanna, son of Marcus A. Hanna, in the State of Ohio, to the Roosevelt campaign—in one State. If I remember his testimony, \$177,000 was given by him—\$127,000 to Ohio and \$50,000 outside of the State.

Senator PAYNTER. Did the Standard Oil Co. make any contributions?

Mr. NICHOLS. Absolutely none, neither as a corporation nor by any individual member of it.

Senator PAYNTER. Was it ever charged that the Standard Oil Co. did make contributions?

Mr. NICHOLS. It was so charged; yes, sir.

Senator PAYNTER. I had some impression about it, and that is one of the reasons why I asked the question.

Mr. NICHOLS. By the Standard Oil Co. I refer to the corporation that was generally known as Mr. Archbold's, or Mr. Rockefeller's, or that family of people. In other words, there were no contributions except what were given to me.

Senator PAYNTER. Did Senator Pomerene have anything to do with financing the campaign by collecting funds?

Mr. NICHOLS. Absolutely nothing. I noticed in the testimony of Senator Dixon that some statement was made that Senator Pomerene could inform the committee as to the Harmon contributions. I wish to say that I conferred with Senator Pomerene frequently in the city of Washington and in Columbus on the subject of Gov. Harmon's campaign, and he was a loyal friend and supporter of Gov. Harmon, but I never discussed with Senator Pomerene the question of contributions, and I do not think he knew anything more about the list that was submitted than any single member of this committee until that list was submitted here. I am certain he did not.

Senator PAYNTER. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mr. Nichols.

The witness was thereupon excused.

TESTIMONY OF HON. JOHN H. BANKHEAD.

Hon. John H. Bankhead, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, give your name, address, and occupation for the record.

Senator BANKHEAD. John H. Bankhead, Jasper, Ala. Well, Mr. Chairman, I do not know how to give my occupation. I am a farmer. I suppose I might just as well say I am a politician of a very small class.

Senator POMERENE. Are you a farmer or an agriculturist?

Senator BANKHEAD. I am a farmer; but I think I have devoted more time to politics than I have to the farm.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, do you know anything about the campaign contributions in the presidential or congressional campaign of 1904?

Senator BANKHEAD. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Of 1908?

Senator BANKHEAD. Nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state what, if anything, you know in regard to campaign contributions in the campaigns of 1912 in behalf of men who were seeking the nomination for the Presidency in 1912.

Senator BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, I undertook the management of Mr. Underwood's campaign, and I want to say to the committee that I assume the whole responsibility. Mr. Underwood knew nothing of any of the contributions, nor how any of it was expended. I am responsible for the whole thing.

I collected from various sources about \$50,000. I expended all that except \$84. I have a statement of it here, which I will give to the committee [producing a paper].

The CHAIRMAN. The reporter will mark this "Exhibit Bankhead No. 1."

The paper referred to was accordingly marked "Exhibit Bankhead No. 1," and is as follows:

Contributions to O. W. Underwood's campaign for the presidential nomination.

Thomas R. Ryan.....	\$35,000. 00
Joseph Auerbach.....	7,500. 00
S. R. Bertram.....	2,500. 00
E. B. Alexander.....	2,500. 00
J. H. Woodward.....	2,500. 00
Collected in sums ranging from \$5 to \$100.....	2,000. 00
Total receipts.....	52,000. 00

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURES.

Headquarters in Washington.....	31,101. 79
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ITEMIZED ACCOUNT.

Rent of offices for headquarters.....	592. 56
Printing, including printing and distribution of newspaper supplements.....	21,658. 76
Express charges.....	1,841. 46
Postage.....	2,282. 00
Clerk hire.....	3,159. 75
Telegrams.....	1,015. 11
Typewriters and typewriter supplies.....	158. 25
Stationery and office supplies.....	305. 31
Telephone service.....	88. 25
	31,101. 79
Expenses in Baltimore.....	7,500. 00
State organizations, speakers, halls, bands (including lithographing, campaign buttons, etc.).....	13,350. 00
Total.....	51,951. 79
Received.....	52,000. 00
Expended.....	51,951. 79
Balance.....	48. 21

The CHAIRMAN. You may identify that. What is Exhibit No. 1?
 Senator BANKHEAD. The total amount collected—

The CHAIRMAN. First, what is Exhibit No. 1? What does it purport to be?

Senator BANKHEAD. Contributions to the campaign fund for presidential nomination.

The CHAIRMAN. For Congressman Underwood?

Senator BANKHEAD. Mr. Underwood.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it also contain disbursements?

Senator BANKHEAD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you may go on and make any explanation that you desire.

Senator BANKHEAD. The total collections were \$52,000. Of this amount Mr. Thomas Ryan contributed \$35,000.

Senator POMERENE. Who?

Senator BANKHEAD. Mr. Thomas Ryan. Joseph Auerbach, \$7,500; S. R. Bertram, \$2,500; E. B. Alexander, \$2,500; J. A. Woodward, \$2,500; and \$2,000, or approximately that, in very small contributions, from \$5 to \$10 or \$15 that I did not itemize, making a total of \$52,000.

The expenditures are itemized as follows:

Expenditures of headquarters in Washington, total \$31,101.79, as follows:

Rent of offices for headquarters, \$592.50; printing, including printing and distribution of newspaper supplements, \$21,658.76—

The CHAIRMAN. It is not necessary to go through that. It is part of the record now.

Senator, who were these contributions paid to?

Senator BANKHEAD. My recollection is they were paid to me, practically all of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anyone acting as treasurer?

Senator BANKHEAD. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Or as secretary?

Senator BANKHEAD. Yes, sir; I had a secretary, and that is his itemized statement of the expenditures at the headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Who acted as your secretary?

Senator BANKHEAD. Dr. Thomas M. Owen. I think, Mr. Chairman, that he mailed you a certified copy of his expenses at headquarters. I do not know whether you got it or not, but that is a copy he sent to me in the mail, and he informed me that he had mailed you a certified copy.

The CHAIRMAN. No; if he has, it has escaped my attention.

Senator BANKHEAD. That is a copy that he sent to me; that is a correct copy.

The CHAIRMAN. It has not been called to my attention. Of course it might be among the papers, but I doubt that, because they are very careful in my office. And you think these payments were all made to you?

Senator BANKHEAD. I think so; that is my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you now recall anyone having collected some contributions and turning them over to you that are included in this?

Senator BANKHEAD. Well, some of these small contributions, Mr. Chairman, that I did not itemize there. They were received by the secretary; came in the mails, you know.

The CHAIRMAN. Now is there any fact or circumstance that you recall to which your attention has not been directed, or which is not included in your evidence, bearing upon the subject of contributions to the preconvention campaign of Mr. Underwood?

Senator BANKHEAD. I do not recall anything.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you at this time recall any fact or circumstance that has come under your observation bearing upon the question of preconvention campaign expenses—contributions therefor—of anyone who was seeking nomination in 1912?

Senator BANKHEAD. No, sir; I have no knowledge of it, Mr. Chairman—none whatever.

Senator OLIVER. Senator, in testifying before this committee about two weeks ago, Senator Dixon charged, as I recollect it, that the Southern Railway had contributed, directly or indirectly, to the campaign of Mr. Underwood?

Senator BANKHEAD. Not a cent.

Senator OLIVER. What foundation is there for that statement?

Senator BANKHEAD. I do not know of any on earth, unless he might have supposed the Southern Railway, as a southern institution—

running through the South, largely in Alabama—he might have concluded that the Southern Railway had contributed something.

Senator OLIVER. As I understand you, there was no such contribution?

Senator BANKHEAD. They never contributed a cent, directly or indirectly, to the campaign. Now, I notice he made reference to Mr. Plant, the auditor. I think Mr. Plant has been before your committee.

Senator OLIVER. Mr. Plant has been before the committee.

Senator BANKHEAD. No, sir; they never contributed a cent.

Senator POMERENE. You say that Mr. Plant, who was described by Senator Dixon as the comptroller of the Southern Railway, contributed nothing.

Senator BANKHEAD. Not a cent; nor any other member of the Southern Railway, or anybody interested in the Southern Railway, that I know of.

Senator POMERENE. And you know of no other contributions—that is, to Congressman Underwood's campaign fund—except those that you have given here?

Senator BANKHEAD. That is all I know anything about.

Senator POMERENE. And no other expenditures in his behalf except those appearing here?

Senator BANKHEAD. None that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Since the matter has been called up, did Mr. Plant, as far as you know, collect any contributions and turn them over to you?

Senator BANKHEAD. No, sir; not a cent. I never mentioned the matter to Mr. Plant or any member of the Southern Railway during the campaign.

Senator Bankhead was thereupon excused.

The committee thereupon, at 4 o'clock p. m., took a recess until to-morrow, Tuesday, October 15, 1912, at 10 o'clock a. m.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

LIST OF WITNESSES.

	Page.
Archbold, John D., vice president Standard Oil Co., New York, testimony of.	119, 792
Aronowitz, Samuel, 841 Jennings Street, New York, testimony of.....	839
Augustine, Paul, national secretary Socialistic Labor Party, 1908, New York, testimony of.....	7
Bankhead, Hon. John H., United States Senator from Alabama, and manager of Underwood campaign, 1912, Jasper, Ala., testimony of.....	937
Barnes, J. Mahlon, national secretary Socialist Party, 1908, Chicago, Ill., testimony of.....	90
Belmont, Hon. August, banker, New York, testimony of.....	35
Bliss, Cornelius N., jr., commission merchant, New York, testimony of.....	198
Brown, Walter F., chairman Ohio Republican State central committee, 1912, Toledo, Ohio, testimony of.....	735
Cannon, James G., president of the Fourth National Bank, New York City, testimony of.....	375
Clark, J. Verner, treasurer and superintendent of the Citizens' Water Co., Washington, Pa., testimony of.....	350
Cortelyou, Hon. George B., chairman Republican national committee, 1904, New York, testimony of.....	15
Crane, Charles R., iron manufacturer, Chicago, Ill., testimony of.....	573
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M., former United States Senator from New York, testimony of.....	620
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M., United States Senator from Montana, and chairman National Progressive Party, 1912, Missoula, Mont., testimony of.....	379, 423
Dubois, Hon. Fred T., former United States Senator from Idaho, and manager of Clark campaign, 1912, Blackfoot, Idaho, testimony of.....	773
Duell, Hon. Charles H., lawyer, New York City, testimony of.....	458
Edwards, William Seymour, lawyer, Charleston, W. Va., testimony of.....	845
Flinn, Hon. William, Pittsburgh, Pa., testimony of.....	305, 370
Hale, Matthew, manager of Roosevelt preconvention campaign in Massachusetts, Boston, Mass., testimony of.....	752
Hammerling, Louis N., president American Association of Foreign Newspapers, New York, testimony of.....	539
Hanna, D. R., Urbana, Ohio, testimony of.....	728
Hannan, John J., clerk of the Senate Committee on the Census, Milwaukee, Wis., testimony of.....	540
Hilles, Hon. Charles D., chairman Republican national committee, 1912, testimony of.....	822
Hitchcock, Hon. Frank H., chairman Republican national committee, 1908, Washington, testimony of.....	45
Hooker, Elon Huntington, treasurer Roosevelt committee, New York, testimony of.....	257
Laylin, L. C., manager Taft preprimary campaign in Ohio, Columbus, Ohio, testimony of.....	787
Libby, William H., Standard Oil Co., New York, testimony of.....	217
Livingstone, Colin H., banker, Washington, D. C., testimony of.....	849
Lloyd, Hon. James T., chairman Democratic congressional committee, 1908, Shelbyville, Mo., testimony of.....	109
Loeb, Hon. William, jr., collector of customs, New York, testimony of.....	527
Lovett, Hon. Robert Scott, chairman of the executive committee of the Union Pacific Railway Co., New York, testimony of.....	692
McAdoo, Hon. William, G., vice chairman Democratic national committee, 1912, New York, testimony of.....	908

	Page.
McCombs, Hon. William F., chairman Democratic national committee, 1912, New York, testimony of.....	865
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby, lawyer, New York City, N. Y., testimony of.....	631
McKinley, Hon. William B., chairman Republican congressional committee, 1908, Champiagn, Ill., testimony of.....	105, 661
Mack, Hon. Norman E., chairman Democratic national committee, 1908, Buffalo, N. Y., testimony of.....	97
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne, lawyer, Brookfield Farm, Bryn Mawr, Pa., testimony of.....	605
Mailly, William, national secretary Socialist Party, 1904, New York, testimony of.....	84
Martin, John J., secretary to Secretary of State of New York, Albany, N. Y., testimony of.....	61
Mills, Ogden L., treasurer Republican county committee, 1912, 15 Broad Street, New York, testimony of.....	588
Morgan, John Pierpont, banker, New York, testimony of.....	437
Mossman, W. T., advertising manager, Pittsburgh, Pa., testimony of.....	767
Nichols, Hon. Hugh L., manager Harmon campaign, 1912, Batavia, Ohio, testimony of.....	930
Odell, Hon. B. B., jr., chairman New York State committee, 1904, Newburgh, N. Y., testimony of.....	111
Parker, Hon. Alton B., Democratic candidate for nomination for President, 1904, New York, testimony of.....	888
Parker, George F., New York, testimony of.....	925
Peabody, Charles A., president of Mutual Life Insurance Co., New York, testimony of.....	249
Peabody, Hon. George Foster, treasurer Democratic national committee, 1904, Lake George, N. Y., testimony of.....	8
Penfield, Frederick C., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa., and New York City, testimony of.....	912
Penrose, Hon. Boies, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, testimony of..	159
Plant, Alfred H., comptroller of the Southern Railway Co., Washington, D. C., testimony of.....	791
Powell, Hon. A. W., lawyer, Pittsburgh, Pa., testimony of.....	364
Quincy, Hon. Josiah, former mayor of Boston, and interested in Wilson pre-primary campaign in Massachusetts, Boston, testimony of.....	914
Ridder, Hon. Herman, treasurer Democratic National Committee, 1908, New York, testimony of.....	62
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, Oyster Bay, N. Y., statement of.....	177, 469
Russell, Charles Edward, editor of the Coming Nation and Socialist candidate mony of.....	858
Schwedtman, Ferd C., former secretary to president of National Association of Manufacturers.....	858
Scott, Hon. Nathan B., member executive committee, Republican National Committee, 1904, Washington, testimony of.....	67, 683
Sheehan, Hon. William F., chairman executive committee, Democratic national committee, 1904, New York, testimony of.....	55
Sheldon, Hon. George R., treasurer Republican national committee, 1908, New York, testimony of.....	73, 416
Smith, Frank L., manager of Taft campaign in Illinois, 1912, Springfield, Ill., testimony of.....	855
Splane, G. Joshua, receiver of the Pittsburgh & Allegheny Telephone Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.....	346, 352
Stotesbury, Edward T., collector of funds in Pennsylvania for Republican national campaign, 1904, Philadelphia, testimony of.....	835
Sullivan, Hon. Roger C., member Democratic national committee, 1908, Chicago, Ill., testimony of.....	918
Taft, Charles P., newspaper publisher, Cincinnati, Ohio, testimony of.....	721
Taggart, Hon. Thomas, chairman Democratic national committee, 1904, Indianapolis, Ind., testimony of.....	11
Tegethoff, C. C., agent for the E. H. Harriman estate, Brooklyn, N. Y., testimony of.....	223, 304
Thompson, Hon. William B., treasurer Republican congressional committee, 1893-1904, Washington, D. C., testimony of.....	3
Upham, Fred W., assistant treasurer Republican national committee, 1904, Chicago, Ill., testimony of.....	850

	Page.
Warren, Charles B., interested in Taft campaign in Michigan, 1912, Detroit, Mich., testimony of.....	777
Weeks, Hon. John W., Member of Congress, West Newton, Mass., testimony of..	432
Weller, Hon. John S., lawyer, Pittsburgh, Pa., testimony of.....	352
Welliver, Judson C., newspaper man, Washington, D. C., testimony of.....	585

A.

Abbott, Dr. Lyman, New York, reference to	475
Ache, Paul S.:	
Letters from.....	322, 323, 324
Reference to.....	358, 362
Acheson, Ernest, reference to.....	350
Adams, John T., reference to.....	670, 674
Addams, Miss Jane, Hull House, Chicago, Ill., reference to, by Col. Roosevelt..	196
Alabama:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	390
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	639, 643, 646
Alabama & Tennessee Coal & Coke Co., reference to, in testimony of Senator Scott.....	71
Alexander, E. B., contributor to Underwood preconvention campaign, 1912..	938
Alger, Capt. Fred M., Michigan, reference to.....	779
Allegheny County, Pa.:	
Certificate of receipts and disbursements of Roosevelt Republican League in.....	776
Expenditures in.....	363
Number of votes for Roosevelt in.....	363
Number of votes for Taft in.....	364
Allen, Alfred, contributor to Harmon preconvention campaign, 1912.....	931
American Protective Tariff League, New York:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Scott, Hon. Nathan B.....	71
Sheldon, Hon. George R.....	74
American Sugar Refining Co., New York., contribution of to Democratic New York State committee, 1908.....	58
American Tobacco Co.:	
Reference to.....	404
Suit against.....	518
Anderson, Mrs. A. A., contribution to Republican national committee, 1908... ..	80
Anderson, H. L., Florida, in charge of Roosevelt preconvention campaign in Florida, 1912.....	389, 639
Anderson, Mr. and Mrs. Larz, Washington, contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	48, 79
Andrews, Hon. W. H., former Delegate from New Mexico, reference to.....	155
Andrews, W. R., former secretary to Senator Penrose, reference to.....	155
Andrews, W. T., in charge of work for Progressive Party in South Carolina, 1912.....	639
Ansberry, Hon. T. T., contributor to Harmon preconvention campaign, 1912..	931
Anthracite coal strike, reference to, in letter and testimony of Col. Roosevelt..	181, 462, 516, 517
Anti-Magee-Flinn organization, Pennsylvania, reference to.....	769, 770, 771, 772
Archbold, John D., New York:	
Alleged copy of letter, suspicion about signature.....	120
Andrews, Hon. W. H., former Delegate from New Mexico, reference to...	155
Andrews, W. R., former secretary to Senator Penrose reference to.....	155
Barstow, F. Q., deceased, former director of Standard Oil Co., reference to..	126, 141, 817
Bennett, Hon. Smith W., Ohio, reference to.....	796, 797, 820, 821
Bliss, Hon. Cornelius N., sr.—	
Made contribution through.....	119
Reference to.....	120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 138, 139, 140, 141, 145, 146, 148
Reference to receipt for \$100,000.....	809, 819
Bond, ———, Columbus, Ohio, reference to.....	797
Bourne, Hon. Jonathan, reference to.....	812
Bureau of Corporations, opening of books to.....	144

	Page.
Archbold, John D.—Continued.	
California, election of United States Senator in.....	800
Cassatt, A. J., former president Pennsylvania Railroad, purported copy of letter to.....	799
Collier's Weekly, reference to articles in.....	814
Contributions to Republican national committee, 1904—	
Amount of.....	119, 127, 814
Amount desired for second contribution and conference regarding.....	130
Assurance of Mr. Bliss regarding.....	128, 130, 140
Conference regarding contributions.....	122, 123
Contribution to campaign of 1908.....	147
Conversation regarding second contribution.....	129, 134, 141
Criticism regarding.....	147
Currency transaction.....	129, 135, 141, 822
Decision not to make second contribution.....	131
Do not recall contribution to Democratic Party.....	138, 141
Entry of.....	818
Form of.....	822
Receipt for.....	809, 819
Record of letters regarding contributions.....	136
Reference to.....	803
Return of contribution.....	132, 148, 819
Statement regarding.....	811
Suggested needs of localities for.....	132, 139
Wanted President to know of.....	128, 140
Contribution to preconvention campaign, 1912, reference to.....	811
Cortelyou, Hon. George B., reference to.....	119, 122, 131, 139, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 148
Dick, Hon. Charles, former United States Senator from Ohio, reference to.....	122, 137
Elkins, Hon. Stephen B., deceased, former United States Senator from West Virginia—	
Purported copy of letter from.....	802
Reference to.....	138
Emery, L., jr., reference to.....	799
Exhibits.....	804, 807, 808, 809, 810, 814
Flinn, Hon. William, Pennsylvania, reference to telegram from.....	158
Foraker, Hon. Joseph B., former Senator from Ohio, purported copies of letters to.....	792, 793, 797
Garfield, Hon. James R., former Secretary of the Interior.....	144
Grosvenor, Hon. C. H., former Member of Congress from Ohio, purported photographic copies of correspondence with.....	795, 797, 798
Hanna, Hon. M. A., deceased, former United States Senator from Ohio—	
Purported copies of letters to.....	153, 154, 794, 795, 796
Relations with.....	821
Harriman, Hon. E. H., deceased—	
Contribution and amount of, reference to.....	124, 125, 142, 147
Conversation with.....	142
Harvester Trust, reference to.....	122
Hearst's Magazine for May, 1912—	
Purported photographic copies of letters to—	
Foraker, Hon. J. B.....	792, 793
Hanna, Hon. M. A.....	794
Hearst's Magazine for June, 1912—	
Purported photographic copies of correspondence with—	
Foraker, Hon. J. B.....	797
Grosvenor, Hon. C. H.....	795, 797, 798
Hanna, Hon. M. A.....	795, 796
Sibley, Hon. J. C.....	799
Hearst's Magazine for July, 1912—	
Purported photographic copies of correspondence with—	
Cassatt, A. J.....	799
Patton, W. A.....	800
Quay, Hon. M. S.....	801
Sibley, Hon. J. C.....	800

LIST OF WITNESSES.

v

Archbold, John D.—Continued.

Page.

Hearst's Magazine for August, 1912—

Purported copies of correspondence with—

Andrews, Hon. W. R.....	155
Hanna, Hon. M. A.....	153, 154
Penrose, Hon. Boies.....	150, 151, 152, 154, 155
Quay, Hon. M. S.....	153
Stone, Hon. C. W.....	155

Hearst's Magazine for September, 1912—

Interrogation regarding purported copies of letter in..... 802, 803

Hearst's Magazine for October, 1912—

Purported copies of correspondence with—

Penrose, Hon. Boies.....	803
Sibley, Hon. J. C.....	804, 805, 807, 808

Hearst, William R., reference to..... 816

Howe, ———, reference to..... 813

Industrial Commission—

Appointment of.....	149, 150, 152
Reference to.....	811

Insurance companies, contributions from..... 125, 147

Interstate Commerce Commission, reference to..... 145

Jennings, Walter, director of Standard Oil Co..... 126

McElhinney, Maj., reference to..... 804

Magee, Dr. C. L., reference to..... 804

Monnett, Hon. F. S., Ohio, reference to..... 794, 797, 820, 821

Parker, Hon. A. B., charges of..... 138

Patton, W. A., Philadelphia, purported copy of letter to..... 800

Payne, ———, of National Transit Co., reference to..... 805

Payne-Aldrich tariff bill, reference to..... 811

Penrose, Hon. Boies, United States Senator from Pennsylvania—

Contribution—

Conversation regarding.....	134
Statement regarding.....	811
When and how made.....	119, 120, 121, 134, 135, 139, 140, 157, 822

Letter from..... 803, 809, 812

Letters to..... 136, 150, 151, 152, 154, 156

Reference to..... 121, 124, 139, 801

Telegram to..... 137

Personal contribution of..... 123

Personal explanation..... 812

Published correspondence, reference to signatures..... 149, 150, 158

Quay, Hon. M. S., deceased, former United States Senator from Pennsylvania—

Letter to..... 153

Purported copies of letters to..... 801

Relations with..... 821

Successor to..... 158

Rebate cases, reference to..... 144, 145

Reference to, in letter of Col. Theodore Roosevelt..... 177,

178, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193

Reference to, in testimony of—

Bliss, C. N., jr..... 203, 208

Cannon, James G..... 375, 377

Cortelyou, Hon. George B..... 17, 27

Duell, Hon. Charles H..... 454, 455, 456, 463

Flinn, Hon. William..... 314, 343, 345

Libby, William H..... 220, 221, 223

Loeb, Hon. William, jr..... 530

MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne..... 614, 615

Morgan, J. P., sr..... 451

Penrose, Hon. Boies—

Reference to..... 159, 160, 162, 163, 165, 167, 169, 171

Return of, with associates in Standard Oil Co..... 148, 159

Statement regarding second contribution to Republican national committee, 1904..... 104

	Page.
Archbold, John D.—Continued.	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—	
Contribution of.....	469, 519, 520
Reference to.....	473, 474, 475, 479, 486, 487, 488, 489
Reference to, in letter of Mr. Sheldon.....	470
Reference to testimony of.....	480, 481, 491, 493, 519, 520
Russell, Charles Edward.....	578
Scott, Hon. Nathan B.....	690
Sheldon, George R.....	417, 421
Splane, Joseph G.....	346, 352
Rockefeller, J. D., reference to.....	124, 126, 821
Rockefeller, William, reference to.....	124, 148, 149
Rogers, H. H., deceased, reference to.....	120,
	121, 122, 123, 125, 126, 135, 142, 145, 807, 809, 818
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—	
Attack on Standard Oil Co., reference to.....	132
Attitude toward business interests.....	125, 126, 128, 136
Change of attitude toward Standard Oil Co.....	143, 144
Harriman correspondence, reference to.....	143
Interview with.....	146, 147
Letter from.....	809
No request refused.....	143
Reference to.....	123, 128, 130, 131, 133, 137, 140, 148, 809, 811, 812, 815
Santa Fe Railroad, reference to.....	801
Scott, Hon. Nathan B., former United States Senator from West Virginia, reference to.....	122, 137
Sibley, Hon. Joseph C., former Congressman from Pennsylvania—	
Purported copies of correspondence with.....	799, 800, 804, 805, 807, 808
Reference to.....	798, 805, 806, 811, 815, 820
Relations with.....	813
Smiley, Hon. E. W., deceased, reference to appointment of.....	154
Standard Oil Co.—	
Directors of.....	126
Reference to.....	127, 128, 145
\$29,000,000 case, reference to.....	145
Standard Oil Co. of Ohio, litigation of.....	821
Statements regarding loss of letters and files.....	810, 812, 814, 816
Stone, Hon. C. W., deceased, letter to.....	156
Strike legislation, so called, in various legislatures.....	794
Sugar Trust, reference to.....	122
Testimony of.....	119, 792
Tilford, W. H., deceased, former director of Standard Oil Co., reference to.....	126, 141
Tobacco Trust, reference to.....	122
United States Steel Corporation, reference to.....	122
Wardwell, Mr., referred to in letter to Senator Penrose.....	150, 151
Arizona:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
McAdoo, Hon. William T.....	911
Tegethoff, C. C.....	229, 236
Arkansas:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	390, 401, 409
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	640, 643
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	887
Aronowitz, Samuel, salesman, New York:	
Dendo, ———, reference to.....	841
Evening Mail, post card canvass.....	840
Friedel, Louis, reference to.....	841, 842
Fraud in certain New York districts.....	840
Graff, Max reference to.....	841
Halpin, William, reference to.....	840, 842, 843
Koenig, Samuel S., reference to.....	840, 841, 842, 844, 845
Kopp, Harry, assemblyman, sixth New York district, reference to.....	841
Mills, Ogden L., reference to testimony of.....	840, 843
Preconvention campaign, 1912, reference to.....	839

LIST OF WITNESSES.

VII

Aronowitz, Samuel—Continued.	Page.
Receipt and disbursement of \$600 for campaign purposes, reference to.....	840, 841, 842, 843
Reference to, in testimony of Ogden L. Mills.....	601
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, campaign of.....	840, 842, 843, 844, 845
Taft campaign, reference to.....	840, 841, 842, 844
Testimony of.....	839
Tishler, ———, appointment with.....	841
Auditor's report, Democratic national committee, 1908.....	103
Auerbach, Joseph, contributor to Underwood preconvention campaign, 1912..	938
Augustine, Paul, national secretary Socialist Labor Party, 1908, 28 City Hall Place, New York:	
Testimony of.....	7
Total contributions, 1904.....	7
Total contributions, 1908.....	8
Total expenditures, 1904.....	8
Total expenditures, 1908.....	8
Australian ballot, reference to.....	514
Austria-Hungary, investments of Standard Oil Co. in.....	218, 222
Auxiliary committee, appointment of, by executive committee of Republican national committee, 1904:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Parker, George F.....	928
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	522
Ayres, Hon. Stephen B., Member of Congress from West Virginia, 1912, reference to campaign of.....	846
B.	
Babcock, Hon. J. W., deceased, chairman Republican congressional committee, 1904.....	4
Bacon, Hon. Robert, former Ambassador to France:	
Contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	80
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Parker, Hon. A. B.....	900
Parker, George F.....	928
Baird, John, reference to.....	780
Baker, A. S., contribution to La Follette campaign, 1912.....	541, 570
Baker, G. F., contributions to Republican national committee, 1908.....	80
Bankhead, Hon. John H., United States Senator and manager for Underwood campaign for Democratic nomination, 1912, Jasper, Ala.:	
Campaign contributions.....	937
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M., reference to testimony of.....	937
Exhibit.....	938
Owen, Dr. Thomas M., secretary for Underwood campaign, reference to....	939
Plant, A. H., comptroller Southern Railway, reference to.....	940
Reference to, in testimony of Mr. Dixon.....	403
Southern Railway, reference to.....	939
Testimony of.....	937
Underwood campaign—	
Contributors to—	
Auerbach, Joseph.....	938
Bertram, S. R.....	938
Alexander, E. B.....	938
Ryan, Thomas F.....	938
Woodward, J. H.....	938
Receipts and disbursements.....	937, 938
Banks, Charles, reference to, in testimony of Hon. W. B. McKinley.....	667
Bannard, Otto, treasurer Republican county committee, New York County, 1908, New York:	
Contribution to Taft League.....	592
Report of (Exhibit O. L. Mills, No. 4).....	507, 603
Barbour, J. A., Toledo, Ohio, manager for La Follette campaign, 1912.....	572
Barbour, William T.:	
Contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	80
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Hooker, Elon H.....	286, 298, 299
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	654
Warren, Charles B.....	779

	Page.
Barchfeld, Dr. A. J., Member of Congress from Pennsylvania, reference to.....	335
Barnes, B. F., acting secretary to President Roosevelt, telegram signed by....	228
Barnes, J. Mahlon, National Socialist Party, 1908, Chicago, Ill.:	
Letter to Senator M. E. Clapp.....	90
Statement of.....	91
Barrett, H. J., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	867, 868
Barstow, F. Q., deceased, former director of Standard Oil Co.:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	126, 141
Libby, William H.....	220
Bartholdt, Hon. Richard, Congressman from Missouri, statement of amount spent in Progressive campaign.....	485, 486
Bass, Hon. Robert P., governor New Hampshire, reference to.....	526
Bassford, Homer, St. Louis, Mo., contributor to Clark campaign fund, 1912....	774
Bassford, Wallace, contributor to Clark campaign fund, 1912.....	774
Bathtub Trust, statement regarding.....	576
Baxter, George, New York, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.....	258, 294
Becker, A. G., contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	823
Beef Trust:	
Reference to, in testimony of	
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	19, 27
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	513
Scott, Hon. Nathan B.....	69
Lovett, Hon. R. S.....	705
Tegethoff, C. C.....	235
Behan, W. J., treasurer, contributions to Republican national committee, 1908..	80
Belmont, Hon. August, member executive committee, Democratic national com- mittee, 1904, New York:	
Campaign fund, amount.....	39
Cukor, Morris, New York, reference to.....	39, 41
Freedman, ———, New York, reference to.....	38, 39
Hall, Charles R., assistant treasurer, Democratic national committee, 1904.....	42
Havemeyer, Henry, contribution to Democratic national campaign, 1904..	36, 40
Meyer, Cord, chairman New York State committee, reference to.....	41
Nicoll, De Lancey, reference to.....	38
O'Brien, W. H., treasurer.....	36
Parker, Hon. Alton B., reference to.....	37, 42
Peabody, Hon. George F., reference to.....	36
Personal contribution.....	39, 40
Plant, Morton F., contribution of.....	37
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Parker, Hon. A. B.....	902, 903
Peabody, Hon. George F.....	10
Sheehan, Hon. W. F.....	56, 59
Taggart, Hon. Thomas.....	12, 13, 14
Tegethoff, C. C.....	246
Return of contribution.....	36, 40
Testimony of.....	35
Belmont, Perry, contributor to Clark campaign fund.....	774
Bennett, Hon. Smith W., Ohio, reference to, in testimony of John D. Archbold.	796, 797, 820, 821
Bernheimer, Charles L., contribution to New York Taft League, 1912.....	592
Bertram, S. R., contributor to Underwood preconvention campaign, 1912....	938
Bethlehem Steel Co., reference to contribution to Republican national com- mittee, 1904.....	839
Beveridge, Hon. Albert J., former United States Senator from Indiana, Indian- apolis, Ind.:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	409
Hooker, Elon H.....	297
Bird, Hon. Charles S., Progressive candidate for governor of Massachusetts:	
Contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign.....	286, 298
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	526
Hale, Matthew.....	766

LIST OF WITNESSES.

IX

Black, Hon. Frank S., ex-governor of New York:	Page.
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	184
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	706, 710
Odell, Gov. B. B., jr.....	112
Black, H. S., contributor to Taft League, 1912	592
Blaine Club, Chicago, expenses of.....	724
Blake, A. B., South Dakota, manager for LaFollette campaign, 1912.....	573
Blake, Aldrich, in charge of Wilson organization work in Michigan, 1912....	883, 907
Bliss, Cornelius N., jr., 117 Duane Street, New York:	
Archbold, John D., reference to.....	203, 208
Bliss, Hon. Cornelius N., sr., estate of.....	198
Books and records of campaign of 1904—	
Copies of.....	210
Disposition of.....	209, 210, 213, 215, 216
Campaign contributions—	
Papers relating to.....	198
Report of auditor (Exhibit C. N. B., jr., No. 1).....	199
Campaign funds, totals for years 1892, 1896, 1900, 1904.....	204
Cannon, James G., reference to.....	212, 214
Cortelyou, Hon. George B., reference to letters to.....	213
Dixon, Robert, deceased, assistant treasurer Republican national com- mittee, 1904.....	209, 214
Duell, Hon. Charles H., assistant treasurer Republican national committee, 1904.....	209, 214
New, Hon. Harry S., chairman Republican national committee, 1908, Indiana, letter to, from Cornelius N. Bliss, sr. (Exhibit C. N. B., jr., No. 2). New York Herald, interview with Cornelius N. Bliss, sr., dated December 24, 1911 (p. 189 of record), reference to.....	203 208
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Duell, Hon. Charles H.....	454
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	827
Rogers, H. H., deceased, reference to.....	208
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—	
Letters to Cornelius N. Bliss, sr. (Exhibits C. N. B., jr., Nos. 4 and 5)	205, 206
Reference to letter of, to George B. Cortelyou.....	213
Sheldon, Hon. George R., reference to	211, 213
Standard Oil Co., reference to contribution of.....	212, 213
Taft, Hon. William H., letter to Cornelius N. Bliss, sr. (Exhibit C. N. B., jr., No. 3).....	204
Testimony of.....	198
Bliss, Hon. Cornelius N., sr., deceased:	
Contribution of.....	79
Contribution of Standard Oil Co., made through.....	119
Estate of.....	198
Reference to, in letter of Col. Theodore Roosevelt. 177, 178, 180, 185, 187, 188, 189	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 138, 139, 140, 141, 145, 146, 148
Bliss, C. N., jr. (See testimony of, p. 198.)	
Cannon, James G.....	375, 376, 377, 378
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	17, 23, 25, 33
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M.....	629, 630
Duell, Hon. Charles H.....	453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 459, 460, 463, 464, 465, 466
Libby, William H.....	220
Loeb, Hon. William, jr.....	529, 530, 535, 536
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	693, 694, 696, 697, 698, 707, 711
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	611, 614
Morgan, J. P., sr.....	438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 444, 448, 450, 452
Odell, Hon. B. B., jr.....	112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117
Peabody, C. A.....	255
Penrose, Hon. Boies.....	159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	469, 470, 471, 473, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 488, 490, 491, 492, 502, 503, 506, 507, 508, 509, 511, 514, 516, 518, 520, 521
Russell, Charles Edward.....	583
Scott, Hon. Nathan B.....	684, 685, 686, 687, 689
Sheldon, Hon. George R.....	416, 417, 418, 419, 421, 423

Bliss, Hon. Cornelius N., sr., deceased—Continued.	Page.
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Stotesbury, E. T.....	807, 838
Tegethoff, C. C.....	231, 242, 245, 304
Statement by Col. Roosevelt regarding.....	190, 191, 192
Treasurer Republican national committee, 1896, 1900, and 1904.....	190
Bonaparte, Hon. Charles J., former Attorney General, Maryland:	
In charge of Roosevelt preconvention campaign in Maryland 1912.....	388
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	187
Bond, Columbus, Ohio, reference to.....	797
Borah, Hon. William E., United States Senator, member Republican National Committee, 1908, Idaho, reference to, in testimony of Mr. Hitchcock.....	46
Borden, M. C. D., contribution to Republican National Committee, 1908.....	48, 79
Boudinot, George S., secretary to National Manufacturers' Association.....	860
Bourne, Hon. Jonathan, United States Senator from Oregon:	
Letters from Col. Roosevelt.....	186, 187
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	186
Reference to, in testimony of—	
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	812
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	472
Bowen, Herbert, reference to case of.....	619
Brandegge, E. T., Boston, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.....	286, 299
Breckenridge, H. S., in charge of Wilson organization work in Kentucky, 1912.....	884
Brewster, George S., contributor to New York Taft League, 1912.....	592
Brietenbach, W. J., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912....	909, 910
Briggs, Hon. F. O., United States Senator from New Jersey, reference to, in testimony of Hon. W. B. McKinley.....	679
Brodie, Hon. A. O., former governor of Arizona, reference to.....	238, 239
Bromley, J., contributions to Republican National Committee, 1908.....	80
Brooker, Charles F., member New York executive committee, Republican National Committee, 1904, 1908, 1912, Ansonia, Conn.:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	22, 46
Hitchcock, Hon. Frank H.....	46
Parker, Hon. A. B.....	900
Parker, George F.....	926, 928, 930
Brown, F. W., Chicago, reference to, in testimony of William F. McCombs ..	872, 881
Brown, J. O., reference to.....	334, 337
Brown, Walter F., chairman Republican State central committee, Toledo, Ohio:	
Burton, Hon. Theodore, United States Senator from Ohio, reference to...	738
Campaign contributions.....	735, 740
Dick, Hon. Charles, former United States Senator from Ohio, reference to..	737
Foraker, Hon. Joseph B., former United States Senator from Ohio, reference to.....	737
Gallagher, Michael, contributions sent to.....	743
Hanna, D. R., reference to testimony of.....	735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 743, 751, 752
Herrick, Hon. Myron T., former governor of Ohio, reference to.....	735
Knox, W. Frank, in charge of Chicago headquarters, Roosevelt campaign..	740
Laylin, Louis C., manager Taft preconvention campaign, 1912, Ohio....	738, 739
Libby, E. D., delegate to Chicago convention from Ohio.....	739
McKinley, Hon. W. B., chairman republican national committee, reference to.....	738
Ohio, party organization in.....	745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751
Ohio State campaign, reference to....	737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 749, 750
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	386, 396, 400
Hanna, D. R.....	729, 731, 733, 734
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	642, 647
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	526
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, preconvention campaign of—	
Expenditures for.....	736, 737, 738, 750
Reference to	735, 736, 737, 738, 740, 741, 742, 747, 748, 749, 751, 752
Schauefle, W. P., reference to.....	737, 742, 743

Brown, Walter F.—Continued.	Page.
Southard, Hon. Joseph H., reference to campaign of.....	735
Taft, Hon. William Howard, reference to campaign of. 736, 738, 744, 747, 750, 751	
Testimony of.....	735
Thompson, Hon. Carmi A., secretary to the President, reference to.....	738
Vorys, Hon. Arthur I., reference to.....	738
Willys, John, delegate to Chicago convention from Ohio.....	739
Wright, N. C., reference to.....	737, 743
Brownell, Roy, assistant secretary Taft preconvention committee of Michigan, 1912, reference to.....	782
Bruff, J. H., contributor to Roosevelt League of Pennsylvania, 1912.....	353, 776
Bruyere, ———, reference to, in testimony of Col. Roosevelt.....	474
Bryan, Hon. William J., Nebraska, reference to.....	515
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	831
Roosevelt, Col. Theo.....	515
Schwedtman, Ferd C.....	864
Buckley, E. M., Pennsylvania, reference to.....	770
Buhl, Willis E., contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	779
Burden, James A., contributor to Taft League, New York, 1912.....	592
Bureau of Corporations. (See Department of Commerce and Labor.)	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	181, 187, 188, 193
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	144
Cortelyou, Hon. G. B.....	38
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	705
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	470, 471, 481, 510, 513, 516, 525
Tegethoff, C. C.....	235
Burleson, Hon. A. S., member of Congress from Texas in charge of Wilson organization work in Texas, 1912.....	887
Burns Detective Agency, employment of.....	588, 598
Burnstein, Dr. J. H., contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912..	258
Burton, Hon. Joseph R., former United States Senator from Kansas, reference to.....	702
Burton, Hon. Theodore E., United States Senator from Ohio, reference to.....	738
Busch, A., contributions to Republican national committee, 1908.....	80
Bush, Irving T., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	869
Butzel, Leo, reference to.....	780
Byllesby, H. M., contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	823
Byrd, Hon. R. E. (speaker of house), in charge of Wilson organization work in Virginia, 1912.....	886

C.

California, reference to election of United States Senator in....	304, 305, 714, 715, 800
Campaign funds:	
Democratic national committee, 1904.....	39, 55
Democratic national committee, 1908.....	63, 64, 83, 84
Republican national committee, 1904.....	20, 24, 29
Republican national committee, 1908.....	46
Republican national committee, totals for 1892, 1896, 1900, 1904.....	204
Campbell, Charles H., Indiana, reference to, in testimony of Mr. Dixon.....	387
Cannon, James G., president Fourth National Bank, New York:	
Account, copy will be made if books are not destroyed.....	378
Archbold, John D., reference to.....	375, 377
Audited accounts submitted to.....	376
Bank accounts of treasurer Republican national committee.....	377
Bliss, Hon. Cornelius N., sr., reference to.....	375, 376, 377, 378
Central Trust Co., account in.....	378, 379
Copy of statement of 1904.....	377
Harriman, E. H., deceased, reference to.....	377
No knowledge of contributions and recalls no conversation in reference to campaign of 1904, 1908, or 1912.....	376, 379
No record of disbursements of 1904.....	376
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Bliss, C. N., jr.....	212, 214
Sheldon, Hon. George R.....	416

	Page.
Cannon, James G.—Continued.	
Second National Bank, account in.....	378, 379
Standard Oil Co., reference to contribution of.....	377, 378
Testimony of.....	375
Cannon, Hon. Joseph G., ex-Speaker House of Representatives, Danville, Ill.:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Weeks, Hon. John W.....	432
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	662, 663, 676
Capers, Hon. John G., member Republican national committee, 1912, South Carolina.....	389
Carnegie, Andrew, New York:	
Contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	48, 79
Contribution to Taft League, 1912.....	592
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	27
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	665
Carrington, E. C. jr., Maryland; in charge of Roosevelt preconvention campaign in Maryland, 1912.....	388
Cary, Melbert B., contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908.....	64
Cassatt, A. J., deceased, former president Pennsylvania Railroad Co.:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Clark, J. Verner.....	351
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	799
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	610, 611
Central Trust Co.:	
Bank of deposit of Republican national committee, 1904.....	378, 379, 671, 850
Reference to, in testimony of—	
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	671
Upham, Fred W.....	853
Central Pacific Railroad Co., reference to, in testimony of Hon. Robert S. Lovett.....	715, 716, 717
Champlain, Gen. Edgar R., manager Taft campaign in Massachusetts, 1912, reference to.....	763
Chemical National Bank of New York, contribution to campaign of 1896..	190, 479, 516
Chicago, publicity in.....	870, 881, 885
Chicago convention, Progressive Party, reference to, in testimony of Hon. Joseph M. Dixon.....	385
Chicago convention, Republican:	
Assessment on delegates to, testimony of Ogden L. Mills.....	595
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	385
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	649, 659
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	483, 484
Chilton, McCorkle & Chilton, contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908.....	64
Chilton, Hon. William E., United States Senator from West Virginia, contributor to Clark campaign fund, 1912.....	774
Chinese boycott, reference to.....	222
Choate, Hon. Joseph H., former ambassador to Great Britain, reference to.....	720
Clapp, Hon. Moses E., United States Senator from Minnesota:	
Appearance.....	3, 7, 8, 11, 15, 35, 45, 55, 61, 67, 73, 97, 105, 109, 111, 119, 198, 257, 375, 437, 469, 539, 605, 683, 787, 865
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	392, 393, 394, 398
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	486, 487
Clark, Hon. Champ, Member of Congress from Missouri and Democratic candidate for nomination for President:	
Campaign of.....	381, 391, 393, 427, 428, 429
Contribution to Democratic congressional committee, 1908.....	110
Dubois, Hon. Fred T., manager for.....	428
Organization, etc.....	773, 774, 775
Reference to, in testimony of—	
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	881
Quincy, Hon. Josiah.....	917
Sullivan, Hon. Roger C.....	920, 923

	Page.
Clark, J. Verner, Washington, Pa.:	
Acheson, Ernest, reference to	350
Cassatt, A. J., deceased, reference to	351
Durham, Israel W., reference to	352
Flinn, Hon. William, reference to	350, 351
Ford, Judge, reference to	351
Knox, Hon. P. C., reference to	351
Leslie, Max, reference to	351
Martin, Senator, reference to	351
Oliver, Hon. George T., reference to	350, 351
Penrose, Hon. Boies, reference to	350
Quay, Hon. Matthew S., reference to successor to	350
Reference to, in testimony of William Flinn	315, 316
Robbins, Frank, reference to	350, 351
Telegrams to and from Mr. Flinn	350
Templeton, ———, reference to	350
Testimony of	350
Clark, L. P., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912	909, 910
Clark, Hon. William A., ex-Senator from Montana, contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908	100
Clayton, Hon. Powell, member Republican national committee, 1912, Arkansas	390
Cleveland, President Grover:	
Reference to campaign of, in letter of Col. Roosevelt	190
Reference to, in testimony of Col. Theodore Roosevelt	483, 493, 506
Clover, ———, contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912	823
Clyde, William P., contribution to Republican national committee, 1908	79
Coal trust:	
Reference to, testimony of—	
Cortelyou, Hon. G. B.	18
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore	517
Cochrane, Alexander Smith:	
Contribution to Republican national committee, 1908	79
Reference to, testimony of Elon H. Hooker	258, 285, 293, 298
Cochrane, William Smith, contribution to Republican national committee, 1908	48, 50
Coe, Dr. H. W., chairman, Portland, Oreg.:	
Contributions to Republican national committee, 1908	80
In charge of Roosevelt preconvention campaign in Oregon	391, 526
Coe, William P., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912	868
Colby, Bainbridge, reference to, in testimony of Senator Dixon	409
Colby, Everett, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912	286
Coleman, William H.:	
Contribution of	353, 776
Reference to	367, 368
Collier's Weekly, reference to articles in	814
Collins, John T., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912	867
Colorado, reference to, testimony of McCombs, Hon. William F.	870, 886
Colorado River in California, reference to closing break in	713, 714
Colored delegates, number of, reference to, in testimony of Mr. McHarg	652
Colored voters, appeal to, by Col. Roosevelt	525
Comer, J. A., Arkansas:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.	390, 401
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby	640
Connecticut, reference to, in testimony of Hon. William F. McCombs	870, 881, 885, 886
Conrad, W. G., Montana, contribution to Democratic congressional committee, 1908	110
Contributions:	
Campaigns of 1904, 1908, and preconvention, 1912	721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726
In sums of \$5,000 or over to Republican national committee, 1908, list of ..	79
Democratic congressional committee, 1908	110
Democratic national campaign, 1904—	
How solicited	57
Nebraska campaign	59
Rejected	58
Use in States	58, 59

Contributions—Continued.	Page.
Democratic national campaign, 1908—	
Rejected.....	100, 101
Number of contributors.....	99
Diplomatic favor.....	21, 492
La Follette campaign, 1912, total.....	572
Receipt for contribution, 1904.....	224
Reference to, in letter and testimony of Col. Theodore Roosevelt—	
Amount of, discussion with Mr. Cortelyou.....	194, 491
Contributions from corporations.....	479
Contributions to both sides in a campaign.....	487
Insurance contributions.....	479
List of.....	518
Proportion of fund contributed by corporations.....	518
Publicity of.....	514, 515, 516
Return of.....	490, 492, 519, 520
Report of auditor (Ex. C. N. B., jr., No. 1).....	199
Republican congressional committee, 1908—	
Contribution to.....	242
Rules regarding.....	106
Republican national committee, 1896, 1900, 1904.....	455
Republican national committee, 1904.....	18
Republican national campaign, 1904, 1908, reference to.....	241, 242, 243, 244
Coonley, Mrs. Queene Ferry, Chicago, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.....	286, 298
Converse, E. C., contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	80
Conway, Daniel E., contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908....	65
Coply, Hon. Ira, Illinois, reference to, in testimony of Senator Dixon.....	387
Corbin, E. A., contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	80
Corbin, Gen. Henry C., deceased, contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	48
Corey, William E., reference to, in testimony of Mr. Cortelyou.....	27
Corrupt practices act in New York, reference to.....	905, 906
Cortelyou, Hon. George B., chairman Republican national committee, 1904,	
New York:	
Anthracite coal works, reference to.....	27
Appointment of committees to collect funds.....	22, 31
Archbold, John D., reference to.....	17, 27
Bank contributions.....	20, 29
Baer, ———, anthracite coal works, reference to.....	27
Beef Trust.....	19, 27
Bliss, Hon. Cornelius N., sr., treasurer Republican national committee, 1904.....	17, 23, 25, 33
Books and records of 1904 campaign.....	24
Brooker, Hon. Charles F., member New York executive committee, Republican national committee 1904, 1908, 1912.....	22
Bureau of Corporations, relation to.....	33
Carnegie, Andrew, reference to.....	27
Coal Trust, reference to.....	18
Contributions for diplomatic favor, 1904.....	21
Contributions to Republican national committee, 1904.....	18
Corey, William E., reference to.....	27
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M., reference to.....	16
Duell, Hon. Charles H., assistant treasurer Republican national committee, 1904.....	29
Equitable Life Assurance Co., reference to.....	16, 28
Executive committee of Republican national committee in New York, 1904.....	22
Executive committee of Republican national committee in Chicago, 1904.....	22
Expenditures of fund.....	25
Gary, Hon. E. H., reference to.....	27
Harriman, E. H., reference to.....	16
Harriman fund.....	18
Havemeyers, reference to.....	27
Hyde, James H., reference to.....	16, 28
Insurance contributions.....	17, 28
Knight, George A., member Chicago executive committee, 1904.....	22
Letters from Col. Roosevelt.....	178

Cortelyou, Hon. George B.—Continued.	Page.
McCall, John A., deceased, reference to.....	28.
Methods used to collect funds.....	18, 31
Morgan, J. Pierpont, sr., reference to.....	17
Mulvane, Hon. David W., Kansas, member Chicago executive committee, 1904.....	22
Murphy, Hon. Franklin, New Jersey, member Chicago executive committee, 1904.....	22
National Paper Co., reference to.....	27
New, Hon. Harry S., Indiana, member Chicago executive committee, 1904.....	22
New York Life Insurance Co., reference to.....	17
Perkins, George W., reference to.....	17
Railroad contributions.....	29
Reference to, in letter of Col. Theodore Roosevelt.....	179,
	180, 181, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190.
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	119, 122, 131, 139, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 148.
Bliss, C. N., jr.....	213.
Duell, Hon. Charles H.....	454, 456, 457, 463, 465, 466.
Loeb, Hon. William, jr.....	429, 530, 531, 535
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	697, 698, 703, 707, 709, 710, 711
Morgan, J. P., sr.....	440, 441, 442, 443, 448, 449, 450, 452
Odell, Gov. B. B., jr.....	112, 113, 115, 116, 117
Parker, George F.....	926, 927, 928, 929
Peabody, C. A.....	255.
Penrose, Hon. Boies.....	162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—	
Letters and telegrams to.....	470, 471, 472
Reference to, in letter to Mr. Sheldon.....	470.
Reference to.....	469, 476, 477, 478, 480, 483, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492,
	502, 503, 504, 506, 507, 509, 510, 511, 513, 514, 516, 518, 520, 521, 522, 523.
Russell, Charles Edward.....	583.
Scott, Hon. Nathan B.....	685, 686, 687, 689, 690
Sheldon, George R.....	418
Tegethoff, C. C.....	228, 231, 245, 304
Rejection of contributions.....	19, 21
Rockefeller, William, reference to.....	17
Rogers, H. H., deceased, reference to.....	17
Ryan, Thomas F., reference to.....	27
Schneider, Robert S., Nebraska, member Chicago executive committee..	22
Schwab, Charles M., reference to.....	27
Scott, Hon. N. B., West Virginia, member New York executive committee.....	22
Speyer & Co., reference to.....	17
Standard Oil Co., reference to.....	19, 27
State committee, funds for.....	25, 32
Statement of November 5, 1904.....	32
Statement of December, 1905.....	29, 30, 31
Steel Trust, reference to.....	20
Sugar Trust, reference to.....	19
Tawney, Hon. James A., Minnesota, member Chicago executive committee, 1904.....	22
Testimony of.....	15
Tobacco Trust, contribution of.....	19
Total campaign fund, 1904.....	20, 24, 29
Ward, Hon. William L., New York, member New York executive committee, 1904.....	22
Cox, Hon. James M., contributor to Harmon preconvention campaign, 1912...	931
Cox, John W., contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908.....	64
Cox, Mark T., contribution to Republican national committee.....	79
Cram, J. Sargeant, contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908.....	64
Crane, Charles B., iron manufacturer, Chicago, Ill.:	
Bathtub Trust, statement regarding.....	576
Contribution to Wilson campaign.....	867
Contributions to La Follette campaign.....	541, 570, 571, 572, 573
Exhibit.....	574
Hooker, E. H., conversation with.....	575, 576
La Follette, Hon. Robert M., contribution in behalf of.....	574, 576, 577

Crane, Charles B.—Continued.	Page.
List of contributions to La Follette and Wilson, campaigns, 1912.....	574
McCombs, Hon. William F., reference to.....	574
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Hooker, Elon H.....	302, 303, 304
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	487
Roosevelt, criticism of.....	576, 577
Tariff interest of company of.....	577
Testimony of.....	573
Crane, Hon. W. Murray, United States Senator from Massachusetts:	
Contribution to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	823
Reference to, in letter of Col. Theodore Roosevelt.....	180
Reference to, in testimony of—	
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	662, 665, 679
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	506
Tegethoff, C. C.....	228
Cromwell, Hon. William Nelson, New York, contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	48, 79
Crosby, O. F., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	909, 910
Cukor, Morris, New York, reference to, in testimony of Mr. Belmont.....	39, 41
Cunester, B. P. M., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	867
Curtis, Hon. Charles, United States Senator from Kansas, reference to bill introduced by.....	218, 220
Cushing, Marshall, reference to.....	860
Cutting, Mrs. Bayard, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.....	286, 299

D.

Dahoney, E. L., California, contributor to Clark campaign fund, 1912.....	774
Danaher, James E., contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	779
Daniel, R. P., contribution to Democratic congressional committee, 1908.....	110
Daugherty, Harry, Ohio, reference to, in testimony of Hon. W. B. McKinley..	674
Davies, Joseph F., western manager for Wilson campaign, 1912, Madison, Wis.:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	403
McCombs, Hon. William F.—	
Illinois.....	872, 883, 884, 887, 907
Massachusetts.....	884
Michigan.....	883, 907
Wisconsin.....	884, 887
Quincy, Hon. Josiah.....	915
Davis, J. V., contributor to Clark campaign fund, 1912.....	774
Dawes, Charles G., assistant treasurer, Republican national committee, 1904, Chicago:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Duell, Hon. Charles H.....	461
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	663, 678
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	523, 524, 525
Weeks, Hon. John W.....	435
Dawson, Hon. William M. O., former governor of West Virginia:	
Chairman Roosevelt organization of West Virginia, 1912.....	847
Reference to, in testimony of Mr. Scott.....	68
Day, Hon. W. H., New York, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.....	286, 299
Debs, Eugene V., Socialist candidate for President, 1912, reference to, in testimony of Col. Theodore Roosevelt.....	474
Debs strike in 1894, reference to.....	716
De France, Charles C. Q., Kalamazoo, Mich., secretary People's Party, 1904...	436
Delaware, reference to, in testimony of Mr. McKinley	679
Democratic congressional committee, 1904:	
Chairman, Hon. W. S. Cowherd.....	
Treasurer, Hon. James L. Norris, deceased.....	
Democratic congressional committee, 1908:	
Chairman and treasurer, Hon. James T. Lloyd.....	109
Chairman executive committee, Hon. Henry T. Rainey.....	109

	Page.
Democratic national committee, 1904:	
Chairman, Hon. Thomas Taggart, Indianapolis, Ind.....	11
Treasurer, Hon. George Foster Peabody, Lake George, N. Y.....	8
Democratic national committee, 1908:	
Chairman, Hon. Norman E. Mack, Buffalo, N. Y.....	97
Treasurer, Hon. Herman Ridder, New York.....	62
Denby, Edwin, contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	779
Denver, M. R., contributor to Harmon preconvention campaign, 1912.....	930, 931
Department of Commerce and Labor, reference to (<i>see</i> Bureau of Corporations)...	892
Department of Justice, reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	181, 187, 192
Department of State, interview with officials of, by Mr. Libby.....	221, 222
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M., former United States Senator from New York:	
Ambassadorship to France.....	623
Barge Canal, reference to.....	623
Bliss, Hon. Cornelius N., sr., statement regarding.....	629, 630
Campaign contributions.....	621, 625, 626, 628
Frick, Henry C., reference to.....	624
General Electric Co., reference to.....	628
Greeley, Hon. Horace, reference to.....	620
Harriman, E. H., deceased, reference to.....	622, 623, 627, 628, 630
Harvester Trust, reference to.....	624
Higgins, Hon. Frank W., former governor of New York, reference to.....	625
Insurance contributions.....	625, 627
Morgan, J. Pierpont, sr., reference to.....	624, 628
New York Central Railroad Co., association with.....	621
New York State committee.....	625, 627
Odell, Hon. Benjamin B., jr., chairman New York State republican com- mittee, reference to.....	621
Platt, Hon. Thomas C., deceased, reference to.....	623, 625
Perkins, George W., reference to.....	625
Political activities of.....	621
Railroad contributions.....	628
Reference to, in letter from Mr. Harriman.....	184, 697, 698, 710, 711
Reference to, in letter of Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	181, 184, 189
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	16
Duell, Hon. Charles H.....	464, 465
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	697, 698, 702, 703, 705, 706, 709, 710, 711, 718
Odell, Hon. B. B., jr.....	112
Peabody, C. A.....	252, 254
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	477, 520
Tegethoff, C. C.....	245
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, reference to.....	623
Senatorial election, reference to.....	622
Sherman antitrust law, reference to.....	630
Standard Oil Co., reference to.....	624
Steel Trust.....	624
Sugar Trust.....	624, 628
Tariff, reference to.....	628, 630
Testimony of.....	620
Tobacco Trust.....	624
Twombly, H. McK., deceased—	
Contributions of.....	622, 624, 627, 628, 630
Statement regarding.....	620
Devanney, John W., treasurer Harmon campaign in Ohio, 1912, statement of..	932
Dewey, Chauncey, Illinois:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	387
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	619
Dick, Hon. Charles, former United States Senator from Ohio:	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Theodore Roosevelt.....	185
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	122, 137
Brown, Walter F.....	737
Dickey, W. S., contributions to Republican national committee, 1908.....	80

Diekema, Hon. G. J., manager of Taft campaign in Michigan, 1912:	Page.
Reference to.....	779, 782, 783
Reference to, in testimony of Hon. W. B. McKinley.....	669
Disposition of books, papers, etc.:	
Democratic national committee, 1904—	
Turned over to Mr. Taggart.....	9
Destroyed by Mr. Taggart.....	13, 14
Democratic national committee, 1908.....	62
Republican national committee, 1904—	
Copies of.....	210
Disposition of.....	209, 210, 213, 215, 216, 455
Reference to, in testimony of Mr. Cortelyou	25
Republican national committee, 1908.....	47
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M., United States Senator and chairman National Progressive Party, Missoula, Mont.:	
American Tobacco Co., reference to.....	404
Campaigns, State—	
Arkansas.....	409
Florida.....	409
Georgia.....	409, 425
Illinois.....	401
Indiana.....	408, 409
Louisiana.....	409
Massachusetts.....	401, 412
Nebraska.....	395, 407
New Jersey.....	407
New York.....	414
North Carolina.....	409
Ohio.....	400, 401, 407, 412
Pennsylvania.....	395, 401
South Carolina.....	409
Texas.....	408
Washington.....	395
Capers, Hon. John G., member of Republican national committee, 1912,	
South Carolina	389
Changing votes of delegates with money.....	385
Chicago convention, June, 1912, reference to expense of.....	385
Chicago convention, August 5, 1912, reference to expense of.....	385
Clapp, Hon. Moses E., United States Senator from Minnesota, and chairman of investigating committee.....	392, 393, 394, 398
Clark, Hon. Champ, Missouri, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and a Democratic candidate for President—	
Campaign of.....	381, 391, 393, 427, 428, 429
Dubois, Fred T., manager for.....	428
Clayton, Hon. Powell, member Republican national committee, 1912,	
Arkansas.....	390
Contests for Progressive Party at Chicago convention handled by—	
Beveridge, Hon. Albert J., former United States Senator from Indiana	409
Colby, Bainbridge, New Jersey.....	409
Ricker, George, New Jersey.....	409
Contests in—	
Florida.....	409
Indiana.....	408
North Carolina.....	409
Texas.....	408
Washington.....	408
Edwards, William S., West Virginia, reference to.....	396
Foreign newspapers, contracts with.....	404
Hammerling, Louis, president American Association of Foreign Newspapers, reference to.....	403, 404
Harmon, Hon. Judson C., governor of Ohio, and a Democratic candidate for nomination for President, reference to campaign of.....	381, 383, 391, 392, 394, 403, 404, 425, 426, 427
Hilles, Hon. Charles D., chairman Republican national committee, 1912, reference to	394, 412, 415
Hitchcock, Hon. Frank H., Postmaster General, reference to.....	408
Hooker, Elon H., treasurer Roosevelt provisional campaign.....	380
Investigation, scope of.....	380, 381, 382, 403

Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.—Continued.	Page.
Johnson, Lige, Georgia, reference to.....	389
Knox, W. Frank, reference to.....	414
La Follette, Hon. Robert M., reference to campaign of.....	381, 383
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby, reference to work in Southern States for Progressive Party, 1912.....	389, 408, 409
Manager, Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.....	380
Martin, Hon. Alvah H., Virginia, member Republican national committee, 1912.....	388
Massachusetts, presidential primary in, 1912.....	386, 413
Mathews, J. A., reference to.....	387
New York Sun, quotation from interview.....	392
Oliver, Hon. George T., United States Senator from Pennsylvania, reference to.....	394, 404
Penrose, Hon. Boies, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, reference to.....	395, 397
Pinchot, Hon. Gifford, conference with.....	384, 406
Pomerene, Hon. Atlee, United States Senator from Ohio, reference to....	404
Progressive Party, preconvention campaign of, 1912—	
Contributions—	
Advertisements for.....	380
Approximate amount of.....	384
Facts relating to pro rata expenditure.....	391
Independent of amount testified to by Mr. Hooker.....	380, 395
Preconvention receipts, 1912.....	381, 384
Contributors—	
Butler, ———, Chevy Chase.....	385, 410
Eno, William.....	384, 406, 410
Frasch, Herman.....	399
Hanna, Dan R.....	384, 396, 399, 400, 406, 407, 410
Montgomery, ———, Philadelphia.....	310, 384
Munsey, Frank A.....	384, 399, 406, 407
Perkins, George W.....	384, 399, 401, 406, 407, 410
Roosevelt, W. Emlen.....	395, 407, 410
Wood, Mrs. Antoinette.....	384, 410
Disbursements—	
Amount sent to various States.....	395, 396, 400, 401
Reference to.....	384, 393, 395, 407
Rumored amount of.....	398
Managers in various States—	
Anderson, H. L., Florida.....	389
Bonaparte, Hon. Charles J., former Attorney General, Maryland..	388
Brown, Walter F., Ohio.....	386, 396, 400
Campbell, Charles H., Indiana.....	387
Carrington, E. C., jr., Maryland.....	388
Coe, Dr. Henry W., Oregon.....	391
Comer, J. A., Arkansas.....	390, 401
Coply, Hon. Ira, Illinois.....	387
Day, ———, Maryland.....	388
Dewar, ———, Georgia.....	389
Dewey, Chauncey, Illinois.....	387
Duncan, E. C., North Carolina.....	388
Flinn, Hon. William, Pennsylvania.....	386, 395, 415
Fort, Hon. J. Franklin, ex-governor of New Jersey.....	388
Glasscock, Hon. William E., governor of West Virginia.....	388
Hadley, Hon. Herbert S., governor of Missouri.....	387
Hale, Matthew, Massachusetts.....	386, 413
Hundley, Hon. Oscar R., Alabama.....	390
Joslyn, Hon. Theodore, Michigan.....	387
Kelliher, Daniel, Oregon.....	391
Lyons, Hon. Cecil, Texas.....	391
McCormick, Medill, Illinois.....	387
McDonald, General, Maryland.....	388
Moore, Hon. O. C., Washington.....	391
O'Rear, Hon. Edward C., Kentucky.....	388
Pearson, Hon. Richmond, North Carolina.....	388
Reference to.....	386, 387
Revell, Alexander, Illinois.....	387
Sims, Hon. Edward W., Illinois.....	387

	Page.
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.—Continued.	
Progressive Party, preconvention campaign of, 1912—Continued.	
Managers in various States—Continued.	
Taylor, Hon. George, Tennessee.....	388
Van Valkenburg, E. A., Pennsylvania.....	386
Wellington, Hon G. L., ex-Senator, Maryland.....	388
Wight, Pearl, Louisiana.....	390, 409
Wilson, Hon. William, Illinois.....	387
Reference to.....	381, 386, 392
Roosevelt provisional campaign, E. H. Hooker, treasurer.....	380
Receipts and disbursements made public.....	431
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	194
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Bankhead, Hon. J. H.....	937
Hale, Matthew.....	765, 766
Hanna, D. R.....	730, 733
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	825, 827, 830
Hooker, Elon H.....	285, 292, 298
McCombs, William F.....	876
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	632, 635, 636, 645, 655, 660
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	668, 673
Plant, Alfred H.....	792
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	486, 524
Refusal of name of informant.....	424
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, ex-President of the United States and candidate of Progressive Party for President—	
Preconvention campaign of.....	380, 381, 384, 386, 387, 388, 391, 395
Reference to.....	380, 398, 400, 401
Slemp, Hon. Campbell, chairman Republican State central committee, Virginia, 1912.....	388
Standard Oil Co., reference to.....	399, 400, 403, 404
Sugar Trust, reference to.....	399, 400, 414
Taft, Charles P., reference to contributions to Taft campaign, 1908.....	404, 415
Taft, Hon. William Howard, President of the United States and candidate for reelection—	
Campaign of—	
Billboard advertising.....	392, 400, 411
Foreign newspaper advertising.....	403, 404
Hilles, Hon. Charles D., chairman Republican national committee, reference to.....	394, 412, 415
Reference to....	384, 391, 392, 393, 394, 400, 401, 404, 411, 412, 413, 414, 431
Testimony of.....	379, 423
Underwood, Hon. Oscar W., Member of Congress from Alabama and a Democratic candidate for nomination for President—	
Bankhead, Hon. John H., United States Senator from Alabama and manager for.....	403
Campaign of.....	381, 391, 392, 393, 403, 423, 427
Owen, Dr. Thomas, Montgomery, Ala., assisted in campaign of.....	403, 424
Wilson, Hon. Woodrow, governor of New Jersey and Democratic candidate for President—	
Campaign of.....	381, 383, 391, 392, 393, 394, 402, 403, 426, 427, 428
Davies, Joseph E., western manager, Chicago, reference to.....	403
Funds for preconvention campaign expended by—	
Harvey, Col. George M., Harper's Weekly, New York.....	402
Johnson, Ed, South Dakota.....	403
Lynch, Fred B., Minnesota.....	403
McKnight, William F., Michigan.....	403
Orr, —, Topeka, Kans.....	403
Quincy, Hon. Josiah, Boston, Mass.....	402, 403
Watterson, Col. Henry, Kentucky.....	402
McAdoo, Hon. William G., vice chairman Democratic national com- mittee, reference to.....	394, 402, 403, 406
McCombs, Hon. William F., manager of preconvention campaign and chairman Democratic national committee.....	394, 402, 403, 406
Penfield, Frederick C., contribution of.....	402, 406
Plant, Alfred H., comptroller Southern Ry. Co., reference to contri- bution of.....	394, 403, 424, 425
Ryan, Thomas F., New York, contributions of.....	394, 402, 403, 424
Wisconsin, reference to campaign in.....	387

	Page
Dixon, Robert, deceased, assistant treasurer Republican national committee, 1904:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Duell, Hon. Charles H.....	453, 454, 457
Bliss, Cornelius N., jr.....	209, 214
Dodge, Cleveland H.:	
Contribution to Wilson campaign, 1912.....	868, 874, 875, 876, 877, 879, 880
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	494, 495
Tegethoff, C. C.....	229
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	616, 617
Douglas, Prof.—reference to.....	230
Dougherty, Andrew, Elk Rapids, reference to, in testimony of Charles B. Warren.....	778
Dover, Elmer, Tacoma, Wash., reference to.....	683
Dowling, Hon. Victor J., New York, contributor to Clark campaign fund, 1912.....	774
Draper, Lieut. Gov. Eben S., of Massachusetts, reference to, in testimony of Hon. W. B. McKinley.....	662, 669
Dubois, Hon. Fred T., former United States Senator from Idaho and manager of Champ Clark campaign, Blackfoot, Idaho:	
Campaign organizations.....	774, 775
Contributors—	
Bassford, Homer, St. Louis.....	774
Bassford, Wallace.....	774
Belmont, Perry.....	774
Chilton, Hon. William E.....	774
Clark, Hon. Champ.....	774
Dahoney, E. L., California.....	774
Davis, J. V.....	774
Dowling, Hon. Victor J., New York.....	774
Harper, Robert N., Washington.....	774
Head, Hon. W. O., Kentucky.....	774
Hearst, William R., New York.....	773, 774
Hoffman, Col. Roy, Oklahoma.....	774
Garner, Jack.....	774
Gerard, Hon. J. W., New York.....	774
Jesse, George N.....	774
Marsh, Wilbur, Iowa.....	774
Pence, Lafe.....	774
Pepper, Hon. I. S., Iowa.....	773
Pettigrew, R. F.....	774
Pickford, Thomas H., Washington, D. C.....	774
Smith, G. A., Chicago.....	774
Stephens, Gov. Lon V., Missouri.....	774
Stone, Hon. William J., Missouri.....	774
Watson, Hon. C. W., West Virginia.....	774
Exhibits, list of contributors.....	773
Expenditures, summary of.....	775
Record of contributions and disbursements.....	773, 774
Testimony of.....	773
Dudley, William, Kentucky, contributor to Harmon preconvention campaign, 1912.....	931, 936
Duell, Hon. Charles H., assistant treasurer Republican national committee, 1904, 2 Rector Street, New York:	
American Refining Co. (See Sugar Trust.)	
Archbold, John D.—	
Reference to.....	454, 455, 456
Refund to.....	463
Bliss, Cornelius N., jr., reference to.....	454
Bliss, Cornelius N., sr., reference to.....	453,
454, 455, 456, 457, 459, 460, 463, 464, 465, 466	
Books of Republican national committee, 1904.....	461
Contributions to Republican national committee, 1896, 1900, and 1904....	455
Cortelyou, Hon. George B., chairman Republican national committee, 1904.....	454, 456, 457, 463, 465, 466
Dawes, Hon. Charles G., former Comptroller of the Currency.....	461

Duell, Hon. Charles H.—Continued.	Page.
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M., former United States Senator from New York, reference to.....	464, 465
Disposition of records, 1904.....	455
Dixon, Robert, reference to.....	453, 454, 457
Fourth National Bank, New York, account of Republican national committee, 1904.....	454, 460
Erick, H. C., contribution of.....	456, 458
Gould, George J., contribution of.....	456, 458
Harriman, E. H., deceased, reference to.....	459, 464
Harriman fund, reference to.....	454, 457, 459, 465
Havemeyer, ———, reference to.....	462
Hazzard, ———, Syracuse, contribution of.....	462
Hill, Hon. David Jayne, contribution of.....	462
Holden, Hendrick, contribution of.....	462
Hooker, Elon H., reference to.....	467
Hughes investigating committee, 1905, reference to.....	455
Insurance companies, contribution of.....	454, 456
Irving National Bank, New York, account of Republican national committee, 1904.....	454, 460
Meyer, Hon. George von L., collections for campaign of 1904.....	461
Mills, Andrew, collections in Union League Club, 1904.....	462
Morgan, J. Pierpont, sr., contribution of.....	458, 465
Odell, Hon. Benjamin B., jr., chairman Republican State committee, New York, 1904.....	459, 460, 465
One hundred thousand dollar contributions.....	454, 456
Receipts and disbursements of \$250,000 fund.....	465
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Bliss, C. N., jr.....	209, 214
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	29
Hooker, Elon H.....	258, 294
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	477, 503
Reid, Hon. Whitelaw, contribution of.....	462
Rogers, H. H., deceased, reference to.....	455, 456, 463, 464
Second National Bank, New York, account of Republican national committee, 1904.....	454, 459, 460
Sheldon, George R., treasurer national committee, 1904, reference to....	456, 458
Standard Oil Co., no refund to.....	464
Stotesbury, E. T., collections of.....	461
Sugar Trust, reference to.....	463
Testimony of.....	453
Treasurer congressional committee, 1910, and manager Roosevelt pre-convention campaign, 1912.....	467
Twombly, H. McK., reference to contribution of.....	465
United States Steel Corporation, reference to.....	462
Duncan, E. C., member Republican national committee, 1908, North Carolina:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	388
Hitchcock, Hon. Frank H.....	46
du Pont, Gen. Coleman, member Republican national committee, 1908, Delaware, reference to, in testimony of Mr. Hitchcock.....	46, 52, 53
Durbin, W. W., Kenton, Ohio, in charge of Wilson organization work in Ohio, 1912.....	886
Durham, Israel W., deceased:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Clark, J. Verner.....	352
Flinn, William.....	313, 314, 316, 344

E.

Edwards, Fred, reference to.....	316
Edwards, William Seymour, lawyer, Charleston, W. Va.:	
Ayres, Hon. Stephen B., reference to contribution for campaign of, 1908..	846
Congressional campaign, 1908.....	846
Dawson, Governor Wm. M. O., chairman West Virginia State Roosevelt organization.....	847

Edwards, William Seymour—Continued.

Page.

Roosevelt preconvention campaign—	
Contribution to.....	846, 848
Funds for.....	847
Member Republican national committee, 1912.....	846, 848
Political situation in West Virginia, 1912.....	846
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	396
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	825
Stump, Wilbur, treasurer, West Virginia Roosevelt organization, 1912....	847
Statement regarding campaign expenditures.....	847
Taft, Hon. William H., reference to nomination of, 1908.....	849
Testimony of.....	845
Elder, Dr. Clark T., Columbus, Ohio, manager for La Follette campaign, 1912..	572
Eliot, Dr. Charles, former president of Harvard, reference to.....	477
Elkins, Hon. Stephen B., deceased, former United States Senator from West Virginia:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	13
Livingstone, Colin H.....	849
Elkus, Abram L., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	868, 875
Emery, L., jr., reference to.....	799
Eno, William, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912..	384, 406, 410
Equitable Life Assurance Co., New York:	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Theodore Roosevelt.....	190
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	16, 28
Morgan, J. Pierpont, sr.....	445
Esty, W. H., bookkeeper, Taft preconvention campaign committee, 1912.....	672
Evans, Mrs. Glendower, contribution to La Follette campaign, 1912.....	541, 570
Evarts, Hon. Maxwell, attorney for E. H. Harriman, reference to.....	227
Evening Mail, post-card canvass, reference to.....	840
Eversman, John C., assistant secretary national Republican committee, 1912,	
and assistant treasurer Congressional committee 1912, reference to....	672, 678, 680
Ewing contribution (Louisiana), reference to, in testimony of—	
Ridder, Hon. Herman.....	63
Hon. Norman E. Mack.....	99
Exhibits:	
A.....(George R. Sheldon).....	75, 79, 80, 81, 82
B.....(George R. Sheldon).....	75, 76
A.....(Herman Ridder).....	62, 65, 83
B.....(Herman Ridder).....	62, 63, 64, 65, 83, 84, 98, 99, 102
A.....(John J. Martin).....	61, 62
B.....(John J. Martin).....	61, 62
A.....(Normon E. Mack).....	99, 100
B.....(Norman E. Mack).....	102
Archbold, John D.—	
Exhibit Archbold No. 1.....	803, 804, 809–814
Exhibit Archbold No. 2.....	807
Exhibit Archbold No. 3.....	808, 809
Exhibit Archbold No. 4.....	808
Exhibit Archbold No. 5.....	810
Bankhead, Hon. John H., exhibit Bankhead No. 1.....	938
Bliss, Cornelius, jr.—	
C. N. B., jr. No. 1.....	199
C. N. B., jr. No. 2.....	203
C. N. B., jr. No. 3.....	204
C. N. B., jr. No. 4.....	205
C. N. B., jr. No. 5.....	206
Crane, Charles F., Crane Exhibit No. 1.....	574
Dubois, Hon. Fred T., exhibit Dubois No. 1.....	773
Flinn, Hon. William—	
Exhibit F-A.....	305
Exhibit F-B.....	307
Exhibit F-C.....	310
Exhibit F-D.....	311
Exhibit F-E.....	321
Exhibit F-F.....	322

Exhibits—Continued.	Page.
Flinn, Hon. William—Continued.	
Exhibit F-G.....	334
Exhibit Flinn 1-X.....	371
Hale, Matthew—	
Hale Exhibit No. 1.....	753
Hale Exhibit No. 2.....	757
Hale Exhibit No. 3.....	761
Hannan, John J.—	
Hannan Exhibit No. 1.....	540
Hannan Exhibit No. 2.....	542
Hannan Exhibit No. 3.....	554
Hannan Exhibit No. 4.....	554
Hannan Exhibit No. 5.....	557
Hannan Exhibit No. 6.....	559
Hannan Exhibit No. 7.....	560
Hannan Exhibit No. 8.....	561
Hannan Exhibit No. 9.....	563
Hannan Exhibit No. 10.....	563
Hannan Exhibit No. 11.....	564
Hannan Exhibit No. 12.....	564
Hannan Exhibit No. 13.....	565
Hannan Exhibit No. 14.....	565
Hannan Exhibit No. 15.....	566
Hannan Exhibit No. 16.....	566
Hilles, Hon. Charles D., Exhibit Hilles A.....	825
Hooker, Elon Huntington—	
Hooker Exhibit A.....	258
Hooker Exhibit B.....	283
Hooker Exhibit B ²	284
Hooker Exhibit C.....	285
Lovett, Hon. Robert S., Exhibit L-1.....	697
McAdoo, Hon. William G., Exhibit McAdoo No. 1.....	909-910
McCombs, Hon. William F.—	
Exhibit McCombs No. 1.....	867
Exhibit McCombs No. 2.....	870
Mack, Hon. Norman E.—	
Exhibit A.....	99
Exhibit B.....	102-104
Martin, John J.—	
Exhibit A.....	61, 62
Exhibit B.....	61, 62
Mills, O. L.—	
Exhibit O. L. Mills No. 1.....	588
Exhibit O. L. Mills No. 2.....	591
Exhibit O. L. Mills No. 3.....	592
Exhibit O. L. Mills No. 4.....	597
Mossman, W. T., Exhibit Mossman No. 1.....	768
Nichols, Hon. Hugh L.—	
Exhibit Nichols No. 1.....	931
Exhibit Nichols No. 2.....	932
Parker, Hon. Alton B.—	
Exhibit Parker No. 1.....	889
Exhibit Parker No. 2.....	894
Powell, Hon. A. W.—	
Exhibit P-B.....	368
Exhibit P-B ²	374
Quincy, Hon. Josiah—	
Exhibit Quincy No. 1.....	914
Exhibit Quincy No. 2.....	916
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—	
Exhibit R-1.....	470
Exhibit R-2.....	472
Exhibit R-3.....	479
Exhibit R-4.....	484
Exhibit R-5.....	484
Exhibit R-6.....	495

Exhibits—Continued.**Page.**

Ridder, Hon. Herman—

Exhibit A..... 62, 65, 83

Exhibit B..... 62, 63, 64, 65, 83, 84, 98, 99, 102

Stotesbury, Edward T.—

Exhibit Stotesbury A..... 836

Exhibit Stotesbury B..... 836

Sheldon, George R.—

Exhibit A..... 75, 79-82

Exhibit B..... 75

Tegethoff, C. C.—

Exhibit H. A..... 224

Exhibit H. B..... 225

Exhibit H. C..... 225

Exhibit H. D..... 226

Exhibit H. E..... 227

Exhibit H. F..... 228

Exhibit H. G..... 228

Exhibit H. H..... 229

Exhibit H. I..... 230

Exhibit H. J..... 231

Exhibit H. K..... 232

Exhibit H. L..... 232

Exhibit H. M..... 233

Exhibit H. N..... 234

Exhibit H. O..... 236

Exhibit H. P..... 236

Exhibit H. Q..... 237

Exhibit H. R..... 238

Exhibit H. S..... 239

Exhibit H. T..... 240

Exhibit H. U..... 240

Upham, Fred. W.—

Exhibit Upham No. 1..... 851

Exhibit Upham No. 2..... 852

Exhibit Upham No. 3..... 853

Weller, Hon. John S.—

Exhibit Weller A..... 353

Exhibit Weller B..... 359

F.

Fackler, John D., Cleveland, Ohio:

Manager for La Follette campaign, 1912..... 573

Reference to, in testimony of D. R. Hanna..... 732

Fanning, Joseph T., New York, contributor to Harmon preconvention campaign, 1912..... 931, 936

Ferriss, James H., chairman People's Party, 1904, Joliet, Ill.:

De France, Charles C. Q., Kalamazoo, Mich., secretary, 1904..... 436

Forest, Jay W., vice chairman, 1908..... 436

Testimony of..... 436

Watson, Thomas E., contribution of..... 436

Fish, Hamilton, New York, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912..... 286, 299

Fitzgerald, Hon. John F., mayor of Boston, reference to..... 767

Flagler, Henry M., director Standard Oil Co., reference to..... 221

Flinn, George H.:

Contribution of..... 353

Reference to..... 367

Flinn, Hon. William, Pittsburgh, Pa.:

Ache, Paul S., letters from..... 322, 323, 324

Appointment of senator..... 316

Archbold, J. D.—

Reference to..... 314, 343

Telegram from..... 345

Barchfield, Dr. A. J., reference to, in memorandum of agreement..... 335

Brown, J. O., reference to..... 334, 337

Clark, J. V., reference to..... 315, 316

Flinn, Hon. William—Continued.**Page.**

Contributions of, to Allegheny County committee—

By districts..... 327, 332

Discussion of..... 318, 319

La Follette campaign..... 327, 332

Massachusetts campaign..... 327

Postal cards..... 325

Reference to..... 318

Throughout the State of Pennsylvania..... 325

Total of..... 321, 323

Contribution to La Follette campaign..... 541, 570

Contribution to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, statement regarding.. 309

Durham, Israel W., deceased, reference to..... 313, 314, 316, 344

Edwards, Fred., reference to..... 316

Exhibits, discussion of A, B, and C..... 317

Expenditures—

Behalf of Roosevelt delegates in Pennsylvania..... 305

In Pennsylvania..... 312

Ford, Thomas J., reference to..... 317

Frick, Henry C., reference to..... 317

Interests involved beside election of delegates..... 312

Knox, Hon. P. C., appointment as Senator..... 316, 317

Leslie, Max G..... 317

Lexow committee of senate (Pennsylvania)..... 337, 340

Machine politics in Pennsylvania..... 333

Magee, Hon. C. L., reference to..... 335, 337, 339, 340

Memorandum of agreement—

Date of..... 341

Explanation of..... 336

Publication of..... 343

Morton, W. C., secretary and treasurer Roosevelt Republican League,
reference to..... 324

Oliver, Hon. George T., reference to..... 314

Pennypacker, Gov. Samuel W., reference to..... 314

Penrose, Hon. Boies—

Statement of..... 313

Reference to..... 314, 315, 316, 317, 338, 344

Political activities, history of..... 334

Political conditions in Pennsylvania and change desired..... 332, 333

Taft campaign, record of funds for..... 326

Powell, Hon. A. W., reference to..... 323

Quay, Hon. Matthew S., reference to..... 313,

315, 316, 334, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 343, 345

Receipts and disbursements—

Allegheny County..... 327

Congressional districts in eastern Pennsylvania..... 310

Reference to agreement with Mr. Quay..... 608

Reference to, in testimony of—

Archhold, John D..... 158

Mossman, W. T..... 772

Hilles, Hon. Charles D..... 825, 827, 830

Clark, J. V..... 350, 351

Dixon, Hon. Joseph M..... 386, 395, 415

Powell, Hon. A. W..... 369

Roosevelt, Col. Theodore..... 526

Splane, J. G..... 346, 347, 348

Weller, Hon. John S..... 353, 354, 357, 360, 362, 363, 776

Report of subtreasurers..... 370

Robbins, Frank, reference to..... 313

Roosevelt campaign, expenditure for..... 318, 320

Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, reference to..... 318, 320

Splane, J. G., reference to..... 314, 344, 345

Standard Oil Co., reference to..... 314, 344, 345

Steele, Senator (State), reference to..... 335

Telegrams to and from..... 344, 345

Testimony of..... 305, 370

Treasurer of Allegheny County..... 309

Upperman, Senator (State), reference to..... 335

Flinn, Hon. William—Continued.	Page.
Washington Party, votes cast for.....	329
Weller, Hon. John S., reference to.....	318, 321, 323
Flint, Hon. Frank P., former United States Senator from California, reference to.....	715
Florida:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	389, 409
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	639, 640, 657, 659
Folks, Homer, reference to.....	474
Foraker, Hon. J. B., former United States Senator from Ohio, Cincinnati, Ohio:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	792, 793, 797
Brown, Walter F.....	737
Penrose, Hon. Boies.....	169
Ford, J. B., contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	779
Ford, James B., contribution to Taft League, New York, 1912.....	592
Ford, Thomas J., reference to.....	317, 351
Foreign newspapers:	
Contracts with.....	404
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	404
Hammerling, Louis N.....	539, 540
Forest, Jay W., vice chairman People's Party, 1908.....	436
Forgan, D. R., president Taft Club, Chicago, 1912:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	669, 680
Smith, Col. Frank L.....	856
Upham, Fred W.....	854
Fort, Hon. J. Franklin, former governor of New Jersey, reference to.....	388
Foss, Hon. Eugene W., governor of Massachusetts:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Hale, Matthew.....	766
Quincy, Hon. Josiah.....	917
Fourth National Bank, New York, account of Republican national committee, 1904.....	454, 460
Fowler, B. A., Arizona, reference to.....	238, 239
Fox, Col., deceased, New York, secretary and acting chairman Republican State committee of New York, 1904.....	115, 116
Franchise tax bill, reference to.....	516
Francis, Hon. David R., St. Louis, Mo., contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908.....	64
Frasch, Herman, New York:	
Contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.....	286, 299, 399
Reference to contribution of, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	399
Hooker, E. H.....	286, 299
Loeb, Hon. William, jr.....	531
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	523, 524
Freedman, Mr. ———, New York, reference to, in testimony of Mr. Belmont..	38, 39
Frick committee, reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	190
Frick, Henry C., New York:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M.....	624
Duell, Hon. Charles H.....	456, 458
Flinn, Hon. William.....	317
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	612, 614, 615
Morgan, J. P., sr.....	451
Parker, Hon. A. B.....	900
Parker, George F.....	928
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	489, 494, 495, 511, 517
Scott, Hon. Nathan B.....	689
Sheldon, George R.....	74, 76
Tegethoff, C. C.....	229
Friedel, Louis, district leader, New York:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Aronowitz, Samuel.....	841, 842
Mills, Ogden L.....	598, 599, 609

	Page.
Fruit, J. E., contribution to La Follette campaign.....	541, 570
Funk, Clarence S., Chicago, reference to, in testimony of--	
Hitchcock, Hon. Frank H.....	50, 51
Scott, Hon. Nathan B.....	70
G.	
Gallagher, Michael, Ohio:	
Reference to, in testimony of--	
Brown, Walter F.....	743
Hanna, D. R.....	734
Gardner, Hon. Augustus P., Member of Congress from Massachusetts, reference to.....	763
Garfield, President James A., reference to.....	620
Garfield, Hon. James R., former Secretary of the Interior, Ohio:	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	181, 186
Reference to, in testimony of--	
Archbold, John D.....	144
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	511, 526
Garner, Jack, contributor to Clark campaign fund.....	774
Garretsch, G. A., contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	80
Garretson, G. A., treasurer, contributions to Republican national committee, 1908.....	80
Gary, Hon. Elbert H., New York, reference to, by Mr. Cortelyou.....	27
Gaston, Col. William A., reference to, in testimony of Mr. Quincy.....	916, 917
Gates, Charles, reference to.....	521
Gates, John W., deceased, reference to.....	521
General Electric Co., reference to.....	628
Georgia:	
Reference to, in testimony of--	
Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	389, 409, 425
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	870, 883
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	634, 639, 644, 645, 646, 649, 652, 656
Gerard, Hon. J. W., New York, contributor to Clark campaign fund, 1912.....	774
German-American Sugar Co., reference to.....	777
German Government, reference to.....	222
Gilchrist, Frank W., contributor to Taft preconvention campaign.....	779
Glasscock, Hon. William E., Governor of West Virginia, reference to.....	388
Goltra, Edward F., contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908.....	64
Gompers, Samuel, American Federation of Labor:	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	184
Reference to, in testimony of--	
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	706
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	474
Gore, Senator Thomas, in charge of Wilson organization work in Oklahoma, 1912.....	884
Gould, George J., New York:	
Contribution to Republican national committee, 1904.....	454, 458
Reference to, in testimony of--	
Duell, Hon. Charles H.....	456, 458
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	613, 615, 616
Morgan, J. P., sr.....	451
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	489, 513, 517
Graff, Max, reference to.....	841
Gray, Col. J. R., Atlanta, in charge of Wilson organization in Georgia, 1912.....	883
Greeley, Hon. Horace:	
Reference to, in testimony of--	
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M.....	620
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	619
Greer, Clark, Georgia:	
Reference to, in testimony of--	
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	646
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	524
Gregory, Capt. —, reference to, in testimony of Mr. McHarg.....	633, 635, 644, 647
Grier, J. B., contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.....	286, 299

Griscom, Hon. Lloyd C., former Minister to Japan, New York:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Mills, Ogden L.....	598
Tegethoff, C. C.....	233
Gronna, Hon. Asle J., United States Senator from North Dakota, loan to	
Hon. R. M. La Follette.....	541, 571
Grosscup, Edward, in charge of Wilson organization work in New Jersey, 1912.	872
Grosvenor, Hon. C. H., former Member of Congress from Ohio, reference to,	
in testimony of Mr. Archbold.....	795, 797, 798
Guffey, Col. J. M., Pennsylvania:	
Contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908.....	101
Reference to, in testimony of Col. Theodore Roosevelt.....	515
Guffey, Joseph F., contribution to Wilson campaign.....	869
Guggenheim, Simon, United States Senator from Colorado, contribution to	
Republican national committee, 1908.....	79

H.

Hadley, Hon. Herbert S., governor of Missouri, reference to, in testimony of	
Hon. Joseph M. Dixon.....	387
Hale, Matthew, manager Roosevelt preconvention campaign in Massachu-	
setts, Boston, Mass.:	
Advertising account Massachusetts Roosevelt committee.....	757, 761
Bird, Hon. Charles S., Progressive candidate for governor of Massachusetts,	
1912.....	766
Champlain, Gen. Edgar R., manager of Taft campaign in Massachusetts,	
1912, reference to.....	763
Contributions, Massachusetts Roosevelt committee.....	753, 757
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M., United States Senator from Montana and manager	
National Progressive Party, 1912.....	765, 766
Exhibits Nos. 1, 2, 3.....	753, 757, 761
Fitzgerald, Hon. John F., mayor of Boston, reference to.....	767
Foss, Hon. Eugene W., governor of Massachusetts.....	766
Gardner, Hon. Augustus P., Member of Congress from Massachusetts, ref-	
erence to.....	763
Hammond, John Hays, reference to.....	763
Hooker, Elon H., treasurer Roosevelt campaign.....	765, 766
Hornblower & Weeks, reference to.....	763
Mayoralty fight in Boston.....	764, 766, 767
Presidential primary in Massachusetts, contest for.....	763, 764, 765
Munsey, Frank A., reference to.....	761
Receipts and disbursements, Massachusetts Roosevelt committee.....	753, 757
Recounts in State of Massachusetts.....	761, 762
Reference to in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	386, 413
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	831
Roosevelt campaign.....	762, 765, 766, 767
Storrow, James J., reference to.....	767
Taft campaign.....	762, 763, 764, 766, 767
Testimony of.....	752
Walker, Hon. Joseph, Republican candidate for governor of Massachusetts,	
1912.....	766
Hall, Charles R., assistant treasurer, Democratic national committee, 1904, ref-	
erence to.....	8, 12, 42, 56
Halpin, William, New York:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Aronowitz, Samuel.....	840, 842, 843
Mills, Ogden L.....	600
Hammerling, Louis N., president American Association of Foreign News-	
papers, New York:	
Amount paid for advertising.....	540
Attention called to scope of resolution.....	539
Campaign advertising in foreign papers.....	539
Number of papers advertised in and nature of advertisement.....	540
Reference to, in testimony of Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	403, 404
Testimony of.....	539
Hammond, E. H., reference to letter from Mr. Cortelyou.....	522

Hammond, John Hays:	Page.
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Hale, Matthew.....	763
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	665
Hampton, Benjamin B., New York:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	618
Russell, Charles Edward.....	579, 580, 581
Welliver, Judson C.....	587
Hampton's Magazine:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	607
Russell, Charles Edward.....	579
Welliver, Judson C.....	585
Handel, George F., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	867
Hanna, Daniel B., Cleveland, Ohio:	
Brown, Walter F., Ohio, contributions sent to.....	729, 731, 733, 734
Campaign contributions.....	728, 729, 730, 731
Contribution to national committee, 1908.....	80
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M., United States Senator from Montana and chairman national Progressive Party, 1912, reference to.....	730, 733
Fackler, John D., reference to.....	732
Gallagher, Michael, reference to.....	734
Hooker, Elon H., reference to.....	731, 733
La Follette, Hon. Robert M., reference to campaign of.....	732
Munsey, Frank A., reference to.....	730
Ohio State campaign, reference to.....	729, 730
Perkins, George W., reference to.....	730
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Brown, Walter F.....	735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 743, 751, 752
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	384, 396, 399, 400, 406, 407, 410
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	831
Hooker, Elon H.....	286, 299
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	642, 647, 659, 660
Nichols, Hon. Hugh L.....	936
Warren, Charles B.....	781
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, reference to preconvention campaign of.....	729, 730, 732, 733
Schauefle, W. P., contributions sent to.....	729, 731, 734
Testimony of.....	728
Wright, N. C., contributions sent to.....	729, 731, 734
Hanna, Hon. M. A., deceased, former United States Senator from Ohio:	
Letters to.....	153, 154
Reference to, in testimony of Senator Penrose.....	169
Hannan, John J., secretary to Hon. R. M. La Follette, Milwaukee, Wis.:	
Campaign managers La Follette campaign, 1912—	
Barbour, J. A., Toledo, Ohio.....	572
Blake, A. B., South Dakota.....	573
Elder, Dr. Clark T., Columbus, Ohio.....	572
Fackler, John D., Cleveland, Ohio.....	573
Loftus, George S., Minnesota.....	573
McCusker, Thomas, Oregon.....	573
Pollock, Walter W., Cleveland, Ohio.....	572
Pope, J. E., New Jersey.....	572
Rogers, Walter S., Chicago.....	571
Spreckels, Rudolph.....	573
Tucker, H. N., North Dakota.....	573
Contributions, total.....	572
Crane, Charles R., contributions of.....	541, 570, 571, 572, 573
Hooker, Elon H., reference to.....	571, 573
La Follette campaign, list of contributors.....	570
La Follette, Hon. Robert M., contributions to.....	573
Receipts and disbursements.....	540, 541, 571
State funds.....	572
Testimony of.....	540

Harmon, Hon. Judson C., governor of Ohio and a Democratic candidate for nomination for President:

Reference to, in testimony of—

Dixon, Hon. Joseph M..... 381, 383, 391, 392, 394, 403, 404, 425, 426, 427

Nichols, Hon. Hugh L..... 930, 931, 935, 936

Harper, Robert N., Washington, D. C., contributor to Clark campaign fund, 1912..... 774

Harriman, Hon. E. H., deceased:

Campaign fund..... 18, 77, 78, 113, 114

Letter to Sidney Webster, reference to, in testimony of Gov. Odell. 111, 112, 115

Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt—

Extracts from correspondence with..... 182

Letters to and from..... 182, 183, 184

Webster, Sidney, reference to letter to..... 189

Reference to, in testimony of—

Archbold, John D..... 124, 125, 142, 147

Cannon, James G..... 377

Cortelyou, Hon. George B..... 16

Depew, Hon. Chauncey M..... 622, 623, 627, 628, 630

Dixon, Hon. Joseph M..... 384, 396, 399, 400, 406, 407, 410

Duell, Hon. Charles H..... 459, 464

Hooker, E. H..... 286, 299

In statement purporting to have been made by Mr. Bliss..... 189, 190

Loeb, Hon. William, jr..... 528, 529, 532, 533, 534, 535

Lovett, Hon. Robert S.—

Association with..... 692

Correspondence with President Roosevelt.... 704, 705, 707, 708, 710, 712

Disposition of correspondence..... 713, 714

Integrity of..... 720

Reference to..... 692, 694, 695,

696, 700, 701, 702, 703, 706, 709, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 718, 719, 720, 721

Statement to the press..... 698, 707

Visit to Washington..... 692, 712

Webster, Sidney—

Letter to..... 697, 710

Reference to letter..... 695, 698, 699, 700, 701, 709, 711, 712, 718

Reprints from newspaper articles referring to publication of

letter..... 697, 701, 710, 711

MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne..... 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 617, 618

Morgan, J. P., sr...... 438, 439, 441, 443, 444, 446, 447

Odell, Hon. B. B., jr...... 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117

Parker, Hon. A. B...... 900

Parker, George F...... 927, 928, 929

Peabody, C. A...... 249, 250, 251, 254

Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—

Letters and telegram from..... 494, 495, 496

Letters to..... 496, 497, 505

Reference to..... 472,

473, 475, 476, 477, 479, 494, 495, 496, 498, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 522

Reference to, in letter of Mr. Sheldon..... 490

Scott, Hon. Nathan B...... 686, 687, 688

Sheldon, Hon. George R...... 423

Stotesbury, E. T...... 836, 838

Tegethoff, C. C.—

Letters of..... 226, 227, 229, 230, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 245

Letters to..... 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 231, 232, 234, 236, 238, 239, 240

Receipt for \$50,000 from Mr. Bliss..... 224

Reference to..... 224, 241, 242, 243, 244, 246, 247, 248, 249

Welliver, Judson C...... 586, 587, 588

Harriman, Mrs. E. H., reference to..... 224, 241, 243, 246

Harriman fund:

Reference to, in testimony of—

Duell, Hon. Charles H..... 454, 457, 459, 465

Loeb, Hon. William, jr..... 530, 531, 532

Lovett, Hon. Robert S..... 692, 696

Morgan, J. P., sr..... 441

Peabody, C. A..... 251, 254

Roosevelt, Col. Theodore..... 472, 502, 511, 520

Harriman fund—Continued.

Reference to, in testimony of—

Scott, Hon. Nathan B. 685, 686, 687

Sheldon, George R.—

Reference to..... 77, 78, 417

Story of..... 418, 419, 422, 423

Harris, Winthrop & Co., contribution to Taft League, New York, 1912..... 592

Harrison, Hon. Francis Burton, Member of Congress from New York:

Contribution to Democratic congressional committee, 1908..... 110

Contribution to Harmon preconvention campaign, 1912..... 931, 936

Harrod, Judge ———, in charge of Wilson organization in Arkansas, 1912..... 887

Hart, Max, contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912..... 823

Harvester Trust. (See International Harvester Co.)**Havemeyer, Henry, deceased, contribution to Democratic national committee.**

1904..... 36, 40

Harvey, Col. George M., Harper's Weekly, New York, reference to..... 402

Havemeyers:

Reference to, in testimony of—

Cortelyou, Hon. George B. 27

Duell, Hon. Charles H. 462

Scott, Hon. Nathan B. 69

Sheldon, Hon. George R. 421

Warren, Charles B. 777, 778, 784

Hayes, President Rutherford B., appointment under..... 236

Hazzard, ———, Syracuse, N. Y., contribution of, 1904..... 462

Head, Hon. W. O., mayor of Louisville, Ky., contributor to Clark campaign

fund, 1912..... 774

Hearst-Harrison faction in Chicago, reference to..... 923

Hearst's Magazine:

Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt..... 181, 185, 187

Reference to, in testimony of—

Archbold, John D. (See testimony of.)

Libby, William H. 217

Roosevelt, Col. Theodore..... 473

Hearst, Hon. William Randolph, New York:

Contributor to Clark campaign fund..... 773, 774

Reference to, in testimony of John D. Archbold..... 816

Heffner, Charles G., in charge of Wilson organization work in Washington

(State), 1912..... 885

Hellen, Joseph, secretary to Mr. Harriman, reference to, in testimony of C. C.

Tegethoff..... 227, 228, 231, 241, 243

Henderson, Martin, in charge of Wilson organization work in Kansas, 1912..... 886

Herrick, Hon. Myron T., former governor of Ohio:

Chairman, contributions to Republican national committee, 1908..... 80

Reference to, in testimony of Walter F. Brown..... 735

Higgins, A. Foster, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.. 258, 294

Higgins, Hon. Frank W., former governor of New York:

Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt..... 181, 182, 189

Reference to, in testimony of—

Depew, Hon. Chauncey M. 625

Loeb, Hon. William, jr. 529

Lovett, Hon. Robert S. 701, 703, 704, 720

Morgan, J. P., sr. 452

Roosevelt, Col. Theodore..... 476, 502, 503, 504, 505

Scott, Hon. Nathan B. 685, 686

Sheldon, George R. 77

Hill, Arthur D., Justice of the Peace, Massachusetts 753

Hill, Hon. David B., deceased, former governor of New York, reference to

campaign of, by Col. Roosevelt..... 181

Hill, Hon. David Jayne, former ambassador to Germany, contribution to cam-

paigns of 1904 and 1912 286, 299, 462

Hill, Hon. James J., St. Paul, Minn.:

Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt..... 184

Reference to, in testimony of—

Lovett, Hon. R. S. 706

Nichols, Hon. Hugh L. 931, 936

Roosevelt, Col. Theodore..... 474, 482

	Page.
Hill, Joshua, contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	866, 867
Hilles, Hon. Charles D., chairman Republican national committee, 1912, New York:	
Bliss, Hon. C. N., jr., reference to testimony of.....	827
Bryan, Hon. William J., reference to letter from Thomas W. Lawson.....	831
Contributions for Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	822, 823
Contributors to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912—	
Becker, A. G.....	823
Byllesby, H. M.....	823
Crane, Hon. W. M.....	823
Glover, ———.....	823
Hart, Max.....	823
James, Fred S.....	823
J. H. S.....	823
Knox, Hon. P. C.....	823
Otis, Joseph E.....	823
Patten, James A.....	823
Pam, Max.....	823
Reynolds, Geo. M.....	823
Rosenwald, Julius.....	823
Siegel, Henry.....	823
Shedd, John G.....	823
Wickersham, Hon. George W.....	823
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M., chairman Progressive Party, 1912—	
Reference to testimony of.....	827, 830
Reference to.....	825
Edwards, W. S., West Virginia, reference to.....	825
Exhibit.....	825, 829
Flinn, Hon. William, Pennsylvania—	
Reference to testimony of.....	827, 830
Reference to.....	825
Hale, Matthew, reference to testimony of.....	831
Hanna, D. R., reference to testimony of.....	827, 830
Harvester Trust—	
Reference to.....	832
Statement regarding expenditure of.....	824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829
Hooker, E. H., reference to testimony of.....	827, 830
Lawson, Thomas W., reference to.....	831
Laylin, L. C., reference to testimony of.....	823
Lyon, Cecil, Texas, reference to.....	825
McHarg, Ormsby, reference to testimony of.....	827
McKinley, Hon. William B., reference to testimony of.....	822, 823, 824
Munsey, Frank A., reference to.....	825
New York Life Insurance Co., reference to contribution of.....	827
Oliver, William J., reference to.....	825
Perkins, George W.—	
Letter to.....	825
Reference to.....	824, 830, 832
Preconvention fight in various States, reference to Illinois, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, and Vermont.....	829, 830, 831
Priestly, ———, Oklahoma, reference to.....	825
Record of contributors.....	822
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	394, 412, 415
Laylin, Louis C.....	788, 790
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	485, 486
Roosevelt preconvention campaign, reference to... 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831	826
Smith, Hon. Herbert Knox, reference to.....	832, 833
Steel Trust, reference to.....	823
Taft, Charles P., reference to contribution of.....	823
Taft, Henry W., reference to contribution of.....	823
Taft, Hulburt, reference to contribution of.....	822
Testimony of.....	825
Woodruff, Hon. Timothy L., reference to.....	

	Page.
Hines, Walter D., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign.....	867, 909, 910
Hitchcock, Hon. Frank H., Postmaster General, chairman Republican national committee, 1908, Washington:	
Anderson, Mr. and Mrs. Larz, contribution of.....	48
Assistant secretary Republican national committee, 1904.....	45
Bank contributions.....	50
Borah, Hon. W. E., member national Republican committee, 1908, Idaho, United States Senator.....	46
Borden, M. C. D., contribution of.....	48
Brooker, Charles H., member Republican national committee, 1908, Connecticut.....	46
Campaign fund of 1908, total.....	46
Campaign fund of 1908, amount collected by States.....	46
Carnegie, Andrew, contribution of.....	48
Cochrane, William Smith, contribution of.....	48, 50
Contributions rejected.....	52, 53
Corbin, Gen. Henry C., contribution of.....	48
Cromwell, Hon. William Nelson, contribution of.....	48
Disbursements, 1908.....	46
Disposition of books, etc.....	47
Duncan, E. C., member Republican national committee, 1908, North Carolina.....	46
du Pont, Coleman, member Republican national committee, 1908, Delaware.....	46, 52, 53
Funk, Clarence S., reference to.....	50, 51
International Harvester Co., reference to.....	50, 51
Lowden, Hon. Frank, member Republican national committee, 1908, Illinois.....	46
Munsey, Frank, reference to.....	48, 50, 51
Nagel, Hon. Charles, member Republican national committee, 1908, Missouri.....	46
Penrose, Hon. Boies, United States Senator, member Republican national committee, 1908, Pennsylvania.....	46
Perkins, George W., reference to.....	50, 51
Receipts and disbursements, record of.....	47, 52
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	408
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	655
Taft, Charles P.....	722, 723, 727
Upham, Fred. W.....	853
Reid, Hon. Whitelaw, ambassador to England, contribution of.....	48
Rosewater, Hon. Victor, member Republican national committee, 1908, Nebraska.....	46
Testimony of.....	45
Sheldon, Hon. George R., treasurer Republican national committee, 1908, New York.....	46
Smith, Col., chairman Illinois State committee, 1908, Peoria.....	53
State collections, record of.....	49, 52
Steel Trust, reference to.....	50
Sugar Trust, reference to.....	50
System of organization.....	48, 49, 53
Taft, Charles P., contribution of.....	48
Tobacco Trust, reference to.....	49
Upham, Frederick W., assistant treasurer, western headquarters Republican national committee, 1908, Chicago.....	53
Ward, Hon. William L., member Republican national committee, 1908, York.....	46
Hodder, J. D., contribution to La Follette campaign, 1912.....	541, 570
Hoffman, Col. Roy, Oklahoma, contributor to Clark campaign fund, 1912.....	774
Holden, Hendrick, contribution of, 1904.....	462
Hooker, Mrs. Blanche Ferry, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.....	286, 299

	Page.
Hooker, Elon Huntington, treasurer Roosevelt campaign, New York:	
Beveridge, Hon. Albert J., former United States Senator, reference to.....	297
Contributors to preconvention campaign, 1912—	
Barbour, William T., New York.....	286, 298, 299
Baxter, George, New York.....	258, 294
Bird, Hon. Charles S., Progressive candidate for governor of Massachu- setts.....	286, 298
Brandegge, E. T., Boston.....	286, 299
Burnstein, Dr. J. H.....	258
Cochrane, Alexander S., Yonkers.....	258, 285, 293, 298
Colby, Everett, Orange, N. J.....	286
Coonley, Queene Ferry, Chicago.....	286, 298
Cutting, Mrs. Bayard.....	286, 299
Day, Judge W. H., New York.....	286, 299
Duell, Hon. Charles H., New York.....	258, 294
Fish, Hamilton, New York.....	286, 299
Frasch, Herman, New York.....	286, 299
Grier, J. B.....	286, 299
Hanna, D. R.....	286, 299
Higgins, A. Foster.....	258, 294
Hill, Hon. D. J.....	286, 299
Hooker, Mrs. Blanche Ferry.....	286, 299
Hooker, E. H.....	258, 299
Hunt, Leigh.....	286, 299
Keech, F. B.....	286, 299
Larkin, J. D., Buffalo.....	286, 299
Munsey, Frank A., New York.....	258, 285, 286, 294, 295, 298, 299
Perkins, George W.....	258, 285, 286, 294, 298, 299
Perkins, R. P.....	258, 285, 294
Post, Hon. Regis H.....	258
Quam Yick Nam.....	286, 300
Robinson, Douglas.....	286, 299
Roosevelt, W. Emlen.....	286, 292, 298, 299
Satterlee, H. L., New York.....	268
Shaw, Dr. Albert, New York.....	286, 299
Smith, Byron L.....	258, 294
Stickney, Charles S.....	286, 298
Stoddard, H. L.....	258, 285, 294, 298
Straus, Hon. Oscar L.....	258, 286, 294, 298
Vernon, H. T.....	258
Whitridge, Frederick.....	286
Crane, Charles R.—	
Contributions of, to La Follette and Wilson campaigns.....	302, 303
Conversation with.....	304
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M., United States Senator, reference to.....	285, 292, 298
Exhibits.....	258, 283, 284, 285
Explanation of Exhibit C.....	292, 293
La Follette campaign, reference to.....	297, 302, 303
Mills, Ogden L., treasurer Taft committee, reference to.....	296
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Crane, Charles R.....	575, 576
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	380
Duell, Hon. Charles H.....	467
Hale, Matthew.....	765, 766
Hanna, D. R.....	731, 733
Hannan, John J.....	571, 573
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	827, 830
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	654
Mills, Ogden L.....	598, 599
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	518, 526, 527
Testimony of.....	257
Hopkins, ———, reference to, in testimony of Mr. McKinley.....	663
Hornblower & Weeks, reference to.....	763
Hotchkiss, Hon. William H., chairman Progressive State committee, 1912, Buffalo, N. Y., reference to expenses of State organization.....	194

	Page.
House, E. H., in charge of Wilson organization work in Texas, 1912.....	887
Howe, Mr. ———, reference to.....	818
Hudson, J. L., contributor to Taft preconvention campaign.....	779
Hudspeth, Judge Robert S., in charge of organization work in New Jersey, 1912.....	872
Hughes, Hon. Charles E., Associate Justice, Supreme Court:	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt—	
Campaign of, for governor of New York.....	181
Law enacted under administration of.....	193
Reference to, in testimony of Col. Roosevelt.....	479
Hughes investigating committee, 1905, reference to.....	455
Hughitt, Marvin S., deceased:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	615
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	474, 494, 495
Tegethoff, C. C.....	229
Hundley, Hon. Oscar R., Alabama:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	390
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	639
Hunt, Leigh, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign.....	286, 299
Huntington, A. M., contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	80
Hyde, James Hazen, Paris:	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Theodore Roosevelt.....	181, 184, 185, 190
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	16, 28
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	698, 703, 706, 711
Tegethoff, C. C.....	246
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	477
Hutchinson, Judge ———, reference to.....	679

I.

Illinois:

Reference to, in testimony of—

Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	387, 401
Hilles, Hon. C. D.....	830
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	870, 872, 881, 883, 884, 886, 887
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	654
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	666, 668, 669, 674, 680
Sullivan, Hon. Roger C.....	919, 920, 921

Indiana:

Reference to, in testimony of—

Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	387, 408, 409
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	887
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	666, 674

Industrial Commission:

Advance copies of report of.....	170
Appointment of.....	149, 150, 152, 170

Insurance contributions:

Reference to, in testimony of—

Archbold, John D.....	125, 147
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	17, 28
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M.....	625, 627
Duell, Hon. Charles H.....	454, 456
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	611
Morgan, J. P., sr.....	444, 445
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	479, 512
Scott, Hon. N. B.....	689
Sheldon, Hon. George R.....	420

Insurance investigating committee, New York, 1905, reference to vol. 1, p. 839.....	479, 718
---	----------

International Harvester Co., Chicago:

References to, in testimony of—

Archbold, John D.....	122
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M.....	624
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 832
Hitchcock, Hon. Frank H.....	50, 51

International Harvester Co.—Continued.**References to, in testimony of—**

McCombs, Hon. William F.....	877
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	106, 667
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	617
Odell, Hon. B. B., jr.....	116
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	525, 526
Scott, Hon. N. B.....	70
Sheldon, Hon. George R.....	74

Interstate Commerce Commission:

Reference to, in correspondence between Col. Roosevelt and Mr. Harri- man in 1904.....	183
---	-----

Reference to, in testimony of—

Archbold, John D.....	145
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	704, 705, 709
Tegethoff, C. C.....	234, 235

Iowa:**Reference to, in testimony of—**

McCombs, Hon. William F.....	870, 885, 886
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	666, 670, 674

Irving National Bank, account of Republican national committee, 1904....	454, 460
--	----------

J.

James, A. C., reference to, in testimony of Mr. McKinley.....	665
---	-----

James, Fred S., contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	823
---	-----

Jamison, Samuel C.:

Contribution of.....	353, 776
----------------------	----------

Reference to.....	367
-------------------	-----

Jennings, Walter, director of Standard Oil Co., reference to, in testimony of John D. Archbold.....	126
--	-----

Jesse, George N., contributor to Clark campaign fund, 1912.....	774
---	-----

J. H. S., contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	823
---	-----

Johnson, Hon. E. S., member Democratic national committee, 1912, South**Dakota:****Reference to, in testimony of—**

Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	403
-----------------------	-----

McCombs, Hon. William F.....	884
------------------------------	-----

Johnson, Hon. Hiram, Governor of California and Progressive candidate for Vice President of the United States, 1912, reference to, in testimony of Col. Theodore Roosevelt.....	526
---	-----

Johnson, Lige, Georgia, reference to.....	389
---	-----

Jones, B. F., jr., president Taft Club of Pittsburgh, 1912.....	768, 769, 772
---	---------------

Jones, David B., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	878, 879
--	----------

Jones, Hon. James K., Arkansas, collection of funds for Democratic congres- sional committee, 1908.....	110
--	-----

Jones, Thomas D., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	875, 877, 879, 880
---	-----------------------

Jones, Hon. Wesley L., United States Senator from Washington, appearance..	3, 7, 8, 11, 15, 35, 45, 67, 97, 105, 109, 111, 119, 198
--	---

Joslyn, Theodore, Michigan, reference to.....	387
---	-----

Joy, Richard B., contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	779
--	-----

Judson, Frederick, reference to.....	936
--------------------------------------	-----

Julien, W. A., contributor to Harmon preconvention campaign, 1912.....	931
--	-----

Julliard & Co., A. D., contribution to Republican national committee. 1908...	79
---	----

K.

Kane, Daniel J., reference to, in testimony of Mr. McKinley.....	662
--	-----

Kansas:**Reference to, in testimony of—**

Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	830
-----------------------------	-----

McCombs, Hon. William F.....	870, 885, 886
------------------------------	---------------

McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	666, 674, 680
--------------------------	---------------

Karger, Gus. J., representative Cincinnati Times-Star.....	724
--	-----

	Page.
Kealing, Hon. J. W., Indiana, reference to, in testimony of Hon. W. B. McKinley.....	674
Keech, F. B., contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign.....	286, 299
Keefe, Hon. Daniel J., Commissioner General of Immigration:	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	184
Reference to, in testimony of Hon. R. S. Lovett.....	706
Keene, Charles A., New York, contribution to Democratic congressional committee, 1908.....	110
Kelliher, Daniel, Oregon, reference to.....	391
Kellogg, Hon. Frank B., St. Paul, Minn., reference to, as special counsel for Department of Justice.....	187
Kelsey, Mr., reference to.....	665
Kent, Hon. Edward, chief justice, Arizona, reference to.....	236, 238, 239
Kent, Hon. William, Member of Congress from California, contribution to La Follette campaign.....	541, 570
Kentucky:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	388
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	870, 877, 884
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	640, 651
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	666, 674
Kerens, Hon. Richard C., ambassador to Austria:	
Contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	80
Contribution to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	665
Reference to, in testimony of Mr. Sheldon.....	77
Kerr, James, Pennsylvania, collector of State fund.....	63
King, Mayor, reference to.....	620
King, Paul, secretary to Taft preconvention committee in Michigan, 1912, reference to.....	782
Kirby, John, jr., Dayton, Ohio, president National Association of Manufacturers.....	858
Kirtland, E. F.:	
Contribution of.....	353, 776
Reference to.....	368
Kirtchner, Otto, contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	779
Kiser, C. W., Pennsylvania, reference.....	770
Knight, George A., member Chicago executive committee, 1904, California, reference to, in testimony of Mr. Cortelyou.....	22
Knox, Hon. Philander C., Secretary of State:	
Contribution to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	823
Reference to—	
Appointment as Senator.....	316, 317
As member Roosevelt Cabinet.....	181, 183, 705
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Clark, J. V.....	351
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	823
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	705
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	665
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	612
Parker, Hon. A. B.....	891, 896
Penrose, Hon. Boies.....	166
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	482, 489, 511, 513
Tegethoff, C. C.....	228, 235
Knox, W. Frank:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	414
Brown, Walter F.....	740
Warren, Charles B.....	781, 783
Koenig, Samuel S., chairman Republican county committee, New York County, N. Y.:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Aronowitz, Samuel.....	840, 841, 842, 844, 845
Mills, Ogden L.....	598, 601
Kopp, Harry, assemblyman sixth district of New York, reference to.....	841
Kountze Bros., contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	79
Kuhn, Henry, national secretary Socialist Labor Party, 1904, 17 St. John's Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. (See Augustine.)	

L.	Page.
La Follette campaign:	
List of contributors.....	570
Receipts and disbursements.....	540, 541, 571
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Hanna, D. R.....	732
Hannan, John J. (See testimony of.)	
Hooker, E. H.....	297, 302, 303
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	641, 642, 646, 647, 648, 649
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	487
La Follette faction in Wisconsin, 1904, reference to, by Col. Roosevelt.....	179
La Follette, Robert M., United States Senator from Wisconsin and Progressive	
Republican candidate for nomination for President, 1912:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Crane, Charles R.....	574, 576, 577
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	381, 383
Lamont, Col. Daniel S., deceased, Secretary of War in Cleveland administration:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Parker, Hon. Alton B.....	902, 903, 906
Parker, George F.....	925, 926, 927, 928, 929
Lamonte, George M., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign.....	867
Landis, Judge ———, reference to decision of.....	518
Larkin, J. D., Buffalo, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign....	286, 299
Lauder, George, contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	80
Lawrence, Andrew, Hearst representative, Chicago, reference to.....	924
Lawson, Thomas W., Boston, Mass., reference to, in testimony of C. D. Hilles..	831
Laylin, Louis C., manager Taft preconvention campaign, 1912, Ohio, Columbus,	
Ohio:	
Contributions to the Taft preprimary campaign.....	787, 789
Hilles, Hon. C. D., reference to contribution of.....	788, 790
McKinley, Hon. W. B., chairman Republican national committee, 1912,	
reference to.....	789, 790
Manager Taft preprimary campaign in Ohio, 1912.....	787
Statement filed, reference to.....	788, 790
Taft, Charles P., reference to.....	788, 790
Taft, Hulburt, reference to contribution of.....	788, 790
Vorys, Hon. Arthur I., reference to.....	788, 789, 790
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Brown, Walter F.....	738, 739
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	823
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	674, 680
Testimony of.....	787
Lea, Hon. Luke, United States Senator from Tennessee, appearance.....	15
Lee, Gilbert W., contributor to Taft preconvention campaign.....	779
Lehman, Herbert H., contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908....	64
Leonard, ———, assistant to Mr. Diekama.....	782
Leslie, Max, reference to.....	317, 351
Lexow committee of senate (Pennsylvania).....	337, 340
Libby, E. D., delegate to Chicago convention from Ohio.....	739
Libby, William H., foreign representative of Standard Oil Co., New York:	
Archbold, John D., reference to.....	220, 221, 223
Austria-Hungary, investments of Standard Oil Co. in.....	218, 222
Barstow, F. Q., deceased, former director of Standard Oil Co., reference to..	220
Bliss, Cornelius N., sr., reference to.....	220
Campaign contributions, reference to.....	219
Chinese boycott, reference to.....	222
Congressional campaign committee, reference to.....	219
Curtis, Hon. Charles, United States Senator, bill introduced by.....	218, 220
Department of State, interview with officials of.....	221, 222
Flagler, Henry M., director Standard Oil Co., reference to.....	221
German Government, threat of.....	222
Hearst's Magazine, series of articles.....	217
Letters, or copies of letters, asked to produce.....	221
Members of Congress, correspondence with.....	221, 222
National committee, reference to.....	222
Petroleum industry.....	217, 221
Pratt, C. M., director, Standard Oil Co., 1904.....	221

	Page.
Libby, William H.—Continued.	
Rockefeller, William, director, Standard Oil Co., 1904.....	221
Rogers, H. H., deceased, reference to.....	219, 222
Taft, Hon. William H., reference to.....	221
Tariff legislation, reference to.....	217, 218, 220, 221, 222
Testimony of.....	217
Tilford, W. H., deceased, reference to.....	220
White, Charles T., secretary, Standard Oil Co.....	223
Lindsay, H. B., Tennessee, reference to, in testimony of Mr. McHarg.....	639
Lindsey, Hon. Ben, Colorado:	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	196
Reference to, in testimony of.....	526
Livingstone, Colin H., banker, Washington, D. C.:	
Campaign contributions, reference to.....	849, 850
Elkins, Hon. Stephen B., deceased, reference to.....	849
Testimony of.....	849
Lloyd, Hon. James T., Member of Congress, chairman and treasurer Democratic congressional committee, 1908, Missouri:	
Clark, Hon. Champ, contribution of.....	110
Conrad, W. G., Montana, contribution of.....	110
Contributions to Democratic congressional committee, 1904.....	110
Daniel, R. P., contribution of.....	110
Harrison, Hon. Francis Burton, contribution of.....	110
Jones, Hon. James K., Arkansas, collected for Democratic congressional committee, 1908.....	110
Keene, Charles A., New York, contribution of.....	110
Rainey, Hon. Henry T., chairman executive committee, 1908.....	109
Receipts and disbursements, Democratic congressional committee, 1908...	110
Records of Democratic congressional committee, 1908.....	109
Ridder, Hon. Herman, contribution of.....	110
Testimony of.....	109
Loeb, Hon. William, jr., collector of customs, New York:	
Archbold, reference to.....	530
Bliss, Cornelius N., sr., reference to.....	529, 530, 535, 536
Cortelyou, Hon. George B., reference to.....	529, 530, 531, 535
Frasch, Herman, reference to.....	531
Harriman, E. H., deceased—	
Interview with President Roosevelt.....	529
Reference to.....	532, 533, 534, 535
Telephone conversation with.....	528
Harriman fund, reference to.....	530, 531, 532
Higgins, Hon. Frank W., former governor of New York.....	529
Millar, Alex., secretary to Mr. Harriman, reference to.....	534
New York State ticket.....	528, 529
New York Sun, reference to.....	529
Odell, Hon. Benjamin B., jr., chairman Republican State committee, New York.....	529
Parker, Hon. Alton B., reference to charges of.....	530
Private secretary to President Roosevelt from January 1, 1899, to March 4, 1909.....	527
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	178, 182, 183, 185, 187
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—	
Letter from Alex. Millar, secretary to Mr. Harriman.....	498, 499
Reference to.....	472, 473, 476, 477, 478, 480, 483, 491, 492, 500, 508, 520, 521, 522, 523, 526
Russell, Charles Edward.....	582
Scott, Hon. Nathan B.....	688
Tegethoff, C. C.—	
Letters and telegrams signed by.....	228, 236, 237, 239, 240
Letters and telegrams to.....	227, 228, 233, 236, 237, 240
Reference to.....	248
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, reference to.....	527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536
Standard Oil Co., reference to contribution of.....	530, 531, 532, 535, 536
Testimony of.....	527
Loftus, George S., Minnesota manager for La Follette campaign, 1912.....	573
Lorimer, Hon. William, Chicago, reference to, by Col. Roosevelt.....	192

Page.

Loudenslager, Hon. Henry, deceased, former Member of Congress from New Jersey and secretary Republican congressional committee, 1908.....	105, 107
Louisiana:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	390, 409
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	639, 644, 657
Lovett, Hon. Robert S., Locust Valley, Long Island:	
Beef Trust investigation, reference to.....	705
Belmont, Hon. August, reference to.....	697, 711
Black, Hon. Frank S., former governor of New York.....	706, 710
Bliss, Hon. Cornelius, sr.—	
Reference to.....	693, 695, 696, 707
Reference to, in letter from Mr. Harriman.....	697, 698, 711
Bureau of Corporations, reference to.....	705
Burton, ex-Senator J. R., reference to.....	702
California, election of United States Senator.....	715
Canal, construction of, in New York State.....	695, 718
Central Pacific Railway Co., reference to.....	715, 716, 717
Chairman executive committee of Union Pacific Railway Co., Southern Pacific Co., and the various corporations constituting Union Pacific and Southern Pacific systems.....	692
Choate, Hon. Joseph H., former ambassador to Great Britain, reference to..	720
Colorado River in California, reference to closing break in.....	713, 714
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.—	
Reference to.....	703, 707, 709
Reference to, in letter from Mr. Harriman.....	697, 698, 710, 711
Debs strike in 1894, reference to.....	716
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M.—	
Reference to.....	702, 703, 705, 709, 710, 718
Reference to, in letter of Mr. Harriman.....	697, 698, 710, 711
Exhibit.....	711
Flint, Hon. Frank P., former United States Senator from California, reference to.....	715
Gompers, Samuel.....	706
Harriman, E. H.—	
Association with.....	692
Correspondence with Col. Roosevelt.....	704, 705, 707, 708, 710, 712
Disposition of correspondence of.....	713, 714
Integrity of.....	720
Reference to.....	692, 694, 695, 696, 700, 701, 702, 703, 706, 709, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 718, 719, 720, 721
Statement to the press.....	698, 707
Visit to Washington.....	692, 712
Webster, Sidney—	
Letter to.....	697, 710
Reference to letter.....	695, 698, 699, 700, 701, 709, 711, 712, 718
Reprints from newspaper articles referring to publication of letter.....	697, 701, 710, 711
Harriman fund, reference to.....	692, 698
Higgins, Hon. Frank W., reference to.....	701, 703, 704, 720
Hill, Hon. J. J., reference to.....	706
Hyde, John Hazen, reference to.....	698, 703, 706, 711
Insurance investigation, New York, 1905, reference to.....	718
Interstate Commerce Commission, reference to, in correspondence between President Roosevelt and Mr. Harriman.....	704, 705, 709
Keefe, Hon. Daniel J., Commissioner of Immigration, reference to.....	706
Knox, Hon. P. C., reference to, as member of Roosevelt Cabinet.....	705
Lovett, Hon. R. S., reference to, in newspaper article.....	709
Milburn, Hon. J. G., counsel for Harriman.....	700, 709
Millar, Alex., secretary to Mr. Harriman—	
Letter to Mr. Loeb.....	712
Reference to.....	698, 699, 713, 715
Moody, Hon. William H., reference to, as member of Roosevelt Cabinet...	705
Morgan, J. Pierpont, sr., reference to.....	696, 708
Morrissey, Patrick J.....	706
Morrison, Frank, reference to.....	706
Morton, Hon. Paul, reference to, as member of Roosevelt Cabinet.....	705, 711

	Page.
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.—Continued.	
Odell, Hon. Benjamin B., jr., reference to.....	701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 718, 720
Olney, Hon. Richard, former Attorney General, reference to.....	716
Oregon Railroad & Navigation Co.....	717
Oregon Short Line Railroad Co.....	717, 719
Palmer, ———, secretary to Mr. Harriman, reference to, in New York World article.....	699
Reference to, in testimony of C. C. Tegethoff.....	247
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—	
Correspondence with Mr. Harriman.....	704, 705, 707, 708, 712
Reference to.....	695, 712, 713, 714, 715
Reference to statement of.....	696, 701, 707
Reference to, in letter of Mr. Harriman.....	697, 698
Statement of.....	702
Root, Hon. Elihu, reference to, as member of Roosevelt Cabinet....	698, 705, 711
Ryan, Thomas F., reference to, in correspondence with Mr. Harriman.	698, 705, 711
Schiff, Jacob H., reference to.....	709
Sherman, Hon. James S., former Member of Congress from New York—	
Letters to.....	702, 703, 707
Reference to letters to.....	701, 702, 707, 711
Southern Pacific Co., reference to.....	717
Southern Pacific system, reference to.....	692, 715, 716, 717, 719
Southern Pacific lines, association with.....	715
Suits to annul 99-year leases, reference to.....	716, 717
Taft, Hon. William H., reference to, as member of Roosevelt Cabinet....	705
Tegethoff, C. C., reference to testimony of.....	713, 714
Testimony of.....	692
Tweed, ———, former counsel for Southern Pacific Co., reference to.....	716
Twombly, H. McK., reference to.....	696
United States v. Central Pacific Railroad Co. et al., reference to.....	715, 716
United States v. Southern Pacific Railroad Co. et al.—	
Decree.....	1203
Reference to.....	716
Title to case.....	1202
Union Pacific Railway system, reference to.....	692, 715, 716, 717, 719
Vanderbilt, William K., reference to.....	694
Webster, Sidney—	
Letter from Mr. Harriman.....	697, 710
Reference to.....	701, 707, 709
Reference to letter to.....	695, 698, 699, 700, 701, 709, 711, 712, 718
Reprints from newspaper articles referring to publication of letter to—	
New York Press.....	710
New York Times.....	701, 711
New York Tribune.....	701
New York World.....	697, 711
Low, Hon. Seth, New York, reference to.....	906
Lowden, Hon. Frank, member Republican national committee, 1908, Illinois, reference to, in testimony of Mr. Hitchcock.....	46
Lynch, Hon. Fred B., St. Paul, Minn., reference to.....	403
Lyon, Hon. Cecil, Texas:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	391
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	825

M.

McAdoo, Hon. William G., lawyer, vice chairman Democratic national committee, 1912, New York:	
Campaign contributions.....	909, 911
Campaign in—	
Arizona.....	911
New Jersey.....	911
New York.....	911
McCombs, Hon. William F., reference to.....	909, 910, 911
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	394, 402, 403, 406
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	866, 869, 872, 879, 907
Penfield, F. C.....	913
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	487

	Page.
McAdoo, Hon. William G.—Continued.	
Stockbridge, ———, secretary to Mr. McCombs, reference to.....	909, 911
Testimony of.....	908
Wilson preconvention campaign—	
Contributions—	
Brietenbach, W. T.....	909, 910
Clark, L. P.....	909, 910
Crosby, O. F.....	909, 910
Hines, W. D.....	909, 910
Osborne, Thomas M.....	909, 910
Peabody, Hon. George F.....	909, 910
Reference to.....	909
Riordan, D. M.....	909, 910
Schiff, Jacob S.....	909, 910
Straus, Nathan.....	909, 910
Williams, J. S.....	909, 910
Disbursements—	
Stern, T. S.....	909, 910
Osborn, W. H.....	909, 910
Wilson, Hon. Woodrow, reference to.....	909
McCall, John A., deceased:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	28
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	479, 511
McCombs, Hon. William F., manager for Wilson campaign, 1912, chairman	
Democratic national committee, 1912, New York:	
Brown, F. W., Chicago, reference to.....	881
Chicago, publicity in.....	870, 881, 885
Clark, Hon. Champ. campaign of.....	881
Contributors to Wilson preconvention campaign fund, 1912—	
Barrett, H. J.....	867, 868
Bush, Irving T.....	869
Coe, William P.....	868
Collins, John T.....	867
Crane, Charles R.....	867
Cunester, B. P. M.....	867
Dodge, Cleveland H.....	868, 874, 875, 876, 877, 879, 880
Elkus, Abram I.....	868, 875
Guffey, Joseph F.....	869
Handel, George F.....	867
Hill, Joshua.....	866, 867
Hines, Walter D.....	867
Jones, David B.....	878, 879
Jones, Thomas D.....	875, 877, 879, 880
Lamonte, George M.....	867
McAdoo, W. G.....	869
McCombs, W. F.....	867
McCormick, Cyrus.....	875, 877, 878, 879, 880
McMaster, B. P.....	867
McRae, Hugh.....	866, 867
Macquire, E. J.....	866, 867
Magill, R.....	867
Martin, John.....	867
Miller, Charles J.....	867
Morgenthau, Henry.....	868, 875, 876
Morton, A. F.....	868
Peabody, George Foster.....	867, 868
Penfield, Frederick C.....	866, 876
Pfeffer, Norman.....	868, 875
Pheland, James D.....	868
Platt, Daniel Fellows.....	868
Robert, F. B.....	867
Saulsbury, Willard.....	866, 867
Sheldon, Edward W.....	875, 879, 880
Smith, Charles M.....	867
Snow, C. A.....	867
Sprunt, James.....	867
Stewart, James.....	868

McCombs, Hon. William F.—Continued.

Contributions to Wilson preconvention campaign fund, 1912—Continued.	Page.
Straus, Nathan	868
Thomas, Harvey	868, 875
Untermeyer, Samuel	869, 877
Weiss, William	867
Wood, Lawrence C.	867
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M., reference to testimony of	876
International Harvester Co., reference to	877
McAdoo, Hon. William G., reference to	866, 872, 879, 907
Organization and leaders in—	
Arkansas—	
Organization in	887
Harrod, Judge	887
Colorado—	
Organization in	870, 886
Thomas, ex-Gov.	886
Connecticut, organization and work in	870, 881, 885, 886
Georgia—	
Organization and work in	870, 883
Gray, Col. J. R., Atlanta	883
Illinois—	
Organization and work in	870, 872, 881, 885
Davies, Joseph E.	872, 883, 884, 887, 907
Schumann, Irving	872
Stringer, Lawrence B.	872, 886
Indiana	887
Iowa—	
Organization and work in	870, 885, 886
Murphy, Louis	886
Sullivan, Gerry	886
Kansas—	
Organization and work in	870, 885, 886
Henderson, Martin, Marion, Kans.	886
Kentucky—	
Organization and work in	870, 877, 884
Breckenridge, H. S.	884
Maryland—	
Organization and work in	870, 880, 886
Marbury, William L.	886
Massachusetts—	
Organization and work in	870
Davies, Joseph E.	884
Michigan—	
Organization and work in	870, 883, 907
Blake, Aldrich	883, 907
Davies, Joseph E.	883, 907
McKnight, William F.	907
Tucker, Judge ———	883, 907
Minnesota—	
Organization and work in	870, 884
Purdy, Lawrence	884
Schultz, F. B.	884, 887
Nebraska—	
Organization and work in	870, 886
Brown, F. W.	886
New Jersey—	
Organization and work in	870, 871, 872, 884
Grosscup, Edward, State chairman	872
Hudspeth, Judge ———, national committeeman	872
Tumulty, Joseph T.	872
New York—	
Organization and work in	870, 884
McCombs, Hon. W. F.	884
North Carolina—	
Organization and work in	870, 883
Osborn, Col. W. H.	883

McCombs, Hon. William F.—Continued.**Organization and leaders in—****Page.****Ohio—**

Organization and work in..... 870, 886
 Durbin, W. W., Kenton, Ohio..... 886

Oklahoma—

Organization and work in..... 884
 Senator Thomas Gore..... 884

Pennsylvania—

Organization and work in..... 881, 885
 Palmer, Hon. A. Mitchell..... 887
 Ryan, Michael J..... 887

Rhode Island, organization and work in..... 870, 885, 887

South Dakota—

Organization and work in..... 870, 880, 884
 Johnson, E. S., national committeeman..... 884

Texas—

Organization and work in..... 887
 Burleson, Hon. Albert S..... 887
 House, E. H..... 887

Virginia—

Organization and work in..... 870, 886
 Byrd, Hon. R. E. (speaker of the house)..... 886

Washington—

Organization and work in..... 870, 885
 Heffner, Charles G..... 885

Wisconsin—

Organization and work in..... 870, 880, 884, 887
 Davies, Joseph E..... 884, 887
 Schultz, F. B..... 884, 887

Princeton University, effort to "democratize"..... 874, 877, 882

Reference to, in testimony of—

Crane, Charles R..... 574
 Dixon, Hon. Joseph M..... 394, 402, 403, 406
 McAdoo, Hon. William G..... 909, 910, 911
 Penfield, F. C..... 912, 913
 Quincy, Hon. Josiah..... 915
 Roosevelt, Col. Theodore..... 487

Ryan, Thomas F., reference to..... 907

Taft, Charles P., reference to..... 882

Testimony of..... 865

Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912—

Contributions, list of..... 866, 867
 Expenditures, list of..... 870
 General organization..... 879, 880, 883
 Receipts and disbursements..... 865, 866, 869, 870, 871
 Reference to..... 865, 871, 872, 877, 878
 Wilson, Hon. Woodrow, historical works of..... 882

McCook, Col. John J., contribution to Republican national committee, 1904... 69

McCormick, Cyrus, Chicago, contribution to Wilson campaign 1912..... 875,
 877, 878, 879, 880

McCormick, Medill, Chicago, Ill.:

Loan to Hon. R. M. La Follette..... 541, 571

Reference to, in testimony of Hon. Joseph M. Dixon..... 387

McCreary, Warren, reference to, in testimony of Senator Penrose..... 155

McCullough, ———, reference to..... 363

McCurdy, R. A., former president Mutual Life Insurance Co., reference to.... 255

McCusker, Thomas, Oregon, manager for La Follette campaign, 1912..... 573

McDonald, Gen. ———, Maryland, reference to..... 388

McElhinny, Maj. ———, reference to..... 804

McGraw, John T., contribution to Democratic national committee..... 64

McHarg, Hon. Ormsby, lawyer, 115 Broadway, New York:

Anderson, H. L., Florida, reference to..... 639

Andrews, W. T., South Carolina..... 639

Barbour, William T., contribution of..... 654

Brown, Walter F., Ohio, reference to..... 642, 647

Campaign of 1908, Republican..... 654, 661

McHarg, Hon. Ormsby—Continued.**Page.**

Chicago convention, reference to.....	649, 659
Comer, J. A., Arkansas, reference to.....	640
Delegates to Chicago convention—	
Expenses of.....	635
Legally chosen.....	634
Disbursements of.....	634, 635, 640, 647
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M., chairman Progressive Party, reference to.....	632,
	635, 636, 645, 655, 660
Exhibits R No. 4 and R No. 5, reference to.....	636
Greer, Clark, reference to.....	646
Gregory, Capt.....	633, 635, 644, 647
Hanna, D. R., reference to.....	642, 647, 659, 660
Hitchcock, Hon. F. H., chairman Republican national committee, 1908,	
reference to.....	655
Hooker, E. H., reference to.....	654
Hundley, Hon. Oscar J., Alabama, reference to.....	639
La Follette, Hon. R. M., reference to campaign of.....	641, 642, 646, 647, 648, 649
Lindsay, H. B., Tennessee, reference to.....	639
McKinley, Hon. William B., reference to.....	645
Mollison, W. E., Mississippi, reference to.....	639, 652
Munsey, Frank A., reference to.....	642, 648, 659, 660
Negro delegates, number of.....	652
Oliver, W. J., Tennessee.....	639
O'Rear, Judge Edward, Kentucky.....	640, 651
Perkins, George W.—	
Contribution of.....	633, 655, 660
Reference to.....	642, 648, 659
Pinchot, Hon. Gifford, reference to.....	633, 648
Progressive Party, preconvention campaign of, 1912—	
Activities in—	
Alabama.....	639, 643, 646
Arkansas.....	640, 643
Florida.....	640, 657, 659
Georgia.....	634, 639, 644, 645, 646, 649, 656
Illinois.....	654
Kentucky.....	640, 651
Louisiana.....	639, 644, 657
Mississippi.....	639, 644, 645, 652
New Jersey.....	654
New York.....	654
North Carolina.....	635, 638
Oklahoma.....	640
Pennsylvania.....	654
South Carolina.....	638, 639, 645, 656
Tennessee.....	639
Texas.....	649
Contributions to.....	633
Reference to.....	632, 646
Preliminary survey to determine political sentiment.....	632
Redmond, S. D., Mississippi, reference to.....	639
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	389, 408, 409
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	827
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	667
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	484, 525
Republican Party, reference to.....	657, 658, 659
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—	
Reference to campaign of.....	647, 648, 649, 653, 654, 655
Reference to correspondence.....	636, 642
Reference to.....	632, 637, 641, 642, 644, 646, 659
Underwriting of campaign.....	653, 655, 659
Rucker, Col. Henry A., Georgia.....	652
Southern States—	
Activities in.....	634, 649
Contests in.....	650, 651, 656, 658
Method of operation, "ins" and "outs".....	643, 644, 649
Situation in.....	634, 643, 644, 648, 649

McHarg, Hon. Ormsby—Continued.	Page.
Straus, Hon. Oscar, reference to.....	637
Taft campaign, reference to.....	644
Taft, William H., reference to.....	644, 646, 659
Testimony of.....	631
Thompson, J. O., Alabama, reference to.....	639
Tilson, W. J., Georgia, reference to.....	634, 639
Ward, Hon. William L., New York, reference to.....	641, 642, 648, 654
Washington, Booker T., reference to.....	652
Wight, Pearl, Louisiana, reference to.....	639
Williams, Frank B., Louisiana, reference to.....	639
McKay, John B., Detroit, reference to.....	778, 779, 782
McKinley, President William, reference to, in letter and testimony of Col. Theodore Roosevelt.....	188, 190, 191, 491, 506
McKinley, Hon. William B., Member of Congress, treasurer Republican congressional committee, 1908, Champaign, Ill.:	
Banks, Charles, return of sum of money.....	667, 668
Boston—	
Newspaper, reference to interview in.....	663
Reference to trip to.....	661, 662
Cannon, Hon. Joseph G., reference to.....	661, 662, 663, 676
Chairman Republican congressional committee, 1908	105, 663, 677
Contributions—	
Rule referring to source of.....	106
Rule regarding, and when adopted.....	106
Corporations, contributions from.....	107
Crane, Hon. W. M., reference to.....	662, 679
Dawes, Hon. Charles G., treasurer congressional committee, 1908.....	663, 678
Disbursements, general expenses.....	666, 672, 675, 681
Disbursements in various States—	
Illinois.....	666, 668
Indiana.....	666
Iowa.....	666
Kansas.....	666
Kentucky.....	666
Maine.....	666, 673, 680
Maryland.....	666, 673, 680
Massachusetts.....	666, 668, 669, 678
Michigan.....	666
New Jersey.....	669
Ohio.....	666, 668, 669
Pennsylvania.....	666
Reference to.....	665
Texas.....	666
Vermont.....	669
West Virginia.....	665, 670
Dixon, Hon. J. M., reference to publication of Banks letter.....	668, 673
Draper, Lieut. Gov. Eben S., of Massachusetts.....	662, 669
Esty, W. H., bookkeeper Taft preconvention campaign committee, 1912..	672
Eversman, John C., assistant secretary Republican national committee, 1912, and assistant treasurer congressional committee, reference to.	672, 678, 680
Funds, collection and disbursement of.....	105
Funds for congressional committee.....	663, 664, 677
Hopkins, ———, reference to.....	663
International Harvester Co.....	106, 667
Kane, Daniel J., reference to.....	662
Loudenslager, Hon. Henry C., deceased, secretary Republican congres- sional committee, 1908.....	105, 107
Manufacturers' Association, about contributions from.....	106
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby, reference to testimony of.....	667
New York, visit to.....	663
Personal contribution.....	106
Receipts—	
Total, Republican congressional committee, 1908.....	106, 107
Total, Republican congressional committee, 1910.....	107
Records of Republican congressional committee, 1908.....	105

McKinley, Hon. William B.—Continued.

	Page.
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Brown, Walter F.....	738
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	822, 823, 824
Laylin, Louis C.....	789, 790
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	645
Mills, Ogden L.....	594, 596
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	487
Scott, Hon. N. B.....	685
Smith, Frank L.....	856
Stotesbury, E. L.....	837
Taft, Chas. P.....	724, 725
Warren, Charles B.....	778
Weeks, Hon. John W.....	432
Republican platform, 1908, reference to.....	662
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, reference to preconvention campaign of.....	667
Standard Oil Co., reference to.....	106
Sugar Trust, reference to.....	106
Taft preconvention campaign, 1912—	
Accounts and method of keeping them.....	673
Banks of deposit for—	
Chicago, Central Trust Co.....	671
Washington—	
American Security & Trust Co.....	671
Continental Trust Co.....	671
National Metropolitan Bank.....	671, 672
Contributions to—	
“Taft family”.....	665
Hammond, John Hays.....	665
Carnegie, Hon. Andrew.....	665
Crane, Hon. W. M.....	665
James, A. C.....	665
Kelsey, ———.....	665
Knox, Hon. P. A.....	665
Patton, ———.....	665
Kerens, Hon. R. C.....	665
Scott, Hon. N. B.....	665
Stotesbury, E. T.....	665
Wickersham, Hon. G. W.....	665
Disbursements. (See disbursements in various States.)	
Expenses of delegates.....	668
Funds for and how handled.....	665
Manager for, 1912.....	664
Receipts—	
Statement filed.....	681
Total.....	675
Receipts and disbursements, persons who can give information regard- ing—	
Delaware.....	679
Illinois—	
Forgan, D. R.....	669, 680
Smith, Frank L.....	674, 680
Indiana—	
Kealing, Hon. J. W.....	674
New, Hon. H. S.....	674
Iowa, Adams, John T.....	670, 674
Kansas—	
Mulvane, Hon. David W.....	674, 680
Orr, Mr. ———.....	680
Kentucky.....	674
Maine, Boyd, Mr. ———.....	674
Michigan, Diekema, Hon. G. J.....	669
Missouri, Stifel, Otto F.....	680
New Hampshire.....	679
New Jersey, Senator Briggs.....	679
New York, Hutchinson, J. W., jr.....	679

McKinley, Hon. William B.—Continued.

Taft preconvention campaign, 1912—Continued.	Page.
Receipts and disbursements, etc.—Continued.	
Ohio—	
Daugherty, Harry.....	674
Laylin, L. C.....	674, 680
Rodway, ———.....	680
Texas, McGregor, H. F.....	669, 674
West Virginia, Woodyard, Harry C.....	671
Reference to.....	664, 667
Tariff, reference to.....	662, 663, 676
Tawney, Hon. James A., vice chairman of Republican congressional committee, 1908, and chairman of executive committee, 1908.....	106
Testimony of.....	105, 661
Tobacco Trust, reference to.....	106
Treasurer Republican congressional committee, 1906.....	105
United States Steel Corporation, reference to.....	106
(See Steel Trust.)	
Weeks, Hon. John W.....	661, 662, 663, 664, 676
McKnight, William F., Michigan:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph H.....	403
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	907
McMaster, B. P., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	867
McMillan, Phillip H., contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	779
McNary, Hon. William F., manager of Wilson preconvention campaign in Massachusetts, 1912.....	915, 917
McNeil, Archibald, contribution of.....	64
McPherson, Alexander, contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	779
McRae, Hugh, contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	866, 867
Mack, Hon. Norman E., member Democratic national committee, 1904–1908,	
Buffalo, N. Y.:	
Auditor's report, 1908.....	103
Clark, Hon. William A., reference to.....	100
Contributions rejected.....	100, 101
Contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908.....	64
Ewing contribution (Louisiana).....	99
Exhibit A, Norman E. Mack's testimony.....	99
Exhibit B, Norman E. Mack's testimony.....	102
Exhibit B, Herman Ridder's testimony.....	98, 99, 102
Finance committee, 1908, reference to.....	98
Guffey, Col., contribution of.....	101
Memphis Appeal, contribution of.....	99
Murphy, Mr. ———, contribution of.....	100
Officers Democratic national committee, 1908.....	103
Receipts and disbursements, 1908, reference to.....	98, 99, 102, 103
Reference to, in testimony of Col. Roosevelt.....	515
Standard Oil Co., reference to.....	101
Testimony of.....	97
Subscribers, number of.....	99
Mackay, Clarence, contribution to Taft League, New York, 1912.....	592
Mackrell, Arch, Pennsylvania, reference to.....	770
Macquire, E. J., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	866, 867
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne, former Attorney-General, Brookfield Farm, Bryn	
Mawr, Pa.:	
Affiliations, political.....	619, 620
Archbold, John D., reference to.....	614, 615
Bliss, Hon. Cornelius N., sr., reference to.....	611, 614
Bowen, Herbert, case of, reference to.....	619
Cassatt, A. J., reference to.....	610, 611
Contributions, political, opinion of.....	606, 619
Depew, Hon. C. M., reference to.....	619
Dodge, Cleveland H., reference to.....	616, 617
Flinn, Hon. William, reference to agreement with Mr. Quay.....	608
Frick, H. C., reference to.....	612, 614, 615
Garfield, President James A., reference to.....	620
Gould, George J., reference to.....	613, 615, 616

	Page.
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne—Continued.	
Greeley, Hon. Horace, reference to.....	619
Hampton, B. B., reference to.....	618
Hampton's Magazine.....	607
Harriman, E. H.—	
Reference to letter to President Roosevelt.....	617
Reference to.....	611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 618
Hughitt, Marvin S., reference to.....	615
Insurance contributions to campaigns, opinion of.....	611
International Harvester Co., reference to.....	617
King, Mayor, reference to.....	620
Knox, Hon. P. C., reference to.....	612
Miles, Gen. Nelson A., reference to reprimand of.....	619
Morton, Hon. Paul, reference to case of.....	618
Morgan, J. P., sr.—	
Contribution of.....	615
Conversation with.....	606, 612
Denial of conversation with.....	609, 612
Reference to.....	605, 609, 613, 614
New York Times, reference to article in.....	606
Peabody, C. A., reference to.....	611, 612
Philadelphia Ledger, reference to article in.....	606
Quay, Hon. M. S., reference to agreement with Mr. Flinn.....	608
Railroad interests, reference to.....	613, 617
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Russell, Charles Edward—	
Reference to.....	579, 580, 583
Reference to statement in New York Times.....	578
Reply to statement in New York Times.....	580, 581
Welliver, Judson C.....	585, 586, 587
Republican State committee of New York, fund for.....	612
Rogers, H. H., reference to.....	614
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, reference to political biography of.....	607, 609, 611
Sibley, Hon. Joseph C., reference to correspondence of.....	616
Standard Oil Co., reference to.....	614
Russell, Charles Edward—	
Reference to statement and letter of.....	605, 606, 607, 610, 618
Reference to testimony of.....	609
Storer, Hon. Bellamy, reference to controversy with.....	619
Testimony of.....	605
Twombly, H. McK.—	
Occurrence in office of, October, 1910.....	610, 611, 612
Reference to.....	613, 614, 615, 617, 618
Tyner, Judge, case of.....	618
Welliver, Judson C.—	
Interview with.....	608, 611, 618, 619
Reference to.....	607, 610
Reference to testimony of.....	609, 613
United States Steel Corporation, reference to. (See Steel Trust).....	617
Magee, Hon. C. L., Pennsylvania:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Flinn, Hon. William.....	335, 337, 339, 340
Archbold, John D.....	804
Magill, R., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	867
Mailly, William, national Socialist Party, 1904, New York:	
Letter to Senator M. E. Clapp.....	84
Statement of.....	84
Maine:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Hilles, C. D.....	830
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	666, 673, 674, 680
Manufacturers' associations, reference to, in testimony of—	
Sheldon, George R.....	74
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	106
Marbury, William L., in charge of Wilson organization work in Maryland, 1912..	886
March, James E., New York delegate to national convention, 1912, reference to, in testimony of Ogden L. Mills.....	599

LIST OF WITNESSES.

LI

	Page.
Marsh, Wilbur, Iowa, contributor to Clark campaign fund, 1912.....	774
Marshall, Louis, contribution to Taft League, New York, 1912.....	592
Martin, Hon. Alvah, member Republican national committee, 1912, Virginia..	388
Martin, John, contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	867
Martin, John J., private secretary to Secretary of State of New York, Albany, N. Y.:	
Records filed with secretary of state, Exhibits A and B, reference to.....	61
Ridder, Herman, reference to.....	61
Testimony of.....	61
Martin, Senator, reference to.....	351, 504
Maryland:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	388
Hilles, Hon. C. D.....	829, 830
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	870, 880, 886
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	666, 673, 680
Massachusetts:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	386, 401, 412, 413
Hale, Matthew.....	753, 757, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765
Hilles, Hon. C. D.....	829, 830, 831
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	870, 884
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	666, 668, 669, 678
Quincy, Hon. Josiah.....	915
Presidential primary in 1912.....	386, 413, 763, 764, 765
Mathews, J. A., Washington, reference to.....	387
Mellen, C. S., reference to.....	443, 445, 447
Members Union League, Philadelphia, Pa., contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	79, 80
Memphis Appeal, contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908.....	99
Meyer, Hon. George von L., Secretary of the Navy:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Duell, Charles H.....	461
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	524
Meyer, Cord, chairman New York State committee, 1904, reference to, in testimony of:	
Belmont, Hon. August.....	41
Taggart, Hon. Thomas.....	12
Michigan:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	387
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	870, 883, 907
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	666, 669
Michigan Sugar Co., reference to.....	777, 780
Milburn, Hon. John G., counsel for Mr. Harriman, New York; reference to, in testimony of Judge Lovett.....	700, 709
Miles, Gen. Nelson A., reference to.....	619
Millar, Alexander, secretary to E. H. Harriman:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Loeb, Hon. William, jr.....	534
Lovett, Hon. R. S.....	698, 699, 712, 713, 715
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, letter to Mr. Loeb.....	498, 499
Tegethoff, C. C.—	
Letters and telegrams signed by.....	233, 237, 240
Reference to.....	241, 243
Telegram to.....	237
Miller, Charles J., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	867
Mills, Andrew, collections in Union League Club, for campaign of 1904.....	462
Mills, Ogden L., treasurer Republican county committee, New York County, N. Y.:	
Aronowitz, Samuel, reference to.....	601
Bannard, Otto T., treasurer Republican county committee, 1908—	
Contribution to Taft League, 1912.....	592
Report of (Exhibit O. L. Mills, No. 4).....	597, 603
Burns Detective Agency, employment of.....	588, 598
Chicago convention, June, 1912, assessment on delegates to.....	595
Contributions, 1908, reference to list of.....	597

	Page.
Mills, Ogden L.—Continued.	
Duell, Hon. Charles H., reference to.....	600
Election contests.....	599
Enrolled Republicans in New York County.....	596
Exhibits.....	585, 591, 592, 593
Friedel, Louis, district leader.....	598, 599, 600
Fraud, submission of evidence asked.....	602
Funds on hand when preconvention campaign opened.....	590
Griscom, Hon. Lloyd C., reference to.....	598
Halpin, William, reference to.....	600
Hooker, Elon H., reference to testimony of.....	598, 599
Koenig, Samuel S., chairman Republican county committee, New York County.....	598, 601
March, James E., delegate to national convention.....	599
McKinley, Hon. Wm. B., chairman Republican national committee ...	594, 596
Murray, Judge, delegate to national convention.....	599
National Taft bureau, eastern branch—	
Circular sent out by.....	591
Collections of.....	594, 601
Fund raised by.....	591
Fund raised by Mr. Mills for.....	592
Hughes, Robert S., acting treasurer.....	591
Hutchinson, John W., jr., director.....	591
List of contributors to.....	592
New York board of elections, statement filed with.....	593
Organized about March 10, 1912.....	591
Receipts and disbursements of money from.....	588
Woodruff, Hon. Timothy L., organized by.....	591
Olcott, Hon. J. Van Vechten, delegate to national convention, twelfth congressional district.....	599
Parsons, Hon. Herbert C., reference to.....	598
Political committees, requirements of.....	594, 595
Poll book, presented for investigation.....	600
Polling places, number of, in New York County.....	597
Poll vote, fourth election district, corruption of.....	602
Prendergast, Hon. William A., comptroller of New York.....	600
Primary election of March 26, 1912.....	598
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Aronowitz, Samuel.....	840, 843
Hooker, Elon H.....	296
Roosevelt, delegates for.....	598, 599
Testimony of.....	588
Voters, number of, in New York County.....	596
Votes for Roosevelt in March primary.....	598
Whitman, District Attorney Charles S., reference to.....	602
Winthrop, Rogers S., collector of funds.....	593
Wolf, Alex., delegate from twelfth congressional district to national convention.....	599
Woodruff, Hon. Timothy L., reference to.....	593, 594, 601
Minnesota, reference to, in testimony of Hon. William F. McCombs	870, 884, 887
Mississippi, reference to, in testimony of Hon. Ormsby McHarg	639, 644, 645, 652
Missouri:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	387
Hilles, Hon. C. D.....	830
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	680
Mitchell, Miss E. M., treasurer Wilson campaign in Massachusetts, 1912..	915, 916, 917
Mitchell, John, former secretary American Federation of Labor, reference to, in testimony of Senator Penrose.....	170
Mollison, W. E., Mississippi, reference to, in testimony of Mr. McHarg.....	639, 652
Monnett, Hon. F. S., former attorney general, Ohio, reference to, in testimony of Mr. Archbold.....	794, 797, 820, 821
Moody, Hon. William H., former associate justice:	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	181, 183
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	705
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	235
Tegethoff, C. C.....	235

LII

72972-13-63

	Page.
Mossman, W. T., treasurer and manager Taft Club of Pittsburgh, Pa.:	
Anti-Magee-Flinn organization—	
Buckley, E. M., member of.....	770
Kiser, C. W., treasurer of. ✓.....	770
Mackrell, Arch, member of.	770
Limit of.....	770
O'Neill, Denny, member of.....	770
Reference to.....	769, 770, 771, 772
Report of.....	770
Flinn, Hon. William, reference to.....	772
Exhibit.....	768
Expenditures of Taft managers.....	772
Taft campaign, reference to.....	770, 771
Taft Club of Pittsburgh, 1912—	
Jones, B. F., jr., president—	
Contribution of.....	768, 772
Reference to.....	769
Mossman, W. T., secretary-treasurer.....	769
Receipts and disbursements.....	769
Reference to.....	768, 771
Testimony of.....	767
Mulvane, Hon. David W., member Chicago executive committee, Republican national committee, 1904, Kansas:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	22
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	674, 680
Munsey, Hon. Frank A., Washington:	
Contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	79
Magazines and papers of, reference to.....	587
Reference to, in letter of Col. Theodore Roosevelt.....	196
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	384, 399, 406, 407
Hale, Matthew.....	761
Hanna, D. R.....	730
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	825
Hitchcock, Hon. Frank H.....	48, 50, 51
Hooker, E. H.....	258, 285, 286, 294, 295, 298, 299
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	642, 648, 659, 660
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	526, 527
Murphy, Mr. ———, reference to, in letters of Mr. Harriman.....	246
Murphy, Mr. ———, contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908.....	100
Murphy, Hon. Franklin, New Jersey, member Chicago executive committee, Republican national committee, 1904, reference to, by Mr. Cortelyou.....	22
Murphy, Louis, in charge of Wilson organization work in Iowa, 1912.....	886
Murray, Judge, New York, delegate to national convention.....	599
Mutual Life Insurance Co., reference to contributions of, in testimony of C. A. Peabody.....	253, 254, 255

N.

Nagel, Hon. Charles, Missouri, member Republican national committee, 1908, reference to, in testimony of Mr. Hitchcock.....	46
National Association of Manufacturers, reference to, in testimony of Mr. Schwedtman.....	860
National Democratic Club, contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908.....	64
National Paper Co., reference to, testimony of Mr. Cortelyou.....	27
Nebraska:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, J. M.....	395, 407
McCombs, William F.....	870, 886
Nelson, "Battling," reference to.....	475
Nevada, reference to, in testimony of Mr. Hilles.....	830

	Page.
New, Harry S., Indiana, member Chicago executive committee, Republican national committee, 1904:	
Reference to, by Mr. Cortelyou.....	22
Letter from C. N. Bliss, sr. (Ex. C. N. B., jr., No. 2).....	203
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Bliss, Cornelius N., jr.....	208
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	22
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	674
New Hampshire, reference to.....	679
New Jersey:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	388, 407, 409
Hilles, Hon. C. D.....	829
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	654
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	669, 679
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	870, 871, 872, 884
McAdoo, Hon. William G.....	911
New York:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	414
Hilles, Hon. C. D.....	829, 830
McAdoo, Hon. William G.....	911
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	870, 884
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	654
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	679
New York Central Railroad Co., reference to.....	621
New York Herald, statement of Mr. Bliss, December 24, 1911.....	189, 477, 492, 508
New York Life Insurance Co., New York:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Cortelyou, Hon. G. B.....	17
Hilles, Hon. C. D.....	827
Morgan, J. P., sr.....	445
New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R. Co., reference to.....	443
New York Republican State committee, reference to, in testimony of Col. Theodore Roosevelt.....	502, 503, 504
New York Republican State ticket:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Loeb, Hon. William, jr.....	528, 529
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	497, 498, 499, 500, 502, 503, 505, 506
New York Sun:	
Quotation from interview in.....	392
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Loeb, Hon. William, jr.....	529
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	502
New York Times:	
Quotation from.....	437
Reference to, in testimony of—	
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	606
Russell, Charles Edward—	
Basis for statement.....	579
Comment on.....	578
Copy of.....	578
New York World:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Parker, George F.....	926, 927
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	527
Nicholas, Charles A., manager for Roosevelt campaign in Michigan, 1912.....	783
Nichols, Hugh L., lieutenant governor of Ohio and campaign manager for Gov. Harmon for Democratic nomination for President, Batavia, Ohio:	
Campaign contributions, reference to.....	930
Denver, M. R., reference to.....	930
Devanney, John W., treasurer Harmon campaign in Ohio, statement of... Exhibits.....	932, 932
Hanna, D. R., reference to contribution to Roosevelt campaign.....	936
Harmon campaign in Nebraska, C. M. Gruenther, Columbus, Nebr., manager of.....	935

	Page.
Nichols, Hugh L.—Continued.	
Judson, Frederick, reference to.....	936
Morgan, J. P. & Co., reference to.....	936
Pomerene, Hon. Atlee, reference to.....	932, 937
Preconvention campaign of Gov. Harmon—	
Contributors—	
Allen, Alfred.....	931
Ansberry, Hon. T. T.....	931
Cox, Hon. James M.....	931
Denver, M. R.....	930, 931
Dudley, William, Kentucky.....	931, 936
Fanning, Joseph T., New York.....	931, 936
Harrison, Hon. Francis Burton, New York.....	931, 936
Hill, Hon. James J., Minnesota.....	931, 936
Julien, W. A.....	931
Pomerene, Hon. Atlee.....	931
Post, J. D.....	931
Ryan, Thomas F., New York.....	931, 936
Thompson, Col. R. M.....	931, 935
Wheeler, E. C., Missouri.....	931, 936
Whiteacre, John J.....	931
Receipts and disbursements.....	931, 932
Standard Oil Co., reference to.....	936
Testimony of.....	930
Texas, reference to Harmon campaign in.....	935
Nicoll, De Lancey, attorney, New York:	
Contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908.....	64
Reference to, by Mr. Belmont.....	38
North Carolina:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	388, 409
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	870, 883
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	635, 636
Northern Securities suit referred to in letters and testimony of Col. Roosevelt.	181, 482, 516
Norton, Hon. Charles D., contribution to Taft League, 1912	592

O.

O'Brien, Morgan J., contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908.....	64
O'Brien, W. H., treasurer Democratic national committee, 1908, reference to, by Mr. Belmont.....	36
O'Day, Daniel, reference to.....	347
Odell, Hon. B. B., jr., Newburgh, N. Y.:	
Black, Hon. Frank S., reference to.....	112
Bliss, Hon. Cornelius N., reference to.....	112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117
Chairman Republican State committee, 1904.....	111
Contributions, where might be obtained.....	115
Cortelyou, Hon. George B., reference to.....	112, 113, 115, 116, 117
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M., reference to.....	112
Fox, Col., secretary and acting treasurer Republican State committee of New York, 1904.....	115, 116
Governor of State of New York, 1901-1905.....	111
Harriman, E. H.—	
Reference to.....	112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117
Letter to Sidney Webster, reference to.....	111, 112, 115
Fund.....	113, 114
Harvester Trust, reference to.....	116
Polls in New York, manning of.....	113
Receipts Republican State committee of New York, 1904.....	111
Record of receipts and disbursements, 1904.....	111
Reference to.....	77
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	181, 182, 184, 185, 189
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M.....	621
Duell, Hon. Chas. H.....	459, 460, 465
Loeb, Hon. Wm., jr.....	529
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	701, 702, 703

	Page.
Odell, Hon. B. B., jr.—Continued.	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Morgan, J. P., sr.....	439, 440, 441, 450, 452
Parker, Hon. A. B.....	905
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	473, 476, 494, 502, 503, 504
Scott, Hon. N. B.....	686
Republican national campaign, 1908, not connected with.....	116
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—	
Letter to E. H. Harriman.....	112, 117
Reference to.....	114
Sheldon, George R.—	
Reference to.....	113, 114, 115
Quotation from statement of.....	113
Steel Trust, reference to.....	116
Sugar Trust, reference to.....	116
Testimony of.....	111
Ticket, National and State, no fear for, in 1904.....	114
Webster, Sidney, reference to letter to.....	111, 112, 115
Ohio:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Brown, Walter F.....	737,
738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751	
Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	386, 396, 400, 401, 407, 412
Hanna, Hon. D. R.....	729, 730
Hilles, Hon. C. D.....	829, 830
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	870, 886
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	666, 668, 669, 674, 680
Oklahoma:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Hilles, Hon. C. D.....	830
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	884
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	640
Olcott, Hon. J. Van Vechten, New York, delegate to national convention, 1912 .	599
Oliver, Hon. George T., United States Senator from Pennsylvania:	
Appearance.....	8, 11,
15, 45, 55, 61, 73, 105, 111, 119, 198, 257, 375, 469, 539, 605, 683, 787, 865	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Clark, J. Verner.....	350, 351
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	394, 404
Flinn, Hon. William.....	314
Oliver, W. J., Tennessee:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	825
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	639
O'Neill, Denny, Pennsylvania, reference.....	770
Olney, Hon. Richard, former Attorney General:	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	181
Reference to, in testimony of Mr. Lovett.....	716
O'Rear, Hon. Edward C., Kentucky:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	388
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	640, 651
Oregon, reference to, in testimony of Hon. Joseph M. Dixon.....	391
Oregon Railroad & Navigation Co.....	717
Oregon Short Line Railroad Co.....	717, 719
Orr, ———, Topeka, Kans., reference to.....	403, 680
Osborn, Col. W. H., in charge of Wilson organization work in North Carolina, 1912.....	883, 909, 910
Osborn, William Church, reference to.....	906
Osborne, Thomas M., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912..	909, 910
Otis, Joseph E., contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	823
Overstreet, Hon. Jesse, deceased, acting treasurer Republican congressional committee, 1904.....	4
Owasso Sugar Co., reference to.....	777
Owen, Dr. Thomas, Alabama, manager for Oscar W. Underwood campaign, 1912:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Bankhead, Hon. J. H.....	936
Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	403, 424
Oxnard, ———, reference to.....	784

P.

	Page.
Paine, A. G., representing members of Union League Club, contributions to Republican national committee, 1908.....	80
Paine, Robert Treat, reference to.....	917
Palmer, ———, secretary to Mr. Harriman, reference to in New York World article.....	699
Palmer, Hon. A. Mitchell, in charge of Wilson organization work in Pennsylvania, 1912.....	887
Pam, Max, contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	823
Pardee, Hon. George C., former governor of California:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	494
Tegethoff, C. C.....	229
Parker, Hon. Alton B., Democratic candidate for nomination for President, 1904, New York:	
Belmont, Hon. August, reference to.....	902, 903
Campaign contributions, 1904.....	888, 889, 905
Corrupt practices act in New York, reference to.....	905, 906
Department of Commerce and Labor, reference to.....	892
Knox, Hon. P. C., reference to.....	891, 896
Lamont, Col. Daniel S., deceased, Secretary of War in Cleveland administration, reference to.....	902, 903, 906
Low, Hon. Seth, reference to.....	906
Odell, Hon. B. B., jr., reference to testimony of.....	905
Osborn, William Church, reference to.....	906
Parker, George F., reference to.....	899, 901, 902, 903, 906
Pulitzer, Hon. Joseph, reference to.....	899
Peabody, Hon. George Foster, treasurer Democratic national committee, 1904.....	888
Reference to, in letter of Col. Theodore Roosevelt.....	179, 180, 181
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	138
Belmont, Hon. August.....	37
Loeb, Hon. William, jr.....	530
Morgan, J. P., sr.....	446
Parker, George F.....	926, 928
Penrose, Hon. Boies.....	167
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	478, 488, 489, 509, 510, 511
Stotesbury, E. T.....	838
Reference to meeting of Robert Bacon, Charles F. Brooker, Henry C. Frick, E. H. Harriman, George W. Perkins, Daniel G. Reid, and James Stillman.	900
Republican national campaign, 1904, underwriting of.....	899
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—	
Reference to.....	889, 896, 899, 900, 901
Reply to Parker charges.....	904
Root, Hon. Elihu, reference to.....	897, 905
Speeches of October and November, 1904—	
Copies of.....	889, 894
Extracts from.....	891, 892, 893, 904
Reference to.....	888, 893, 899, 904
Standard Oil Co., reference to.....	899, 900
Taggart, Thomas, chairman Democratic national committee, 1904.....	888
Testimony of.....	888
Parker, George F., newspaper man, New York:	
Auxiliary committee of Republican national committee, 1904, reference to.	928
Brooker, Hon. Charles F., national committeeman from Connecticut, 1904..	926, 928, 930
Campaign contributions, reference to.....	927
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.—	
Reference to.....	926, 927, 928, 929
Reference to letter to Mr. Harriman.....	928, 929
Harriman, E. H., deceased, reference to.....	927, 928, 929
In charge of literary department Democratic national committee, 1888, 1892.	926
Lamont, Hon. Daniel S., Secretary of War under President Cleveland....	925, 926, 927, 928, 929

Parker, George F.—Continued.

New York World—	Page.
Merrill, editor.....	926, 927
Quotations from.....	927
Reference to.....	926
Parker, Hon. Alton B., reference to.....	926, 928, 929
Pulitzer, Hon. Joseph, reference to.....	927
Reference to, in testimony of Hon. A. B. Parker.....	899, 901, 902, 903, 906
Reference to meeting of James Stillman, Edward H. Harriman, Daniel G. Reid, Charles F. Brooker, George W. Perkins, Robert Bacon, and Henry C. Frick.....	928
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, reference to letter regarding.....	927
Tegethoff, C. C., reference to testimony of.....	928
Testimony of.....	925
Parsons, Hon. Henry C., New York, reference to.....	598
Patten, James A., contribution to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	823
Patton, ———, reference to, in testimony of Mr. McKinley.....	665
Patton, W. A., Philadelphia, reference to, in testimony of Mr. Archbold.....	800
Payne, ———, of National Transit Co., reference to.....	805
Payne-Aldrich tariff bill:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	811
Weeks, Hon. John W.....	432
Paynter, Hon. Thomas H., United States Senator from Kentucky:	
Appearance 3, 7, 11, 35, 45, 55, 61, 67, 73, 198, 257, 375, 437, 469, 539, 605, 683, 787, 865	
Peabody, Charles A., president Mutual Life Insurance Co., New York:	
Bliss, Hon. Cornelius N., sr., reference to.....	255
Campaign funds.....	251, 252
Congressional campaign committee, reference to.....	253
Cortelyou, Hon. George B., reference to.....	255
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M., former United States Senator from New York, reference to.....	252, 254
Harriman, E. H.—	
Disposition of papers of.....	250
Reference to.....	249
Visit to Washington.....	251, 254
Harriman, Mrs. E. H.—	
Adviser for.....	249
Conversation regarding political papers of Mr. Harriman.....	250, 252
Harriman fund.....	251, 254
McCurdy R. A., former president Mutual Life Insurance Co., reference to.....	255
Mutual Life Insurance Co., contributions of.....	253, 254, 255
Reference to, in testimony of Hon. Wayne MacVeagh.....	611, 612
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, reference to.....	252
Tegethoff, C. C., reference to.....	249, 250
Testimony of.....	249
Twombly, H. McK., deceased, reference to.....	251, 254
Peabody, Hon. George Foster, treasurer Democratic national committee, 1904, Lake George, N. Y.:	
Belmont, August, member of executive committee, 1904, reference to....	10
Books turned over to Mr. Taggart.....	9
Hall, Charles R., assistant treasurer, 1904.....	8
Largest contribution.....	10
Method of raising funds.....	10
Personal contribution.....	10
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Belmont, Hon. August.....	36
McAdoo, Hon. William G.....	909, 910
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	867, 868
Parker, Hon. A. B.....	888
Sheehan, Hon. William F.....	56
Taggart, Hon. Thomas.....	12, 13, 14
Sheehan, Hon. W. F., chairman executive committee, 1904, reference to.....	9, 10
Taggart, Hon. Thomas, chairman Democratic national committee, 1904, reference to.....	8, 10
Testimony of.....	8
Pearson, Hon., Richmond, N. C., reference to.....	388
Pence, Lafe, contributor to Clark campaign fund.....	774

Penfield, Frederick C., writer, Philadelphia, Pa.:		Page.
Campaign contributions	866, 876, 912	912
McAdoo, Hon. William G., reference to		913
McCombs, Hon. William F., reference to	912, 913	
Reference to, in testimony of—		
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.	402, 406	
Quincy, Josiah		918
Testimony of		912
Wilson, Hon. Woodrow, reference to	912, 913, 914	
Pennsylvania:		
Reference to, in testimony of—		
Dixon, Hon. J. M.	386, 395, 401	
Hilles, Hon. C. D.		830
McCombs, Hon. William F.	881, 885, 887	
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby		654
McKinley, Hon. W. B.		666
Penrose, Hon. Boies, United States Senator from Pennsylvania:		
Archbold, John D.—		
Reference to	159, 160, 162, 163, 165, 167, 169, 171	
Reference to return of, with associates in Standard Oil Co.		159
Statement regarding second contribution to Republican national committee, 1904		104
Bespeaks reappearance of Mr. Archbold, with associates in Standard oil Co.		148
Bliss, Hon. Cornelius N., deceased, reference to	159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169	
Campaign, Republican national, 1904, reference to		159
Campaign, State, contributions from national committee, 1904	162, 171	
Contributions—		
Assurance of Mr. Bliss regarding	163, 167	
Contribution to campaign of 1908		171
Declination to make further		164
How \$25,000 was paid		160
No second contribution to Pennsylvania		171
No secrecy desired		162
Return of contributions		166
Second requisition for	159, 163, 169	
Cortelyou, Hon. George B., reference to	162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169	
Foraker, Hon. J. B., former United States Senator from Ohio, reference to		169
Hanna, Hon. M. A., deceased, former United States Senator, from Ohio, reference to		169
Industrial Commission—		
Advance copies of report of		170
Appointment of chairman		170
Knox, Hon. Philander C., Secretary of State, former United States Senator from Pennsylvania, reference to		166
Mitchell, John, former vice president American Federation of Labor, reference to		170
Opinion of published letter		160
Parker, Hon. A. B., reference to charges of		167
Personal explanation made in United States Senate August 21, 1912		172
Platt, Hon. Thomas C., deceased, former United States Senator from New York, reference to		169
Quay, Hon. M. S., deceased, former United States Senator from Pennsylvania—		
Reference to		161
Successor to	166, 169	
Reference to, in testimony of—		
Archbold, John D.—		
Contribution—		
Conversation regarding		134
When and how made	119, 120, 121, 134, 135, 139, 140, 157	
Letters to	136, 150, 151, 152, 154, 156	
Reference to	121, 124, 139	
Telegram to		137
Clark, J. V.		350
Dixon, Hon. J. M.		395, 397
Flinn, Hon. William	313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 338, 344	
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore	473, 479, 480, 486, 488	
Splane, Joshua G.		347, 348

	Page.
Penrose, Hon. Boies—Continued.	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	177, 179, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193
Republican national committee, 1904—	
Reference to.....	168
Reports of.....	169
Rogers, H. H., deceased, former director of Standard Oil Co.....	161, 162, 163
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—	
Attitude toward "big business".....	162, 163, 164
Campaign contributions, discussion with.....	165
Knowledge of Standard Oil contribution.....	166
No objection intimated to Standard Oil contribution.....	166
Pennsylvania indorsement of.....	169
Policy of administration of, on tariff.....	162
Reference to.....	159, 169
Reference to letter from.....	166
Smiley, Hon. E. W., deceased, reference to.....	170
Standard Oil Co., reference to.....	161, 163, 165, 166, 167
Supporter of administration.....	169
Testimony of.....	159
Pennypacker, Hon. Samuel W., former governor of Pennsylvania, reference to..	347
Pepper, Hon. I. S., Member of Congress from Iowa, contributor to Clark cam- paign fund, 1912.....	773
Perkins, George W., New York:	
Reference to in letter of Col. Theodore Roosevelt.....	186, 193, 196
Reference to in testimony of—	
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	27
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M.....	625
Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	384, 399, 401, 406, 407, 410
Hanna, D. R.....	570
Hilles, Hon. C. D.....	824, 825, 830, 832
Hitchcock, Hon. F. H.....	50, 51
Hooker, Elon H.....	258, 285, 286, 294, 295, 298, 299
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	633, 642, 648, 655, 659, 660
Morgan, J. P., sr.....	422, 443, 445, 450
Parker, Hon. A. B.....	900
Parker, George F.....	928
Scott, Senator N. B.....	68, 70, 71
Perkins, R. P., contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912..	258, 285, 294
Petroleum industry, reference to.....	217, 221
Pettigrew, R. F., contributor to Clark campaign fund, 1912.....	774
Pfeffer, Norman, contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	868, 874
Pheland, James D., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	868
Philadelphia Ledger, reference to article in.....	606
Pickford, Thomas H., Washington, D. C., contributor to Clark campaign fund, 1912.....	774
Pinchot, Amos, New York, contribution of, to La Follette campaign, 1912..	540, 570
Pinchot, Hon. Gifford, Washington:	
Contribution to La Follette campaign, 1912.....	540, 570
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	384, 406
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	633, 648
Plant, Alfred H., comptroller of the Southern Railway Co., Washington, D. C.:	
Contributions to preconvention campaign, 1912.....	791
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M., chairman national Progressive Party, 1912, refer- ence to testimony of.....	792
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Bankhead, Hon. J. H.....	940
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	394, 403, 424, 425
Southern Railway Co., reference to.....	792
Testimony of.....	791
Underwood, Hon. Oscar W., candidate for Democratic nomination for President, 1912.....	791, 792
Plant, Morton F., contribution to Democratic national committee, 1904.....	37
Platt, Daniel Fellows, contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912...	868
Platt, Hon. Thomas C., deceased, former United States Senator from New York:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M.....	623, 625
Penrose, Hon. Boies.....	169

	Page.
Polling places:	
New York, number and manning of.....	79, 113
New York County, number of.....	597
Pollock, Walter W., Cleveland, Ohio, manager for La Follette campaign, 1912.	572
Pomerene, Hon. Atlee, United States Senator from Ohio:	
Appearance.....	119, 198, 257, 375, 437, 469, 539, 605, 683, 787, 865
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	404
Nichols, Hon. Hugh L.....	931, 932, 937
Pope, J. E., New Jersey, manager for La Follette campaign, 1912.....	572
Post, J. D., contributor to Harmon preconvention campaign, 1912.....	931
Post, Hon. Regis H., contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912..	258
Powell, Hon. A. W., Pittsburgh, Pa.:	
Exhibits.....	368, 374
Chairman executive committee Roosevelt Republican League of Western Pennsylvania.....	364
Coleman, William H., clerk of the court.....	367, 368
Committees, legislative.....	366, 367
Flinn, George H., reference to.....	367
Flinn, Hon. William, reference to.....	369
Jamison, Samuel C., reference to.....	367
Kirtland, E. F., reference to.....	368
Number of voters in Pennsylvania and expenditure per vote.....	366
Quay, R. R., reference to.....	367
Receipts and disbursements of the campaign.....	364
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Flinn, Hon. William.....	323
Weller, Hon. John S.....	353, 354, 776
Schneider, Louis P.....	366, 368
Subtreasurers, statement regarding.....	366
Testimony of.....	364
Voucher record book of.....	364
Watchers—	
Certificate of.....	368
Law provides for.....	370
Pratt, C. M., director Standard Oil Co., 1904.....	221
Prendergast, Hon. William A., comptroller of New York, reference to, in testimony of Ogden L. Mills.....	600
Presidential preference, reference to.....	923
Priestly, ———, Oklahoma, reference to, in testimony of Mr. Hilles.....	825
Primary election in New York, March 26, 1912.....	598
Princeton University, effort to "democratize".....	874, 877, 882
Progressive Party, preconvention campaign of, 1912:	
Activities in various States. (See McHarg.)	
Contributions. (See Dixon; Hooker.)	
Managers in various States. (See Dixon.)	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	195
Published correspondence of Mr. Archbold, reference to signatures.....	149, 150, 158
Pulitzer, Hon. Joseph, deceased:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Parker, Hon. A. B.....	899
Parker, George F.....	927
Purdy, Lawrence, in charge of Wilson organization work in Minnesota, 1912...	884
Q.	
Quam Yick Nam, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.....	286, 300
Quay, Hon. Matthew S., deceased, former United States Senator from Pennsylvania:	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	179
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	153, 158
Clark, J. V.....	350
Flinn, Hon. William.....	313, 315, 316, 334, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 343, 345
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	608
Penrose, Hon. Boies.....	161, 166, 169
Splane, Joshua G.....	346
Quay, Richard R.:	
Contribution of.....	353, 776
Reference to.....	367

Quincy, Hon. Josiah, ex-mayor of Boston, Mass.:	Page.
Campaign contributions.....	914, 917
Clark, Hon. Champ, reference to campaign of.....	917
Foss, Gov. Eugene W., reference to.....	917
Gaston, Col. William A., reference to contribution of.....	916, 917
McCombs, Hon. William F., reference to.....	915
Paine, Robert Treat, reference to.....	917
Penfield, Frederick C., reference to.....	918
Reference to, in testimony of Hon. J. M. Dixon.....	402, 403
Testimony of.....	914
Underwood, Hon. Oscar W., reference to campaign of.....	917
Wilson preconvention campaign in Massachusetts—	
Davies, Joseph E., manager.....	915
Mitchell, Miss E. M., treasurer.....	915, 916, 917
McNary, Hon. William F., Boston, manager.....	915, 917
Reference to.....	914, 917
Summary of expenditures.....	915, 916

R.

Rainey, Hon. Henry T., chairman executive committee Democratic congressional committee, 1908, Illinois, reference to, by Mr. Lloyd.....	109
Ream, Norton B., contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	79
Rebate cases, reference to.....	144, 145
Receipts and disbursements:	
Congressional and national—	
Democratic congressional committee—	
1904, no data.	
1908.....	110
Democratic national committee—	
1904.....	9, 10
1908.....	99, 102, 103
Republican congressional committee—	
1904.....	5
1908.....	106, 107
1910.....	107
Republican national committee—	
1904.....	20, 24, 29
1908.....	46, 47, 52, 74, 75, 79, 81, 82
1908 summary.....	81
State—	
Republican national committee, to various States, 1904.....	25
Republican State committee, New York.....	111
Redmond, S. D., Mississippi, reference to.....	639
Reid, Daniel G., New York:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Parker, Hon. A. B.....	900
Parker, George F.....	928
Reid, Hon. Whitelaw, ambassador to England, contributions to Republican national committee.....	48, 79, 462
Republican campaign, 1908: Reference to, in testimony of Ormsby McHarg.....	654, 661
Republican congressional committee, 1904:	
Chairman, Hon. J. W. Babcock.....	4
Treasurer, Hon. W. B. Thompson.....	3
Republican congressional committee, 1908:	
Chairman, Hon. William B. McKinley.....	105
Secretary, Hon. Henry C. Loudenslager.....	105, 107
Vice chairman, Hon. James A. Tawney.....	106
Republican national committee of 1904:	
Account in Fourth National Bank, 1904.....	454, 460
Books of, 1904.....	461
Contributions to, 1896, 1900, 1904.....	455
Disposition of records, 1904.....	455
Officers—	
Executive committees of New York and Chicago.....	22
Chairman, Hon. George B. Cortelyou.....	15
Treasurer, Hon. Cornelius N. Bliss, sr.....	25
Assistant secretary New York headquarters, Hon. F. H. Hitchcock....	45
Assistant treasurer New York headquarters, Hon. C. H. Duell.....	29
Reference to, in testimony of Senator Penrose.....	168, 169

Republican national committee, 1908:	Page.
Chairman, Hon. Frank H. Hitchcock	45
Treasurer, Hon. George R. Sheldon.....	46, 55
Assistant treasurer western headquarters, Frederick W. Upham.....	53
Executive committee.....	46
Republican platform, 1908, reference to.....	662
Republican State committee of New York, 1904:	
Fund for.....	612
Officers—	
Chairman, Hon. B. B. Odell, jr.....	111
Secretary and acting treasurer, Col. Fox.....	115, 116
Resolutions, Senate, Nos. 79 and 386.....	3, 197
Revell, Alexander, Illinois, reference to.....	387
Reynolds, George M., contribution to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912....	823
Rhode Island, reference to, in testimony of Hon. William F. McCombs..	870, 885, 887
Ricker, George, New Jersey, reference to.....	409
Ridder, Herman, treasurer Democratic national committee, 1908, New York:	
Belmont, Hon. August, reference to.....	65
Cary, Melbert B., contribution of.....	64
Chicago headquarters, reference to.....	66
Chilton, McCorkle & Chilton, contribution of.....	64
Contributions from corporations.....	65
Contribution to Democratic congressional committee, 1908.....	110
Conway, D. E., contribution of.....	64
Cox, John W., contribution of.....	64
Cram, J. Sergeant, contribution of.....	64
Ewing contribution.....	63
Francis, Hon. David R., contribution of.....	64
Goltra, Edward F., contribution of.....	64
Kerr, James, Pennsylvania, collector of fund.....	63
Lehman, Herbert H., contribution of.....	64
Mack, Hon. Norman E., contribution of.....	64
McGraw, John T., contribution of.....	64
McNeil, Archibald, contribution of.....	64
National Democratic Club, contribution of.....	64
Nicoll, De Lancey, contribution of.....	64
O'Brien, Morgan J., contribution of.....	64
Personal contribution.....	63, 80
Receipts and disbursements, Exhibits A and B.....	62, 63, 64, 83, 84
Ruppert, Jacob, contribution of.....	64
Ryan, Thomas F., reference to.....	65
Sheehan, Hon. W. F., contribution of.....	63
Sheppard, Edward M., contribution of.....	63
Straus, Nathan, contribution of.....	64
Tammany Hall contribution.....	63
Testimony of.....	62
Untermeyer, Samuel, contribution of.....	64
Riordan, D. M., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	909, 910
Robbins, Frank, reference to.....	313, 350, 351
Robert, F. B., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	867
Robins, Raymond, reference to.....	474
Robinson, Douglas, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign.....	286, 299
Rockefeller, John D.:	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	186, 187
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	124, 126
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	474, 520
Rockefeller, J. D. jr., reference to telegrams of.....	520
Rockefeller, William, New York:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	124, 148, 149
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	17
Duell, Hon. Charles H.....	455, 456, 463, 464
Libby, William H.....	221
Rodway, ———, Ohio, reference to.....	680

	Page.
Rogers, H. H., deceased:	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	186, 187
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 126, 135, 142, 145
Bliss, C. N., jr.....	208
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	17
Libby, Wm. H.....	219, 222
MacVeagh, Wayne.....	614
Penrose, Hon. Boies.....	161, 162, 163
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	481, 519
Rogers, Walter S., Chicago, manager for La Follette campaign, 1912.....	571
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, Oyster Bay, N. Y. (letter and testimony):	
Addams, Miss Jane, reference to.....	196
Anthracite coal strike, reference to.....	181, 462, 516, 517
Abbott, Dr. Lyman, reference to.....	475
American Tobacco Co., suit against.....	518
Archbold, John D.—	
Contribution of.....	469, 519, 520
Reference to.....	177,
178, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 473, 474, 475, 479, 486, 487, 488, 489	
Reference to, in letter of Mr. Sheldon.....	470
Reference to testimony of.....	480, 481, 491, 493, 519, 520
Attitude toward corporations.....	480, 481
Attorney General, International Harvester correspondence submitted to ..	526
Australian ballot, reference to.....	514
Auxiliary committee, appointment of, by executive committee, 1904 cam- paign.....	522
Bartholdt, Hon. Richard, Congressman from Missouri, statement of amount spent in Progressive campaign.....	485, 486
Bass, Hon. Robert P., governor of New Hampshire, a Progressive leader...	526
Beef Trust, reference to.....	513
Bird, Charles S., Progressive candidate for governor of Massachusetts.....	526
Bliss, Cornelius N., sr., deceased, former Secretary of the Interior—	
Letters to (Exhibit C. N. B., jr., Nos. 4 and 5).....	205, 206
National treasurer Republican committee, 1896, 1900, and 1904.....	190
Reference to.....	177, 178, 180, 185, 187, 188, 189
469, 470, 471, 473, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 488, 490,	
491, 492, 502, 503, 506, 507, 508, 509, 511, 514, 516, 518, 520, 521	
Statement regarding.....	190, 191, 192, 482,
Bonaparte, Hon. Charles, former Attorney General.....	187
Bourne, Hon. Jonathan, United States Senator from Oregon—	
Letters to.....	186, 187, 472
Reference to.....	186
Brown, Walter F., Progressive leader in Ohio.....	526
Bruyere, Mr., reference to.....	474
Bryan, Hon. William Jennings, reference to.....	515
Bureau of Corporations, reference to.....	181,
187, 188, 193, 470, 471, 481, 510, 513, 516, 525	
Campaign of 1908, reference to.....	515
Chicago convention, reference to.....	483, 484
Clapp, Hon. Moses E., United States Senator from Minnesota—	
Reference to, as chairman of investigating committee.....	486
Statement of chairman.....	487
Chemical National Bank, contribution to campaign, 1896.....	190, 479, 516
Cleveland, President Grover—	
Contribution to campaign of.....	493
Private secretary of.....	506
Recommendations for appointment.....	483
Reference to campaign of.....	190
Coal Trust, reference to.....	517
Coe, Dr. H. W., Progressive leader of Oregon.....	526
Colored voters, appeal to.....	525
Commerce and Labor, first Secretary of Department of.....	506
Contributions—	
Amount of, discussion with Mr. Cortelyou.....	491
Contributions from corporations, statement regarding.....	194, 479
Contributions to both sides in a campaign.....	487

Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—Continued.

Page.

Contributions—Continued.

Insurance contributions.....	479
List of.....	518
Proportion of fund contributed by corporations.....	518
Publicity of.....	514, 515, 516
Return of.....	490, 492, 519, 520
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.—	
Letters and telegrams to.....	470, 471, 472
Letters about \$100,000 campaign fund, and telegram.....	178
Reference to, in letter to Mr. Sheldon.....	470
Reference to.....	179, 180, 181, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 469, 476, 477, 478, 480, 483, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 502, 503, 504, 506, 507, 509, 510, 511, 513, 514, 516, 518, 520, 521, 522, 523
Crane, Charles R., reference to contributions of.....	487
Crane, Hon. W. Murray, United States Senator from Massachusetts, refer- ence to.....	180, 506
Dawes, Hon. Charles G., assistant treasurer, 1904 campaign—	
Letter to.....	525
Reference to.....	523, 524
Debs, Eugene V., Socialist candidate for President.....	474
Department of Justice, reference to.....	181, 187, 193
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M., former United States Senator from New York—	
Reference to.....	181, 184, 189, 477, 520
Reference to, in letter from Mr. Harriman.....	184
Dick, Hon. Charles, former United States Senator from Ohio, reference to..	185
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M., United States Senator from Montana—	
Charges against committee.....	486, 524
Reference to.....	194
Dodge, Cleveland H., reference to, in letter of Mr. Harriman.....	494, 495
Duell, Charles H., reference to testimony.....	477, 503
Election of, reference to.....	516
Eliot, Dr. Charles, former president of Harvard, reference to.....	477
Equitable Life Assurance Co., reference to.....	190
Flinn, Hon. William, reference to testimony of.....	526
Folks, Homer, reference to.....	474
Franchise tax bill, reference to.....	516
Frasch, Herman, contribution to preconvention campaign.....	523, 524
Frick committee, reference to.....	190
Frick, Henry C., reference to contribution of.....	489, 494, 495, 511, 517
Garfield, Hon. James R., former Secretary of the Interior, reference to....	181, 186, 511, 526
Gates, Charles, reference to.....	521
Gates, John W., deceased, reference to.....	521
Gompers, Samuel, reference to.....	184, 474
Gould, George J., reference to contribution of.....	489, 513, 517
Greer, Clark, Georgia, reference to.....	524
Guffey, Col. J. M., reference to.....	515
Hammond, E. H., letter from Mr. Cortelyou.....	522
Harriman, E. H., deceased—	
Letter to Sidney Webster, reference to.....	189
Letters and telegram from.....	182, 183, 184, 494, 495, 496
Letters to.....	182, 183, 496, 497, 505
Reference to, in letter of Mr. Sheldon.....	490
Reference to.....	181, 182, 185, 472, 473, 475, 476, 477, 479, 494, 495, 496, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 520, 522
Harriman fund, reference to.....	472, 502, 511, 520
Reference to, in statement purporting to have been made by Mr. Bliss in New York Herald, December 24, 1911.....	189-190
Reference to letters to, from Col. Roosevelt.....	112, 117
Harvester Trust, reference to.....	193
Hearst's Magazine, letter from Joseph C. Sibley.....	473
Hearst, William Randolph—	
Reference to.....	181, 185
Reference to publication of correspondence of Standard Oil Co.....	187
Higgins, Hon. Frank W., ex-governor of New York, reference to.....	181, 182, 189, 476, 502, 503, 504, 505

Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—Continued.

Page.

Hill, Hon. James J., reference to.....	184, 474, 482
Hill, Hon. David B., deceased, ex-governor of New York, reference to....	181
Hilles, Hon. C. D., chairman Republican national committee, alleged amount spent in Progressive primary.....	485, 486
Hooker, Elon H., treasurer Progressive campaign, reference to—	
Amount in treasury.....	527
Testimony of.....	518, 526, 527
Hotchkiss, Hon. William H., Buffalo, N. Y., chairman Progressive State committee, 1912, reference to expenses of State organization.....	194
Hughes, Hon. Charles E., associate justice, Supreme Court—	
Reference to.....	479
Reference to campaign of, for governor of New York.....	181
Reference to a law enacted under administration of.....	193
Hughitt, Marvin S., reference to.....	474, 494, 495
Hyde, James Hazen, Paris, reference to appointment as minister to France.	181,
	184, 185, 190, 477
Insurance contributions.....	479, 512
Insurance investigating committee (New York, 1905), reference to vol. 1, p. 839.....	479
International Harvester Co., correspondence relating to.....	525
Interstate Commerce Commission, reference to, in correspondence between Col. Roosevelt and Mr. Harriman in 1904.....	183
Johnson, Hon. Hiram, governor of California, reference to.....	526
Keefe, Hon. Daniel J., Commissioner General of Immigration, reference to.	184
Kellogg, Hon. Frank B., special counsel, Department of Justice, reference to.....	187
Knox, Hon. P. C., Secretary of State, reference to, as member of Cabinet, 1904.....	181, 183, 482, 489, 511, 513
La Follette campaign.....	487
La Follette faction in Wisconsin, 1904, reference to.....	179
Landis, Judge, reference to decision of.....	518
Letter of August 28, 1912, made part of testimony.....	177
Lindsey, Hon. Ben, Colorado, reference to.....	196, 526
Loeb, Hon. William, jr., collector of customs—	
Letter from Alex. Millar, secretary to Mr. Harriman.....	498, 499
Reference to.....	178, 182, 183, 185, 187, 472, 473, 476, 477, 478, 480, 483, 491, 492, 500, 508, 520, 521, 522, 523, 526
Telegram from Mr. Harriman.....	498
Lorimer, Hon. William, reference to.....	192
McAdoo, Hon. William G., reference to.....	487
McCombs, Hon. William F., chairman Democratic national committee, reference to.....	487
McCall, John A.—	
Reference to.....	511
Testimony of.....	479
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby—	
Correspondence with.....	484
Reference to letter of.....	525
McKinley, President William—	
Reference to.....	188, 190, 191, 479, 482, 483
Contribution to campaign of.....	491, 506
McKinley, Hon. William B., reference to.....	487
Mack, Hon. Norman E., reference to testimony of.....	515
Meyer, Hon. George von L., collector of funds, campaign of 1900 and 1904, for Republican national committee.....	524
Millar, Alex., secretary to Mr. Harriman, letter of, to Mr. Loeb.....	498, 499
Mitchell, John, reference to.....	474
Moody, Hon. William H., former associate justice.....	181, 183
Morgan, J. Pierpont, sr.—	
Contribution of.....	502, 517
Reference to.....	184, 193, 474
Reference to testimony of.....	482, 488, 493, 502, 503, 511, 520
Morrison, Frank, reference to.....	184
Morrissey, Patrick J., reference to.....	184
Morton, Hon. Paul, former Secretary of the Navy.....	183
Munsey, Hon. Frank, reference to.....	196, 526, 527
Nelson, "Battling," reference.....	475

	Page.
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—Continued.	
New York Herald, statement of Mr. Bliss, December 24, 1911...	189, 477, 492, 508
New York Republican State committee—	
Funds for.....	502, 504
Loyalty of.....	503
New York Republican State ticket, reference to.....	497, 498, 499, 500, 502, 503, 505, 506
New York Sun, reference to.....	502
New York World, statement regarding campaign funds.....	527
Northern Securities suit referred to by Col. Roosevelt.....	181, 482, 516
Odell, Hon. B. B., jr., ex-governor of New York, Newburgh, N. Y., ref- erence to.....	181, 182, 184, 185, 189, 473, 476, 494, 502, 503, 504
Olney, Hon. Richard, former Attorney General, reference to, by.....	181
Paper people, reference to suit against.....	518
Parker, Hon. Alton B., New York—	
Charges of.....	179, 180, 181, 478, 489, 509
Quotation from speech at Meridian.....	511
Reference to.....	179, 488, 510, 511
Pardee, Hon. George C., former governor of California, reference to.....	494
Penrose, Hon. Boies, United States Senator from Pennsylvania—	
Letters to.....	179
Reference to.....	177, 179, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 473, 479, 486, 488
Reference to testimony of.....	191, 480
Perkins, George W., reference to.....	186, 193, 196, 526, 527
Preconvention campaign, underwriting of.....	526
President's message, 1905.....	515
Primary campaign, 1912.....	526
Progressive Party, reference to.....	195
Quay, Hon. Matthew S., deceased, reference to.....	179
Railroad contributions.....	513
Receipts of campaign, 1904, reference to.....	520
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.—	
Attack on Standard Oil Co., reference to.....	132
Attitude toward business interests.....	125, 126, 128, 136
Change of attitude toward Standard Oil Co.....	143, 144
Harriman correspondence, reference to.....	143
Interview with.....	146, 147
No request refused.....	143
Reference to.....	123, 128, 130, 131, 133, 137, 140, 148
Aronowitz, Samuel.....	840, 842, 843, 844
Brown, Walter F.....	735, 736, 737, 738, 740, 741, 742, 747, 748, 750, 751, 752
Crane, Charles R.....	576, 577
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M.....	623
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.—	
Contributions.....	380, 381, 384, 391, 395
Contributors.....	384, 385, 395, 396, 399, 400, 401, 406, 407, 410
Disbursements.....	384, 393, 395, 396, 400, 401, 407
Managers in various States.....	386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 396, 400, 401
Reference to.....	381, 386, 392
Treasurer, provisional campaign, E. H. Hooker.....	380
Edwards, William Seymour.....	845, 846, 847, 848
Flinn, Hon. William.....	318, 320
Hale, Matthew.....	762, 765, 766, 767
Hanna, D. R.....	729, 730, 732, 733
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831
Loeb, Hon. William, jr.....	527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.—	
Correspondence with Mr. Harriman.....	704, 705, 707, 708, 712
Reference to.....	695, 712, 713, 714, 715
Reference to in letter of Mr. Harriman.....	697, 698
Reference to statement of.....	696, 701, 707
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	632, 636, 637, 641, 642, 644, 646, 647, 648, 649, 653, 654, 655, 659
McKinley, Hon. William B.....	667
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	607, 609, 611
Mills, Ogden L.....	598, 599

Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—Continued.

Page.

Reference to, in testimony of—

Morgan, J. Pierpont, sr.....	437, 438, 445, 446
Odell, Hon. B. B., jr.....	112, 114, 117
Parker, Hon. A. B.—	
Reference to.....	889, 896, 899, 900, 901
Reply to Parker charges.....	904
Parker, George F.....	927
Peabody, C. A.....	252
Penrose, Hon. Boies—	
Attitude toward "big business".....	162, 163, 164
Campaign contributions, discussion with.....	165
Knowledge of Standard Oil contribution.....	166
No objection intimated to Standard Oil contribution.....	166
Pennsylvania indorsement of.....	169
Policy of administration of, on tariff.....	162
Reference to.....	159, 160
Reference to letter from.....	166
Russell, Charles Edward.....	582
Scott, Hon. Nathan B.....	687, 688, 689, 690
Sheldon, Hon. George R.....	114
Taft, Charles P.....	721
Tegethoff, C. C.—	
Letters from Mr. Harriman.....	226,
227, 229, 230, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 238, 239	
Letters to Mr. Harriman. 225, 226, 227, 229, 230, 231, 232, 234, 238, 239, 240	
Reference to.....	241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 304
Weller, Hon. John S.....	352, 356, 357, 361, 363
Welliver, Judson C.....	585
Robins, Raymond, reference to.....	474
Rockefeller, John D., reference to.....	186, 187, 474, 520
Rockefeller, J. D., jr., reference to telegrams of.....	520
Rogers, H. H., deceased—	
Contribution of.....	519
Reference to.....	186, 189, 481
Reference to telegram of.....	481
Root, Hon. Elihu, United States Senator, reference to.....	180,
183, 185, 186, 234, 246, 506	
Rules laid down for campaign, 1904.....	492, 493
Sheldon, Hon. George R.—	
Letter from Mr. Bliss.....	492
Letter from Col. Roosevelt.....	470, 472, 510
Reference to.....	477
Reference to testimony of.....	489, 503
Sherman, Vice President James S.—	
Copy of letter to, dated Oct. 8, 1906.....	181
Reference to.....	190
Sibley, Hon. Joseph C., former Member of Congress from Pennsylvania,	
reference to.....	186, 473
Smith, Hon. Herbert Knox, former Chief Bureau of Corporations—	
Correspondence with.....	525, 526
Reference to.....	186, 511
Socialists, reference to.....	474
Spooner faction in Wisconsin in 1904, reference to.....	179
Statement made Nov. 4, 1904, regarding charges of Judge Alton B. Parker	180
Standard Oil Co., reference to.....	177,
178, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 470, 471, 474,	
480, 481, 482, 489, 490, 491, 508, 510, 511, 513, 518, 519	
Steel Trust, reference to.....	511
Stimson, Hon. H. L., reference to.....	519
Sugar Trust, reference to.....	487, 518
Sullivan, John L., reference to.....	475
Taft, Charles P., reference to.....	487
Taft, Hon. William Howard, reference to.....	183, 471
Taggart, Hon. Thomas, former treasurer Democratic national committee,	
reference to.....	180
Testimony of.....	469

Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—Continued.**Tobacco Trust—**

Contribution of.....	492, 514
Suit against.....	518
Twombly, H. McK., deceased, reference to.....	570
Union Trust Co., reference to contribution in 1896.....	516
Vessey, Hon. Robert S., governor of South Dakota.....	526
Webster, Sidney, reference to, letter to.....	189
Wilson, Hon. Woodrow, candidate for Democratic President.....	487
Wright, Nat. D., editor Toledo Blade.....	526

Roosevelt, W. Emlen:

Contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.....	286,
	292, 298, 299, 395, 407, 410

Root, Hon. Elihu, United States Senator from New York:

Reference in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	180, 183, 185, 186
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	698, 705, 711
Parker, Hon. A. B.....	867, 905
Tegethoff, C. C.....	234, 246

Rosenwald, Julius, contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912..... 823**Rosewater, Hon. Victor, member Republican national committee, 1908, Nebraska, reference to, by Mr. Hitchcock..... 46****Rucker, Col. Henry A., Georgia, reference to..... 652****Ruppert, Jacob, contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908..... 64****Russell, Charles Edward, Socialist candidate for governor of New York and editor The Coming Nation, New York:**

Archbold, John D., reference to.....	578
Bliss, Hon. Cornelius N., sr., reference to.....	583
Cortelyou, Hon. George B., reference to.....	583
Hampton, Benjamin B., reference to.....	579, 580, 581
Hampton's Magazine, reference to article in August number, 1910.....	579
Loeb, Hon. William, jr., reference to.....	582

MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne—

Reference to.....	579, 580, 583
Reference to statement in New York Times.....	578
Reply to statement in New York Times.....	580, 581

Morgan, J. Pierpont, reference to..... 578, 579, 580, 581, 582**New York Times statement—**

Basis for.....	579
Comment on.....	578
Copy of.....	578
Original statement and letter not in evidence.....	584

Reference to, in testimony of—

MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	605, 606, 607, 609, 610, 618
Morgan, J. P., sr.....	437
Welliver, Judson C.....	585, 586, 587, 588
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, reference to.....	582
Socialistic doctrine, reference to.....	578
Testimony of.....	578
Welliver, Judson C.....	581, 584, 585

Ryan, Michael J., in charge of Wilson organization work in Pennsylvania, 1912..... 887**Ryan, Thomas F., New York:****Reference to, in testimony of—**

Bankhead, Hon. J. H.....	928
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	27
Dixon, Hon. Joseph H.....	394, 402, 403, 424
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	698, 705, 711
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	907
Nichols, Hon. Hugh L.....	931, 936
Ridder, Hon. Herman.....	65
Sheehan, Hon. William F.....	59
Taggart, Hon. Thomas.....	12
Tegethoff, C. C.....	246

S.

Santa Fe Railroad, reference to.....	238, 239, 801
St. Louis-Holland Sugar Co., reference to.....	777, 780

Satterlee, Herbert K., New York, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.....	258
Saulsbury, Willard, contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912....	866, 867
Schaeffle, W. P., Ohio:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Brown, Walter F.....	737, 742, 743
Hanna, D. R.....	729, 731, 734
Schiff, Jacob H., New York:	
Contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	79, 80
Contribution to Taft League.....	592
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	709
McAdoo, Hon. William G.....	909, 910
Schmidlapp, J. G., Cincinnati, Ohio, contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	79
Schneider, Louis P.:	
Contribution of.....	353, 362, 776
Reference to.....	363, 366, 368
Schneider, Robert S., member Chicago executive committee, Republican national committee, 1904. Nebraska. reference to, by Mr. Cortelyou.....	22
Schultz, F. B., in charge of Wilson organization work in Minnesota, 1912, and Minnesota.....	884, 887
Schumann, Irving, in charge of Wilson organization in Illinois, 1912.....	872
Schwab, Charles M., Pittsburgh, Pa.:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	27
Stotesbury, E. T.....	839
Schwedtman, Ferd C., Springfield, Ill.:	
Bryan, Hon. William J., reference to.....	864
Campaign contributions, reference to.....	858
National Association of Manufacturers—	
Boudinot, George S., secretary of.....	860
Cushing, Marshall, in charge of records of.....	860
Kirby, John, jr., Dayton, Ohio, president of.....	858
Van Cleave, James, deceased, former president of, reference to.....	858,
	859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864
Reference to.....	858
Platforms of national parties, reference to.....	862, 863
Republican congressional campaign contributions.....	859
Taft campaign of 1908, reference to.....	859
Tariff, reference to.....	862, 863
Tariff commission, in favor of.....	862
Testimony of.....	858
Scott, Hon. Nathan B., former Senator from West Virginia:	
Alabama & Tennessee Coal & Coke Co., reference to.....	71
American Protective Tariff League, reference to.....	70
Archbold, J. D., reference to.....	690
Beef Trust, reference to.....	69
Bliss, Cornelius N., sr., reference to.....	684, 685, 686, 687, 689
Contributions of associations.....	69
Contribution to national preconvention campaign, 1912.....	685
Cortelyou, Hon. George B., reference to.....	685, 686, 687, 689, 690
Dawson, Hon. William M. O., candidate for governor of West Virginia in 1904.....	68
Frick, Henry C., reference to.....	689
Funk, Clarence S., reference to.....	70
Harriman, E. H.—	
Reference to.....	686, 688
Letter from President Roosevelt.....	687
Harriman fund, reference to.....	685, 686, 687
Havemeyers, reference to.....	69
Higgins, Hon. Frank W., former governor of New York, reference to....	685, 686
International Harvester Co., reference to.....	70
Loeb, Hon. William, jr., reference to.....	688
Life insurance contributions.....	689
McCook, Col. John J., contribution of.....	69

Scott, Hon. Nathan B.—Continued.	Page.
McKinley, Hon. W. B., chairman national Republican committee, reference to.....	685
Member of Republican national committee, 1888–1912, and was member New York executive committee, 1904.....	68, 69
Morgan, J. Pierpont, sr., reference to.....	69
Odell, Hon. Benjamin B., former governor of New York and former chairman Republican State committee of New York.....	686
Perkins, George W.—	
Contribution of, to Republican State committee of West Virginia.....	68, 70, 71, 684
Reference to reimbursement.....	689
Personal contribution.....	69
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	122, 137
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	22
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	665
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—	
Letter to Mr. Harriman.....	687
Reference to.....	688, 689, 690
Standard Oil Co.—	
Reference to contribution from.....	684, 686, 687, 690
Reference to.....	70
Steel Trust, reference to.....	69
Telephone conversation with White House in October, 1904.....	685
Testimony of.....	67, 683
West Virginia, amount received from Republican national committee, 1904.....	684, 689
Scripps, E. A., contribution to La Follette campaign, 1912.....	541, 570
Second National Bank, bank of deposit of Republican national committee, 1904:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Duell, Charles H.....	454, 459, 460
Cannon, James G.....	378, 379
Seligman, Isaac N., contribution to Taft League, 1912.....	592
Seligman, J. & W., & Co., contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	79
Shaw, Dr. Albert, editor Review of Reviews, New York, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.....	286, 299
Shedd, John G., contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	823
Sheehan, Hon. William F., chairman executive committee Democratic national committee, 1904, New York:	
American Sugar Refining Co., contribution of.....	58
Belmont, August, reference to.....	56, 59
Contribution of.....	63
Contributions—	
How solicited.....	57
Nebraska campaign.....	59
Rejected.....	58
Use in States.....	58, 59
Hall, Charles R., assistant treasurer, 1904.....	56
Peabody, Hon. George F., reference to.....	56
Reference to, in testimony of Mr. Peabody.....	9, 10, 11
Ryan, Thomas F., reference to.....	59
Testimony of.....	55
Total Democratic campaign fund, 1908.....	55
Sheldon, Edward W., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	875, 879, 880
Sheldon, Hon. George B., treasurer Republican national committee, 1908, New York:	
American Protective Tariff League.....	74
Archbold, John D., contribution of.....	417, 421
Bliss, Cornelius N., sr.—	
Reference to.....	416, 417, 418, 419, 421, 423
Report of.....	416
Cannon, James G., president Fourth National Bank, New York, reference to.....	416
Contributions, total.....	421
Contributors—	
In sums of \$5,000 or over, list of.....	79
To campaign of 1904.....	416, 417, 420

	Page.
Sheldon, Hon. George B.—Continued.	
Cortelyou, Hon. George B., chairman Republican national committee, 1904, reference to.....	418
Frick, Henry C., reference to.....	74, 76
Gould, George J., contribution of.....	417
Harriman, E. H., deceased, reference to.....	423
Harriman fund—	
Reference to.....	77, 78, 417
Story of.....	418, 419, 422, 423
Harvester Trust, reference to.....	74
Havemeyer, reference to.....	421
Higgins, Hon. Frank W., candidate for governor of New York, 1908.....	77
Insurance companies, contributions of.....	420
Kerens, Hon. Richard C., ambassador to Austria, reference to.....	77
Manufacturers' Association, reference to.....	74
Morgan, J. Pierpont, sr.—	
Contribution of.....	417
Reference to.....	74, 76
Odell, Hon. B. B., jr., reference to.....	77
Polling places in New York City, number of.....	79
Quotation from statement of.....	113
Railway companies, contributions of.....	421
Receipts and disbursements, 1908—	
Extracts from records.....	79, 81, 82
Reference to Exhibits A and B.....	74, 75
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Bliss, C. N., jr.....	211, 213
Duell, Hon. Charles H.....	456, 458
Hitchcock, Hon. Frank H.....	46
Morgan, J. R., sr.....	440, 451
Odell, Hon. B. B., jr.....	113, 114, 115
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	470, 472, 477, 489, 492, 503, 510
Upham, Fred W.....	852, 854
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, reference to.....	78
Standard Oil Co.—	
Contribution of.....	417, 421
Reference to.....	74
Steel Trust, reference to.....	73
Sugar Trust, reference to.....	74
Summary of receipts and expenditures.....	81
Testimony of.....	73, 416
Shepard, C. Sidney, contribution to Republican national committee, 1908....	80
Sheppard, Edward M., deceased, contribution to Democratic national com- mittee, 1908.....	63
Sherman antitrust law, reference to.....	630
Sherman, Vice President James S.:	
Letter of Col. Roosevelt—	
Copy of letter to, dated October 8, 1906.....	181
Reference to.....	190
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Morgan, J. P., sr.....	439
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	701, 702, 703, 707, 711
Shevlin, T. H., deceased, contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.	80
Sibley, Hon. Joseph C., former Member of Congress from Pennsylvania:	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	186
Reference to, in testimony of—	
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	616
Archbold, J. D.....	798, 799, 800, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 811, 813, 815, 820
Siegel, Henry, contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	823
Sims, Hon. Edward W., Illinois, reference to.....	387
Slater, H. W., New York, son of partner of treasurer Republican congressional committee, 1893 to 1904, referred to, in testimony of Col. W. B. Thompson....	5, 7
Slomp, Hon. Campbell, chairman Republican State committee, 1912, Virginia, reference to.....	388
Sloane, William D., contribution to Taft league, New York, 1912.....	592
Smiley, Hon. E. W., deceased, reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	154
Penrose, Hon. Boies.....	170

	Page.
Smith, Byron L., contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912....	258, 294
Smith, Charles M., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	867
Smith, Col. ———, chairman Illinois State Republican committee, 1908, Peoria, Ill., reference to, in testimony of Mr. Hitchcock.....	53
Smith, Frank L., internal-revenue collector, Springfield, Ill.:	
Campaign contributions and expenditures, reference to.....	855, 857
McKinley, W. B., manager for Taft campaign, 1912.....	856
Receipts and disbursements in Illinois.....	855
Taft Club, contributions of.....	856
Forgan, D. R., president Taft Club, Chicago, 1912.....	856
Reference to, in testimony of—	
McKinley, Hon. Wm. B.....	674, 680
Upham, Fred. W.....	854
Taft preconvention campaign in Illinois, 1912.....	855
Testimony of.....	855
Wheeler, H. A., treasurer, Taft Club, Chicago, 1912.....	856
Smith, Fred P., contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	79, 80
Smith, G. A., Chicago, contributor to Clark campaign fund, 1912.....	774
Smith, Hon. Herbert Knox, former Chief Bureau of Corporations:	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	180
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	511, 525, 526
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	826
Snow, C. A., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	867
Socialist-Labor Party:	
1904, chairman and national secretary, Henry Kuhn.....	7, 8
1908, chairman and national secretary, Paul Augustine.....	7, 8
Socialist Party:	
1904, national secretary, William Mailly.....	84
1908, national secretary, J. Mahlon Barnes.....	90
Socialists:	
Doctrine of.....	578
Reference to.....	474
Southard, ———, Ohio, reference to campaign of.....	735
South Carolina:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	409
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	638, 639, 645, 656
South Dakota:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	403
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	870, 880, 884
Southern Pacific Railroad, reference to, in testimony of C. C. Tegethoff.....	239
Southern Pacific Co., reference to.....	717
Southern Pacific system, reference to, in testimony of Judge Lovett.....	692, 715, 716, 717, 719
Southern States, activities of Progressive Party in.....	634, 643, 644, 648, 649, 650, 651, 656, 658
Southern Railway Co.:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Bankhead, Hon. John H.....	939
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	
Plant, Alfred H.....	792
Speyer & Co., bankers, New York, reference to, in testimony of Mr. Cortelyou..	17
Speyer, James, contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	80
Splane, Joshua G., Pittsburg, Pa.:	
Archbold, J. D., telegrams to and from.....	346, 352
Flinn, Hon. William—	
Reference to.....	346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 352
Telegrams to and from.....	346
O'Day, Hon. Daniel, reference to.....	347
Penrose, Hon. Boies, reference to.....	347, 348
Pennypacker, Hon. Samuel W., reference to.....	347
Quay, Hon. Matthew S., reference to successor to.....	346
Reference to, in testimony of Mr. Flinn.....	314, 344, 345
Standard Oil Co., reference to.....	346, 347, 352
Testimony of.....	346, 352

	Page.
Spooner faction in Wisconsin, in 1904, reference to, by Col. Roosevelt.....	179
Spreckels, Rudolph, California—	
Contribution to La Follette campaign, 1912.....	541, 570, 573
Manager for La Follette campaign, 1912.....	573
Sprunt, James, contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	867
Standard Oil Co., New York:	
Reference to, in letters of Col. Roosevelt.....	177, 178, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	126, 127, 128, 145
Bliss, C. N., jr.....	212, 213
Cannon, James G.....	377, 378
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	19, 27
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M.....	624
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	399, 400, 403, 404
Duell, Hon. Charles H.....	464
Flinn, Hon. William.....	314, 344, 345
Loeb, Hon. William, jr.....	503, 531, 532, 535, 536
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	106
Mack, Hon. Norman E.....	101
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	614
Nichols, Hon. Hugh L.....	936
Parker, Hon. A. B.....	899, 900
Penrose, Hon. Boies.....	161, 163, 165, 166, 167
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	470, 471, 474, 480, 481, 482, 489, 490, 491, 508, 510, 511, 513, 518, 519
Scott, Hon. Nathan B.....	70, 684, 686, 687, 690
Sheldon, Hon. George R.....	74, 417, 421
Splane, Joshua G.....	346, 347, 352
Stotesbury, E. T.....	838
Standard Oil Co. of Ohio. litigation of.....	821
State collections. record of, testimony of Mr. Hitchcock.....	49, 50
Steel Trust (United States Steel Corporation, New York), reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	122
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	20
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M.....	624
Duell, Hon. Charles H.....	462
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	832, 833
Hitchcock, Hon. Frank B.....	50
McKinley, Hon. William B.....	106
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	617
Odell, Hon. B. B., jr.....	116
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	511
Scott, Hon. Nathan B.....	69
Sheldon, Hon. George R.....	74
Steele, State senator, reference to.....	335
Stephens, Hon. Lon V., former governor of Missouri, contribution to Clark campaign fund, 1912.....	774
Stern, J. S., reference to, in testimony of Mr. McAdoo.....	909, 910
Stewart, James. contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	868
Stickney, Charles S., contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.....	286, 298
Stifel, Otto F., member Republican national committee, 1912, reference to...	680
Stillman, James. New York:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Parker, Hon. A. B.....	900
Parker, George F.....	928
Stillwell, W. H., reference to, in correspondence of Mr. Harriman.....	236
Stimson, Hon. Henry L., Secretary of War, reference to, in connection with Sugar Trust case.....	519
Stockbridge. ———, secretary to Mr. McCombs, reference to.....	909, 911
Stoddard, H. L., contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.....	258, 285, 294, 298
Stone, Hon. C. W., deceased, letter to, from Mr. Archbold.....	156
Stone, Hon. William J., United States Senator from Missouri, contributor to Clark campaign fund, 1912.....	774

	Page.
Storer, Hon. Bellamy, reference to controversy with	619
Storrow, James J., Massachusetts, reference to	767
Stotesbury, E. T., Philadelphia, Pa.:	
Bethlehem Steel Co., contribution to Republican national committee, 1904.	839
Bliss, Hon. C. N., sr., reference to	837, 838
Contributions to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.	837
Exhibits.	636
Harriman, E. H., reference to	836, 838
McKinley, Hon. W. B., reference to	837
Morgan, J. P., sr., reference to	838
Parker, Hon. A. B., reference to	838
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Buell, Hon. Charles H.	461
McKinley, Hon. W. B.	665
Sheldon, George R.	80
Republican national committee, 1904, funds collected for in Pennsylvania—	
Amount of.	835
Reference to list of contributors.	836
Republican national committee, 1906, funds collected for in Pennsylvania—	
Amount of.	836
Reference to list of contributors.	836
Schwab, Charles M., president Bethlehem Steel Co., reference to	839
Standard Oil Co., reference to	838
Tower, Hon. Charlemagne, ambassador to Berlin, contribution to Repub- lican campaign of 1908.	838, 839
Testimony of.	835
Straus, Nathan, New York:	
Contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.	868, 909, 910
Democratic national committee, 1908.	64
Straus, Hon. Oscar, Progressive candidate for governor of New York, 1912:	
Contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign.	258, 286, 294, 298
Reference to, in testimony of Mr. McHarg.	637
Strike legislation, so called, in various States, referred to in testimony of Mr. Archbold	794
Stringer, Lawrence B., in charge of Wilson organization work in Illinois, 1912.	872, 886
Stump, William, treasurer West Virginia Roosevelt organization, 1912.	847
Sugar Trust:	
Reference to.	19, 50, 58, 74, 106, 116
Reference, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.	122
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.	19
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M.	624, 628
Dixon, Hon. J. M.	399, 400, 414
Duell, Hon. Charles H.	463
Hitchcock, Hon. Frank H.	50
McKinley, Hon. W. B.	106
Odell, Hon. B. B., jr.	116
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.	487, 518
Sheldon, Hon. George R.	74
Warren, Charles B.	777, 783
Suits to annul 99-year lease of Southern Pacific lines.	716, 717
Sullivan, Gerry, in charge of Wilson organization work in Iowa, 1912.	886
Sullivan, John L., reference to	475
Sullivan, Roger C., Chicago, Ill.:	
Campaign expenses in Illinois, 1908.	919, 920, 921
Clark, Hon. Champ, reference to campaign of.	920, 923
General organization in Illinois	919
Hearst-Harrison faction in Chicago, reference to	923
Lawrence, Andrew, a Hearst representative, reference to	924
Preconvention campaign, contributions and disbursements, 1912.	918,
.....	919, 920, 921, 922
Presidential preference, reference to	923
Primary contests.	923
Testimony of.	918
Wilson preconvention campaign.	923
Sulzberger, Ferdinand, contribution to Republican national committee, 1908. ..	80
Sulzberger, Max J., contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.	80
System of organization, testimony of Mr. Hitchcock.	48, 49, 53

T.

Page.

Taft, Charles P., Cincinnati, Ohio:

Blaine Club, Chicago, expenses of.....	724
Carter, ———, representative of Times-Star, reference to.....	724
Contributions to campaigns, 1904, 1908, and preconvention, 1912.....	721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726

Hitchcock, Hon. Frank H., chairman Republican national committee, 1908—	
Contributions to.....	722
Return of contributions.....	723, 727

McKinley, Hon. W. B., chairman Republican national committee, 1912,	
contribution to.....	724, 725

New York State campaign, reference to.....	727
--	-----

Reference to, in testimony of—

Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	404, 415
Hilles, Hon. C. D.....	823
Hitchcock, Hon. Frank.....	48
Laylin, Louis C.....	788, 790
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	882
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	487
Sheldon, George R.....	79, 80
Upham, Fred W.....	852, 853

Taft, Hulburt, reference to.....	725
----------------------------------	-----

Testimony of.....	721
-------------------	-----

Vorys, Hon. Arthur I., reference to.....	723, 724, 725, 727, 728
--	-------------------------

Williams, ———, chairman Republican State committee in Ohio, 1908,	
contributions to.....	722

Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, reference to campaign of, in 1904.....	721
--	-----

Taft Club, of Pittsburgh, 1912:

Reference to, in testimony of—

Morsman, W. T.....	768, 769, 771, 772
Smith, Col. Frank L.....	856
Upham, Fred W.....	857

Taft, Henry W., New York, reference to contribution to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	823
--	-----

Taft, Hulburt, Ohio:

Reference to, in testimony of—

Hilles, Hon. C. D.....	823
Laylin, Louis C.....	788, 790
Taft, Charles P.....	725

**Taft, Hon. William Howard, President of the United States and candidate of
Republican Party for reelection:**

Letter to Hon. C. N. Bliss, sr. (Ex. C. N. B. jr., No. 3).....	204
--	-----

Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	183
--	-----

Reference to, in testimony of—

Brown, Walter F.....	736, 738, 744, 747, 750, 751
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.—	
Advertising.....	392, 400, 403, 404, 411
Reference to manager of.....	394, 412, 415
Reference to....	384, 391, 392, 393, 394, 400, 401, 404, 411, 412, 413, 414, 431
Edwards, William Seymour.....	849
Hale, Matthew.....	762, 763, 764, 766, 767
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	822, 823
Libby, William H.....	221
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	705
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	644, 646, 659
Mossman, W. T.....	770, 771, 772
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	471
Tegethoff, C. C.....	233, 235
Upham, Fred W.....	852
Warren, Charles B.....	778, 782, 783

**Taggart, Hon. Thomas, chairman Democratic national committee, 1904, Indian-
apolis, Ind.:**

Belmont, Hon. August, ex-treasurer Democratic national committee, refer- ence to.....	12, 13, 14
--	------------

Committee books, papers, etc., 1904, disposition of.....	9, 13
--	-------

Contributions, soliciting of.....	14
-----------------------------------	----

Destruction of checks, etc., 1904.....	13, 14
--	--------

Taggart, Hon. Thomas—Continued.	Page.
Hall, Charles R., assistant treasurer, 1904, reference to.....	12
Meyer, Cord, chairman New York State committee, 1904.....	12
Peabody, Hon. George Foster, treasurer Democratic national committee, 1904, reference to.....	12, 13, 14
Personal contribution.....	13
Receipts and expenditures, 1904.....	11
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Parker, Hon. A. B.....	888
Peabody, Hon. George F.....	8, 10
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	180
Ryan, Thomas F., reference to.....	12
Sheehan, Hon. William F., chairman executive committee, Democratic national committee, 1904, reference to.....	11
Testimony of.....	11
Tammany Hall contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908.....	63, 83
Tariff legislation, reference to.....	217, 218, 220, 221, 222
Tawney, Hon. James A., member Chicago executive committee of 1904 and former Representative from Minnesota:	
Reference to, in testimony of Mr. Cortelyou.....	22
Vice chairman Republican congressional committee, 1908, and chairman of executive committee, 1908.....	106
Taylor, George, Tennessee, reference to.....	388
Tegethoff, C. C., agent for E. H. Harriman estate, Brooklyn, N. Y.:	
Arizona, reference to.....	229, 236
Barnes, B. F., acting secretary to President, telegram signed by.....	228
Beef Trust investigation, reference to.....	235
Belmont, Hon. August, reference to.....	246
Bliss, Hon. Cornelius N., sr.—	
Reference to.....	242, 304
Reference to, in—	
Letter from Hon. George B. Cortelyou.....	231
Letter from E. H. Harriman.....	245
Brodie, Gov. A. O., former governor of Arizona, reference to.....	238, 239
Bureau of Corporations, reference to.....	235
Campaign contributions, 1904, 1908, reference to.....	241, 242, 243, 244
Congressional campaign committee, reference to.....	242
Contribution to campaign, 1904, receipt for.....	224
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.—	
Letter from.....	231
Reference to.....	304
Reference to, in letter of—	
Harriman, E. H.....	245
Loeb, Hon. William, jr.....	228
Crane, Hon. W. Murray, United States Senator from Massachusetts, refer- ence to.....	228
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M., former United States Senator from New York; reference to, in letter of Mr. Harriman.....	245
Dodge, Hon. Cleveland H., reference to, in letter of Mr. Harriman.....	229
Donors to \$250,000 fund.....	247
Douglas, Prof., reference to, in letter of Mr. Harriman.....	230
Evarts, Hon. Maxwell, attorney for E. H. Harriman.....	227
Fowler, B. A., reference to, in letters of Mr. Harriman.....	238, 239
Frick, Henry C., reference to.....	229
Griscom, Hon. Lloyd, former minister to Japan, reference to, in letter of Mr. Harriman.....	233
Harriman, E. H., deceased—	
Letters of.....	226, 227, 229, 230, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 245
Letters to.....	225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 231, 232, 234, 236, 238, 239, 240
Receipt for \$50,000 from Mr. Bliss.....	224
Reference to.....	224, 241, 242, 243, 244, 246, 247, 248, 249
Harriman, Mrs. E. H., reference to.....	224, 241, 243, 246
Hayes, President Rutherford B., appointment under.....	236
Hellen, Joseph, secretary to Mr. Harriman—	
Letters and telegrams signed by.....	227, 228, 231
Reference to.....	241, 243
Hughitt, Marvin S., reference to, in letter of Mr. Harriman.....	229
Hyde, John Hazen, reference to, in letter of Mr. Harriman.....	246

Tegethoff, C. C.—Continued.

Page.

Interstate Commerce Commission—	
Reference to, in letters of—	
Harriman, E. H.....	234, 235
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	234
Kent, Hon. Edward, chief justice, Arizona, reference to in correspond- ence of Mr. Harriman.....	236, 238, 239
Knox, Hon. Philander C., reference to, as member of Roosevelt Cabinet.	228, 235
Loeb, Hon. William, jr., secretary to President Roosevelt—	
Letters and telegrams signed by.....	228, 236, 237, 239, 240
Letters and telegrams to.....	227, 228, 233, 236, 237, 240
Reference to.....	248
Lovett, Hon. Robert S., reference to.....	247
Millar, Alex., secretary to Mr. Harriman—	
Letters and telegrams signed by.....	233, 237, 240
Reference to.....	241, 248
Telegram to.....	237
Moody, Hon. William H., member of Roosevelt Cabinet, reference to....	235
Morton, Hon. Paul, member of Roosevelt Cabinet.....	235, 238, 239
Murphy, Mr., reference to, in letters of Mr. Harriman.....	238, 239
Pardee, Hon. George C., former governor of California, reference to, in letter of Mr. Harriman.....	229
Personal letter book of Mr. Harriman.....	246
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Lovett, Hon. R. S.....	714, 715
Parker, George F.....	928
Peabody, C. A.....	249, 250
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—	
Letters from Mr. Harriman..	226, 227, 229, 230, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 238, 239
Letters to Mr. Harriman.....	225, 226, 227, 229, 230, 231, 232, 234, 238, 239, 240
Reference to.....	241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 304
Root, Hon. Elihu, member of Roosevelt Cabinet—	
Reference to, in letter of—	
Harriman, E. H.....	246
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	234
Ryan, Thomas F., reference to, in letter of Mr. Harriman.....	246
Santa Fe Railroad, reference to, in letters of Mr. Harriman.....	238, 239
Southern Pacific Railroad, reference to, in letter of Mr. Harriman.....	239
Stillwell, W. H., reference to, in letter of Mr. Harriman.....	236
Taft, Hon. William H., member of Roosevelt Cabinet—	
Reference to, in letter of—	
Harriman, E. H.....	233
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	235
Testimony of.....	223, 304
Visit of Mr. Harriman to President Roosevelt.....	244, 249
von Kumhaar, Mr., reference to, in letter of Mr. Loeb.....	237
Webster, Sidney—	
Letter from Mr. Harriman.....	245
Reference to.....	244, 246
Wells, E. H., Arizona—	
Reference to, in letter of—	
Harriman, E. H.....	238
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	238
United States Senatorship in California, reference to.....	304, 305
Templeton, Mr. ———, reference to.....	350
Tennessee:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	388
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	639
Texas:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	391, 408
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	887
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	649
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	666, 669, 674
Nichols, Hon. Hugh L.....	935
Thomas, ex-Governor ———, in charge of Wilson organization in Colorado, 1912.	866
Thomas, Harvey, contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	868

	Page.
Thompson, Hon. Carmi, Secretary to the President, reference to.....	738
Thompson, J. O., Alabama, reference to, in testimony of Mr. McHarg.....	639
Thompson, Col. R. M., contributor to Harmon preconvention campaign, 1912.	931, 935
Thompson, Hon. W. B., treasurer Republican congressional campaign committee, 1893 to 1904, Washington, D. C.:	
Babcock, Hon. J. W., deceased, chairman Republican congressional committee, 1904.....	4
Letter to Hon. Moses E. Clapp.....	7
Living representatives of 1904 Republican congressional committee, June, 1912, Vice President J. S. Sherman and W. B. Thompson.....	5
Overstreet, Hon. Jesse, deceased, acting treasurer Republican congressional committee, 1904.....	4
Slater, H. W., New York, son of partner of W. B. Thompson.....	5
Testimony of.....	3
Tilford, W. H., deceased, former director of Standard Oil Co.:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	126, 141
Libby, William H.....	220
Tilson, W. J., Georgia, reference to, in testimony of Mr. McHarg.....	634, 639
Tobacco Trust:	
Contribution of.....	19
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Archbold, John D.....	122
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M.....	624
Hitchcock, Hon. Frank H.....	49
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	106
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	492, 514, 518
Tower, Hon. Charlemagne, ambassador to Berlin, contribution to Republican campaign of 1908.....	838, 839
Tucker, H. N., North Dakota, manager for La Follette campaign, 1912.....	573
Tucker, Judge ———, in charge of Wilson organization work in Michigan, 1912.....	883, 907
Tumulty, Joseph T., in charge of Wilson organization work in New Jersey, 1912.	872
Tweed, ———, former counsel for Southern Pacific Co., reference to.....	716
Twombly, Hamilton McK., deceased:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Depew, Hon. Chauncey M.....	620, 622, 624, 627, 628, 630
Duell, Hon. Charles H.....	465
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	696
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 617, 618
Peabody, C. A.....	251, 254
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	570
Tyner, Judge, reference to case of.....	618

U.

Underwood, Hon. Oscar W., Member of Congress from Alabama, and a Democratic candidate for nomination for President:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Bankhead, Hon. J. H.....	937, 938
Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.—	
Campaign of.....	381, 391, 392, 393, 403, 423, 427
Managers for.....	403, 424
Plant, Alfred H.....	791, 792
Quincy, Hon. Josiah.....	917
Union Pacific R. R. Co.:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Lovett, Hon. Robert S.....	692, 715, 716, 717, 719
Morgan, J. Pierpont.....	447
Union Trust Co., reference to contribution in 1896.....	516
United States v. Central Pacific Railroad Co., Southern Pacific Railroad Co. et al.....	715, 716
United States v. Southern Pacific Railroad Co. et al.:	
Decree.....	1203
Reference to.....	716
Title to case.....	1202

	Page.
United States Steel Corporation, New York. (See Steel Trust.)	
Untermeyer, Samuel, New York:	
Contribution to Democratic national committee, 1908.....	64
Contribution to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	869, 877
Upham, Frederick W., Chicago:	
Assistant treasurer Republican national committee at Chicago, 1908.....	851
Campaign contributions, 1904, reference to.....	850
Campaign contributions, 1908, reference to.....	851
Central Trust Co., Chicago, bank of deposit for Republican national committee, 1908.....	853
Copy of check, to order of Frank H. Hitchcock, with indorsement to Charles P. Taft.....	853
Forgan, D. R., president Taft Club, reference to.....	854
Personal contribution, Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	853
Receipts and disbursements, Republican national committee, 1908, statement of.....	851, 852, 854
Receipts in detail by States.....	852
Reference to, in testimony of Mr. Hitchcock.....	53
Sheldon, Hon. George R., treasurer Republican national committee, 1908, reference to report of.....	852, 854
Smith, Col. Frank L., manager for Taft preconvention campaign in Illinois, 1912.....	854
Taft, Charles P.—	
Contribution of.....	852
Statement regarding.....	853
Taft Club of Chicago, reference to contributions of.....	857
Taft, Hon. William H., reference to.....	852
Testimony of.....	850
Wheeler, H. A., treasurer Taft Club of Chicago.....	854

V.

Vail, S., and associates, contributions to Republican national committee, 1908.	80
Van Cleave, James, deceased, former president National Association of Manufacturers.....	858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864
Vanderbilt, William K., reference to.....	694
Van Valkenburg, E. A., Philadelphia, Pa., reference to.....	388
Vermont:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	830
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	669
Vernon, H. T., contribution to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.....	258
Vessey, Hon. Robert S., governor of South Dakota, reference to.....	526
Virginia, reference to, in testimony of William F. McCombs.....	870, 886
von Kümhaar, Mr. ———, reference to, in testimony of Mr. Tegethoff.....	237
Vorys, Hon. Arthur I., Columbus, Ohio:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Taft, Charles P.....	724, 725, 727, 728
Brown, Walter F.....	738
Laylin, Louis C.....	788, 789, 790

W.

Walsh, Thomas F., deceased, contribution to Republican national committee, 1908.....	80
Walker, Hon. Joseph, Republican candidate for governor of Massachusetts, reference to.....	766
Ward, Hon. William L., member New York executive committee, national Republican committee, 1904, New York:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Cortelyou, Hon. George B.....	22
Hitchcock, Hon. Frank H.....	46
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	641, 642, 648, 654
Wardwell, Mr., reference to, in letter from Mr. Archbold to Senator Penrose..	150, 151
Warren, Charles B., lawyer, Detroit, Mich.:	
Alger, Capt. Fred M., reference to.....	779
American Sugar Refining Co., reference to.....	777, 783
Baird, John, reference to.....	780

	Page.
Warren, Charles B.—Continued.	
Brownell, Roy, assistant secretary Taft preconvention committee of Michigan.....	782
Butzel, Leo, reference to.....	780
Continental Sugar Co., reference to.....	784
Contributors to Taft preconvention campaign—	
Barbour, William T.....	779
Buhl, Willis E.....	779
Danaher, James E.....	779
Denby, Edwin.....	779
Ford, J. B.....	779
Gilchrist, Frank W.....	779
Hudson, J. L.....	779
Joy, Richard B.....	779
Kirtchner, Otto.....	779
Lee, Gilbert W.....	779
McMillan, Philip H.....	784
McPherson, Alexander.....	779
Wright, J. W.....	779
Dougherty, Andrew, Elk Rapids.....	778
Diekema, Hon. G. J., former Congressman, manager of Taft campaign in Michigan—	
Letter from.....	779
Reference to.....	782, 783
German-American Sugar Co., reference to.....	777
Hanna, D. R., reference to contribution of.....	781
Havemeyer, ———, reference to.....	777, 778, 784
King, Paul, secretary to Taft preconvention committee in Michigan.....	782
Knox, W. Frank, chairman Republican State central committee of Michigan, reference to employment by Roosevelt committee.....	781, 783
Leonard, ———, assistant to Mr. Diekema.....	782
McKay, John B., Detroit, reference to.....	778, 779, 782
McKinley, Hon. W. B., chairman Republican national committee, appointment by.....	778
Member Republican national committee, 1912.....	781
Michigan Sugar Co., reference to.....	777, 780
Nicholas, Charles A., manager of Michigan Roosevelt campaign.....	783
Owasso Sugar Co., reference to.....	777
Oxnard, ———, reference to.....	784
Preconvention campaign, interest in.....	777
Roosevelt preconvention campaign—	
Managers of.....	781, 783
Reference to.....	781, 782, 783
St. Louis-Holland Sugar Co., reference to.....	777, 780
Taft preconvention campaign in Michigan—	
Contributions to.....	778, 782
Reference to.....	778, 783
Testimony of.....	777
Wilson, Walter H., assistant treasurer, Republican national committee, Chicago.....	781
Yerkes, George, reference to.....	779
Washington:	
Reference to, in testimony of—	
Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	391, 395, 408
McCombs, Hon. William F.....	870, 885
Washington, Booker T., Alabama, reference to, in testimony of Mr. McHarg..	652
Watson, Hon. Clarence W., United States Senator from West Virginia, contributor to Clark campaign fund, 1912.....	774
Watson, Thomas E., contribution to People's Party, 1904.....	436
Watterson, Col. Henry, Louisville, Ky., reference to.....	402
Webster, Sidney:	
Reference to letter to, in testimony of—	
Reference to, in letter of Col. Roosevelt.....	189
Reference to, in testimony of Hon. Robert C. Lovett. (See Lovett.)	
Odell, Hon. B. B., jr.....	111, 112, 115
C. C. Tegethoff.....	244, 245, 246

Weeks, John W., Member of Congress from Massachusetts, Boston:	Page.
Campaign contributions in 1908, reference to.....	433, 434
Cannon, Hon. Joseph G., ex-Speaker House of Representatives, visit of to Boston, 1908.....	432
Congressional campaign committee, reference to.....	433, 434, 435
Dawes, Hon. Charles G., treasurer congressional campaign committee, 1908.....	435
Industries, reference to—	
Cotton.....	434, 435, 436
Shoe.....	434, 435
Woolen.....	434, 435
McKinley, Hon. W. B., chairman congressional campaign committee, 1908, visit of to Boston, 1908.....	432
Payne-Aldrich tariff bill, reference to.....	434
Reference to, in testimony of Hon. W. B. McKinley.....	661, 662, 663, 664, 676
Tariff plank in Republican platform, 1908.....	432
Testimony of.....	432
Weiss, William, contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	866
Weller, Hon. John S., Pittsburgh, Pa.:	
Ache, Paul S., reference to.....	358, 362
Allegheny County, expenditures in.....	336
Bruff, J. H., contribution of.....	353, 776
Certificate of receipts and disbursements of Roosevelt Republican League of Allegheny County.....	776
Coleman, William H., contribution of.....	353, 776
Copy of statement filed with clerk of court of Allegheny County, Pa., asked for.....	354
Disbursements, record of.....	355, 357
Exhibits.....	353, 359
Flinn, George H., contribution of.....	353
Flinn, Hon. William—	
Contributions of.....	353
Reference to.....	354, 357, 360, 362, 363, 776
Jamison, S. C., contribution of.....	353, 776
Kirtland, E. F., contribution of.....	353, 776
McCullough, ———, in charge of distribution of post cards.....	363
Morton, W. C., secretary and treasurer Republican headquarters.....	358, 359, 360, 362
Powell, Hon. A. W.—	
Contribution of.....	353, 776
Reference to.....	354
Quay, R. R., contribution of.....	353, 776
Receipts and disbursements, Roosevelt Republican League.....	353, 362
Reference to, in testimony of William Flinn.....	318, 321, 323
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore—	
Campaign of.....	352
Candidacy of.....	356, 361
Contribution to preconvention campaign.....	357
Number of votes in Allegheny County.....	363
Roosevelt Republican headquarters—	
Facsimile certificate of.....	359, 360
Reference to.....	358, 361
Schneider, Louis P., reference to.....	353, 362, 363, 776
Taft campaign, number of votes in Allegheny County.....	364
Testimony of.....	352, 776
Wellington, Senator, Maryland, reference to.....	388
Welliver, Judson C., Washington, D. C.:	
Contribution to La Follette campaign, 1912.....	541, 570
Hampton, Benjamin B., reference to.....	587
Hampton's Magazine.....	585
Harriman, E. H., deceased.....	586, 587, 588
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne, account of visit to.....	585, 586, 587
Morgan, J. Pierpont, sr., reference to.....	586, 587, 588
Munsey papers and Munsey magazines, reference to.....	587
Russell, Charles Edward, reference to.....	585, 586, 587, 588
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, reference to.....	585
Testimony of.....	585
Telephonic conversation in October, 1904, reference to.....	586
Reference to, in testimony of—	
MacVeagh, Hon. Wayne.....	607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 613, 618, 619
Russell, Charles Edward.....	581, 584, 585

Wells, E. H., Arizona:

Reference to, in testimony of Mr. Tegethoff, in letter of—	Page.
Harriman, E. H.....	238
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	238

West Virginia:

Reference to, in testimony of—

Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.....	238
Scott, Hon. N. B.....	684, 685
McKinley, Hon. W. B.....	665, 670, 671

Wheeler, E. C., Missouri, contributor to Harmon preconvention campaign, 1912.....	931, 936
---	----------

Wheeler, H. A., president of Taft Club of Chicago, reference to.....	854
--	-----

Reference to, in testimony of—

Smith, Col. Frank L.....	856
Upham, Fred W.....	854

Whiteacre, John J., contributor to Harmon preconvention campaign, 1912....	931
--	-----

White, Charles T., secretary Standard Oil Co.....	223
---	-----

Whitman, Hon. Charles S., district attorney, New York, reference to.....	602
--	-----

Whitridge, Frederick, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.	286
--	-----

Wickersham, Hon. George W., Attorney General, contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	665, 823
---	----------

Wight, Pearl, Louisiana:

Reference to, in testimony of—

Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	390, 409
McHarg, Hon. Ormsby.....	639

Williams, ———, chairman Republican State committee in Ohio, 1908, contributions to.....	722
---	-----

Williams, Frank B., Louisiana, reference to, in testimony of Mr. McHarg.....	639
--	-----

Williams, J. S., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	909, 910
--	----------

Willys, ———, Ohio, delegate to Chicago convention.....	739
--	-----

Wilson, ———, assistant treasurer Republican national committee, Chicago, reference to.....	781
--	-----

Wilson, Hon. William Warfield, Illinois, reference to.....	387
--	-----

Wilson, Hon. Woodrow, governor of New Jersey and Democratic candidate for President, New Jersey:

Reference to, in testimony of—

Dixon, Hon. Joseph M.—

Campaign of.....	381, 383, 391, 392, 393, 394, 402, 403, 426, 427, 428
------------------	---

Managers for.....	394, 402, 403, 406
-------------------	--------------------

McAdoo, Hon. William G.....	909
-----------------------------	-----

McCombs, Hon. William F.....	865, 866, 867, 870, 871, 872, 877, 878, 879, 880, 882, 883
------------------------------	--

Penfield, F. C.....	912, 913, 914
---------------------	---------------

Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	487
-------------------------------	-----

Wisconsin:

Reference to, in testimony of—

Dixon, Hon. J. M.....	387
-----------------------	-----

McCombs, Hon. William F.....	870, 880, 884, 887
------------------------------	--------------------

Winthrop, Roger S., collector of funds for Taft League, New York, 1912, reference to.....	593
---	-----

Wolf, Alex., New York delegate to national convention, 1912, reference to....	599
---	-----

Wood, Mrs. Antoinette, contributor to Roosevelt preconvention campaign, 1912.....	384, 410
---	----------

Wood, Lawrence C., contributor to Wilson preconvention campaign, 1912.....	867
--	-----

Woodruff, Hon. Timothy L., New York:

Reference to, in testimony of—

Hilles, Hon. Charles D.....	825
-----------------------------	-----

Mills, Ogden L.....	593, 594, 601
---------------------	---------------

Woodward, J. H., contributor to Underwood preconvention campaign, 1912....	938
--	-----

Woodyard, Harry C., West Virginia, reference to.....	671
--	-----

Wright, J. W., contributor to Taft preconvention campaign, 1912.....	779
--	-----

Wright, N. C., editor Toledo Blade, Toledo, Ohio:

Reference to, in testimony of—

Brown, Walter F.....	737, 743
----------------------	----------

Hanna, D. R.....	729, 731, 734
------------------	---------------

Roosevelt, Col. Theodore.....	526
-------------------------------	-----

Y.

Yerkes, George, reference to.....	779
-----------------------------------	-----

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